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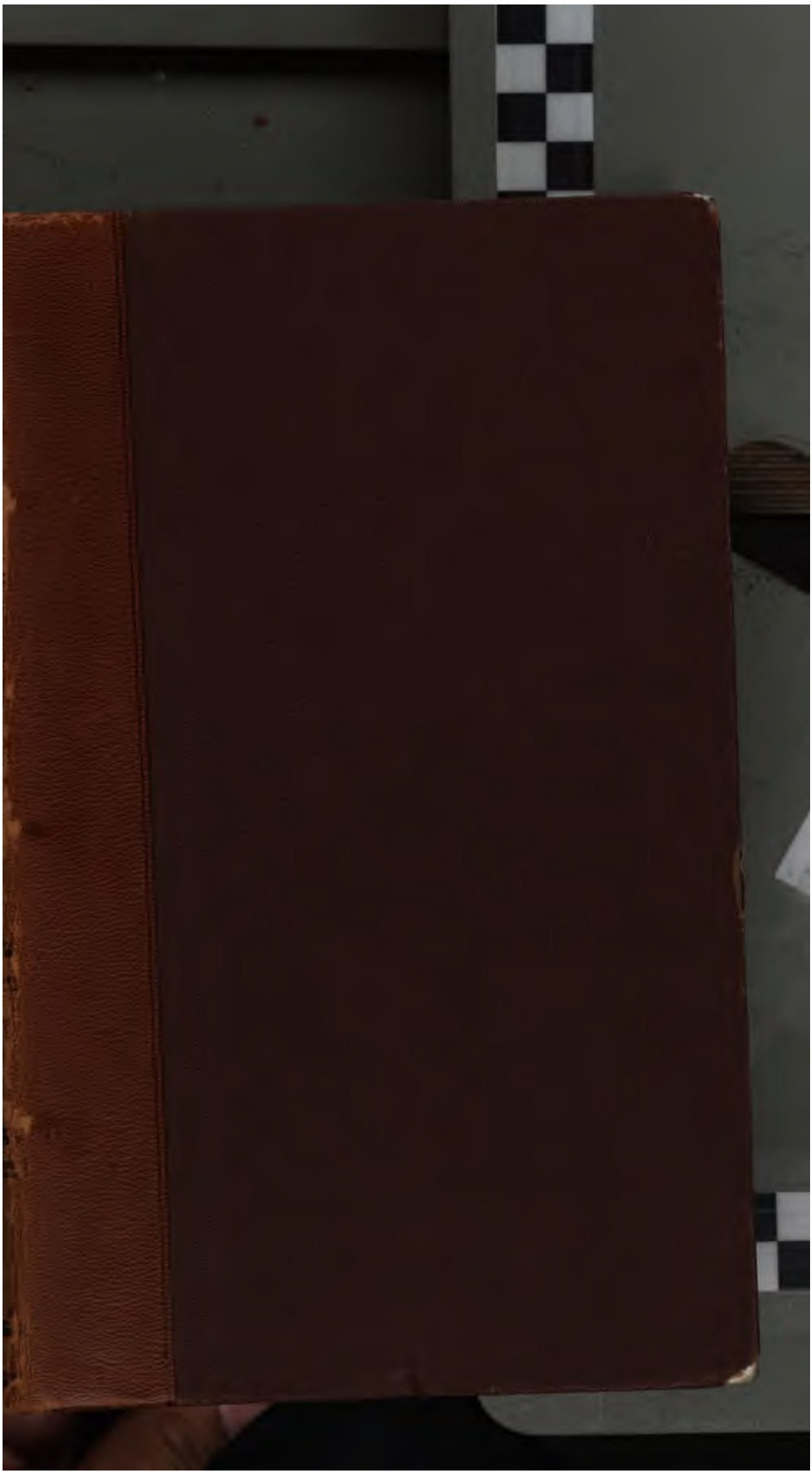
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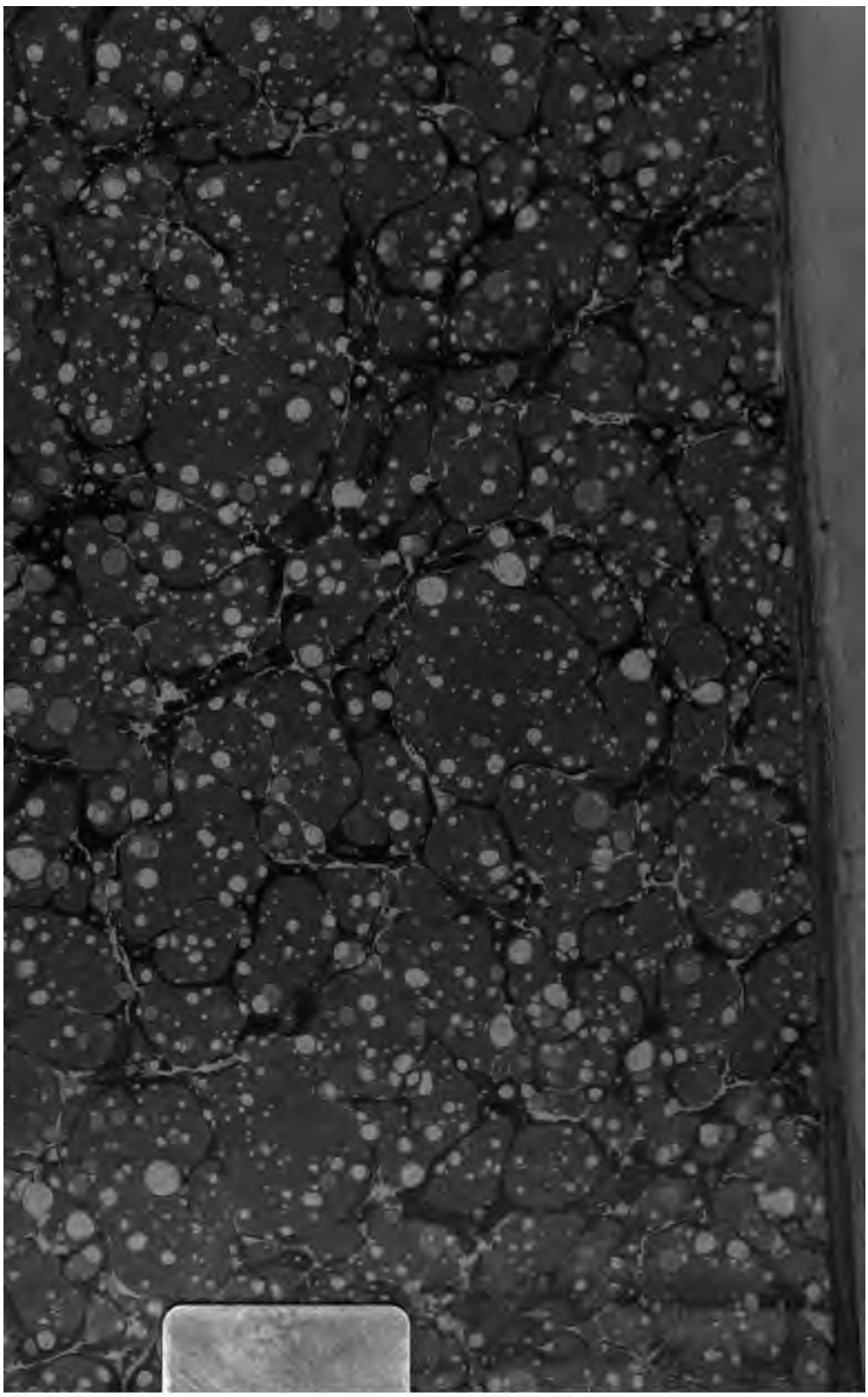
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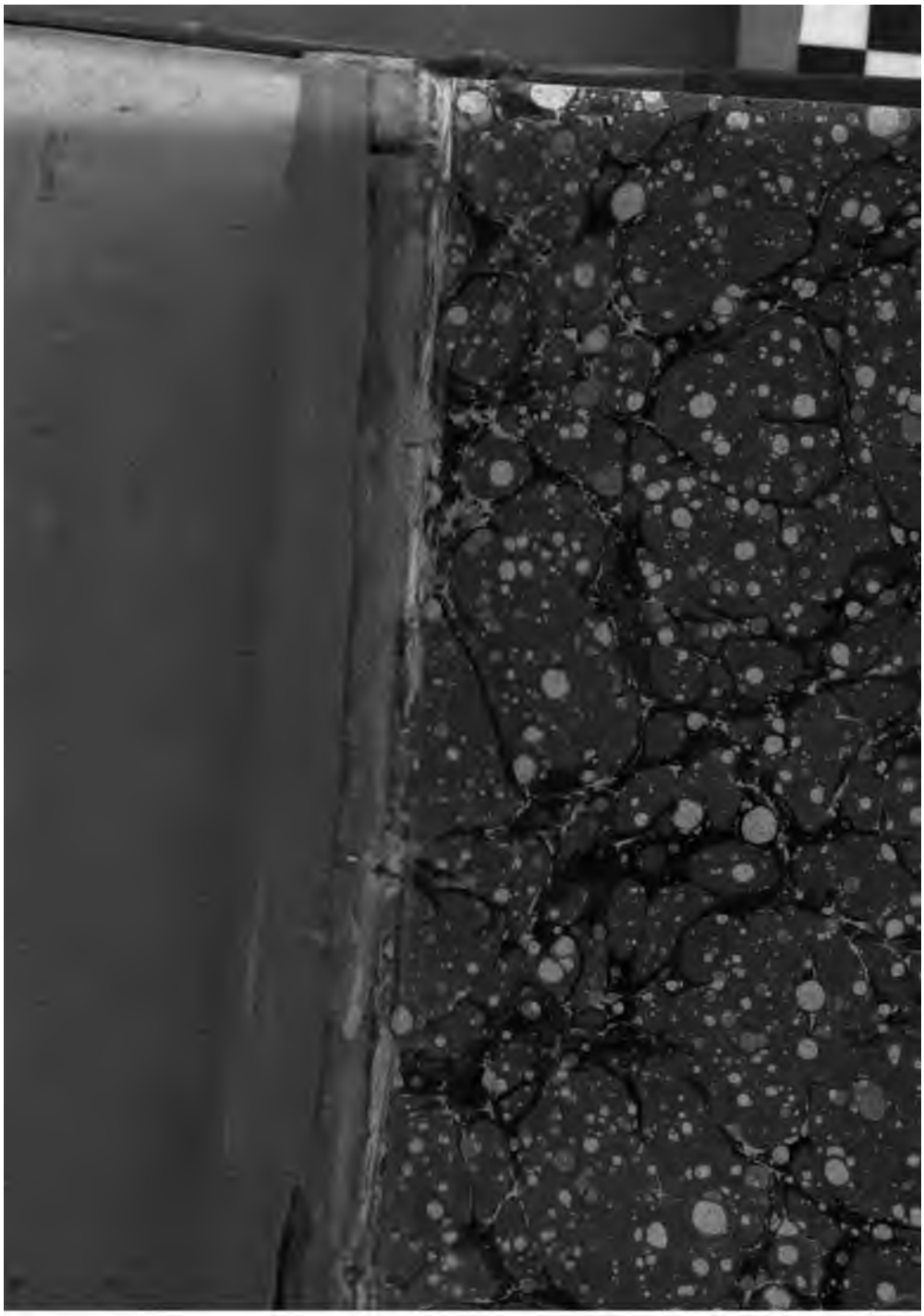
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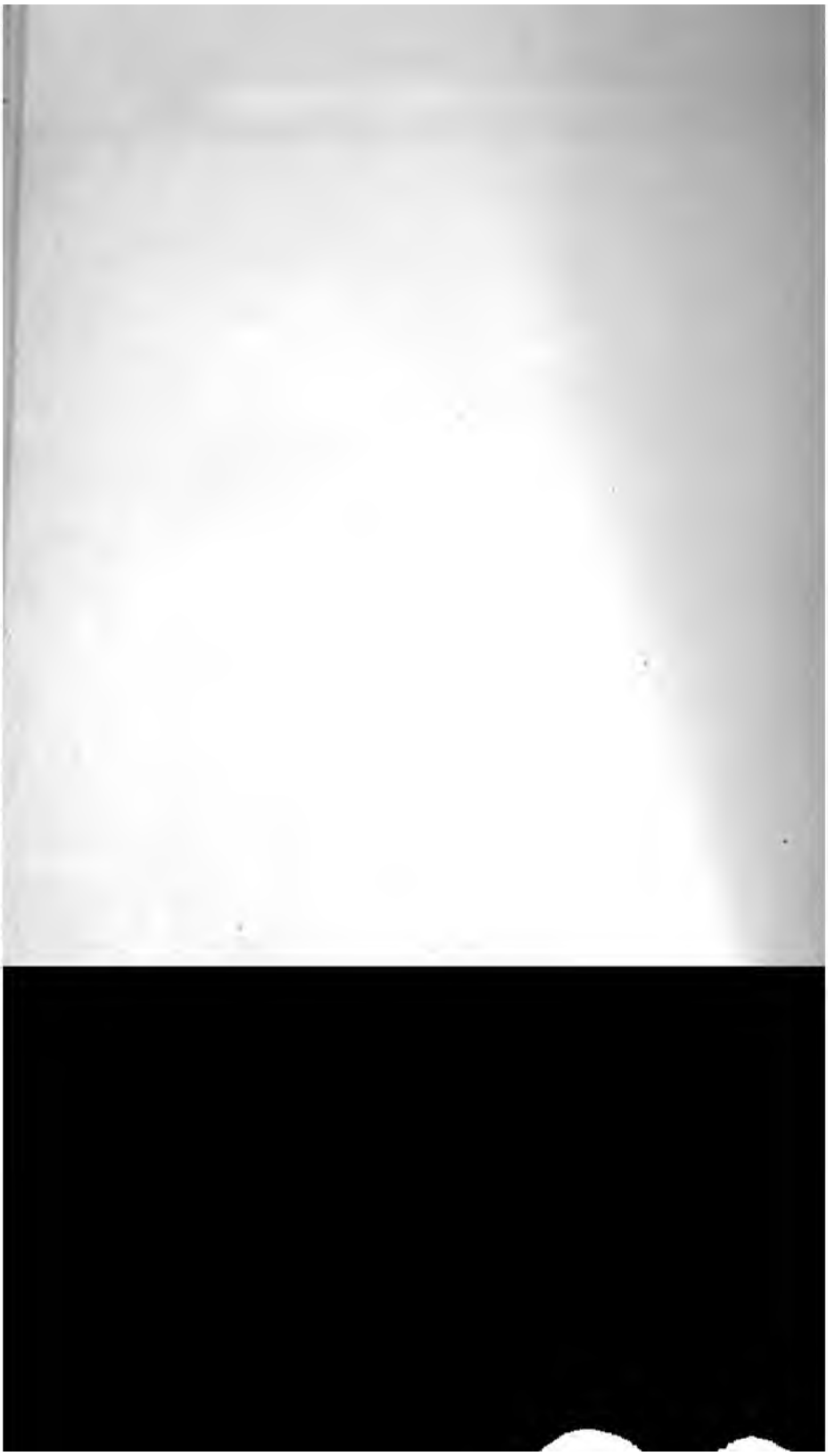
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VOL. XXV, 1 WHOLE NO. 97

THE

AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.
PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING LEIPSIC: F. A. BROCKHAUS

JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH

1904

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Post-Office.

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The Friedenwald Company
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

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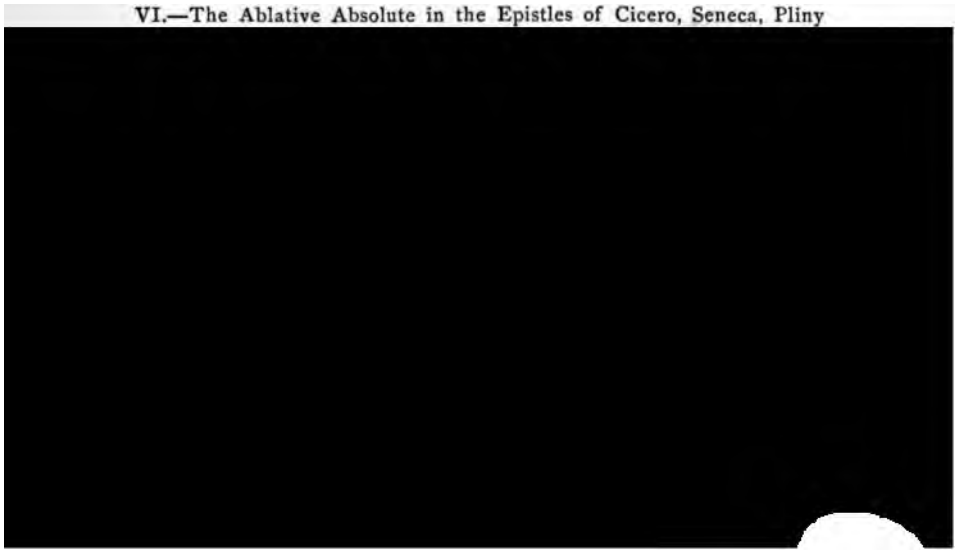
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AMERICAN

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I.—ON SOME ALLEGED INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES IN CUNEIFORM CHARACTER.

To the north of the great Iranian region, in the Russian steppes about the Black and Caspian seas, there roamed in antiquity Iranian tribes, known as Scythians. The Greeks used this name with convenient vagueness for all sorts of northern barbarians; for the wide region indicated surely contained peoples of more than one ethnic character, especially offshoots from the Thraco-Phrygian region to the south. Karl Müllenhoff, in the third volume of his Deutsche Alterthumskunde, pp. 101 ff.[1], has collected the Scythian remnants of speech from Herodotus and other ancient authors; also from the Greek inscriptions at Olbia which date from the first and second centuries A. D. Though they are mostly proper names there is no difficulty in recognizing their Iranian character, or a character closely allied to Iranian.[2] Herodotus (IV 67) explains the Scythian tribal name Ἐνάρεες by ἀνδρόγυνοι; Hippocrates (De aëre, § 106) by ἀνανδριέες 'unmanly', a good etymological reproduction of the original compound made up of Aryan *a* privative and stem *nar*, *nara* 'man'. Names like Ὀρόντης, from a stem equal to Avestan *aurvant* 'swift' (Vedic *arvant* 'steed'); Ἀριμασποί, composed of stems akin to Avestan *airyama* and *aspa*, 'having tractable horses'; Βανάδασπος, corre-

[1] Edited after his death by Max Roediger, Berlin, 1892.

[2] Penka, Mittheilungen der Wiener Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1893, p. 62, has suggested that the Scythians form the transition between Aryans and Slavs, a theory likely enough on geographical grounds.

sponding to an Iranian compound *vanaṯ-aspa* 'winning horses'—the Scythians were a people of horsemen—are quite unmistakable. Similarly Οὐαρδάνης, identical with Vardanes, mentioned by Tacitus, Annales XI 8 ff., as a Parthian, is closely akin to Avestan *vareδa* 'growing' (Skt. root *vardh*); Χόδαινος is Av. *hu-dāena* 'religious'; Χοράσθος=Av. *hu-raoδa* 'of good figure'; and Χώδαρζος=Av. *hvā-derezi* 'strong of one's self'. A river name Βορυσθένης, though much affected by Greek popular etymology, is Av. *vouru-stāna* 'having a broad base or bed'. Herodotus I 110 reports as Median the word σπάκα 'dog',[1] equal to an Iranian stem *span* =Skt. *ćvan* with suffix *ka*: this has been borrowed into Russian *sobaka*, marking at one and the same time the geographical continuity of the Scyths-Iranians and Slavs, as well as their marked linguistic individuality: purely Slavic laws of sound could never have developed a *b* in this word.

Thus the Scyths are Indo-Europeans who connect the Asiatic East Indo-Europeans (Aryans) with the Slavs in the North of Europe, and, through them, with the remaining North-Europeans, the Teutonic and Celtic families. In this great belt there are no problematic Indo-European peoples. With all the intricacies of ethnic and geographic interrelation between Celts and Teutons, and Teutons and Slavs, there is in the north of Europe no Indo-European dialect whose broader family traits are obscure, an no claimant for membership in the Indo-European family tha is not freely admitted. Beginning where France joins Italy i the ancient region of Liguria; stretching from there and adjo ing Etruria across Venetia to Illyria, Thrace, and the rest of Balkan peninsula; from there again, across Hellespont, Propo and Bosporus, into and clear through Asia Minor, incl Armenia, until we touch again the Asiatic Iranians—that region within which existing records of some sort point presence of varieties of Indo-Europeans outside of the we families.

That is to say, the region adjacent to the northeaste terranean, which came most directly under the influence and Rome. But for the jingoism of the Ancients, w them look upon others than themselves as Barbarian all-round ineptitude as linguists, we might have had of all these peoples, instead of having, e. g., to rel

[1] Cf. Hesychius' gloss, παγαίη· κύων σκυθιστ

upon the scant Neo-Phrygian Pigeon-Greek epitaphs for our knowledge of the great Thraco-Phrygian family of languages. The Greeks regarded the Φρύγες somewhat as we do the Dagos, and their knowledge of them was about as exact. In the majority of cases we have not even as much as there is of Phrygian: scant glosses, and proper names, distracted by the unfeeling popular etymologies of foreign reporters, furnish filmy composite photographs where there might have been clear pictures. Nevertheless it is significant that the regions of which the ancients knew most, have up to the present time furnished the minor Indo-European peoples: we should not need to be surprised if new records springing from this massive geographical domain should at any time disclose further candidates for independent membership in our family of languages.

In fact, recently, three candidates for Indo-European sisterhood have put in their appearance in a very unexpected quarter, namely: the Cuneiform records of Western Asia.

The first is the language of the Kassi, the Kossaeans (Κοσσαῖοι) or Kissians (Κίσσιοι) of the Greeks, long ago the subject of a well-known little book of Friedrich Delitzsch, Die Sprache der Kossäer (Leipzig, 1884). The home of the Kossaeans was in the valleys of the Zagros mountains in Elam, between Media and Assyria. They seem to have been skilled bowmen who originally lived on war and robbery in their native mountains. But in addition they preyed early on the inhabitants of the Babylonian plain, and finally made more permanent inroads into Assyria and Babylonia, so that they could assume the part of conquerors and impose their rule upon Babylonia. A Kossaean dynasty or dynasties appear to have ruled that country for nearly 600 years, from 1700–1100 B. C.[1]; at the time of the Tel-el-Amarna letters, the Babylonians were designated in Canaan as Kassi. But, somewhat like the Varangian Norsemen in Russia, they finally were absorbed in the superior Semitic culture around them. Scant record of their language is preserved in the proper names of the Kossaean dynasty, and in a curious Kossaeo-Babylonian glossary of about the tenth century B. C. This is the kernel of Delitzsch's treatise: neither Delitzsch nor his successors have succeeded in making clear the character and the relationships of the 40 words

[1] According to Sayce, A Primer of Assyriology, pp. 14, 120, the Kossaean dynasty lasted 576 years and 9 months, from 1806–1229 B. C.

or thereabouts on record: the limited amount of the material may be said, at least negatively, not to disprove the most natural suggestion that occurs in connection with it, namely that it is a dialect of Elamitic.[1]

Now comes an attempt, fascinating, to say the least, on the part of a younger scholar, J. Scheftelowitz, to show that the Kossaean language is Indo-European. In KZ. XXXVIII 260 ff. he establishes to his own satisfaction I. E. etymologies for practically all Kossaean words on record. The resulting dialect would have to be, as I gather, a *satem*-language, because *šukamuna*, an epithet of Nergal, a Babylonian god of the mid-day sun, is identified with Vedic *çucamāna* 'shining'; *šir* 'bow' with Vedic *çaru* arrow, etc. Also because *nazi*, 'shadow', assumed to be identical with Vedic *rajas*, in which *z* is supposed to continue labio-velar g (g^{u}) = Skt. *j*, shows no labialization, and may be contrasted with Gr. ἔρεβος, Goth. *riqis* 'twilight'. Secondly, it would have to be an Asiatic language, like Sanskrit, Iranian, and Scythian, and not a European language, like Armenian and all the rest, because it eschews the European triad of vowels *e*, *o*, *a*, exhibiting *a* in the place of European *e* and *o*: *šuriaš* = Skt. *sūryas* = Gr. ἥλιος; *nazi* = ἔρεβος. Thirdly, it cannot be an ordinary Iranian language, because initial *s* changes not to *h*: *šuriaš* = Vedic *sūryas* 'sun' but cf. Avestan *hvare*; *šuvalia* or *šivalia*, name of a goddess = Vedic *sūvarī* 'giving birth'. Fourthly, it is a language closely allied to the Vedic dialect, because the majority of the etymologies are founded upon words of that dialect.

We may as well realize at once that this geographical discontinuity of the language is an obstacle of the most serious kind, and to my mind at least, makes the theory in that form antecedently improbable. The home of the Vedic dialect is in longitude 70°; the Zagros mountains are in longitude 45°.

It is unfortunate that the Kossaean materials do not contain numerals, personal pronouns, or nouns of relationship, the best lexical criteria; nor can we apply the more delicate tests of morphology, because the glossary is amorphous. With one exception that does not advance the cause: there are, according to Scheftelowitz, numerous nouns of the second declension. Parts of them, from Scheftelowitz's point of view, are given in the nom-

[1] See Hüsing, Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, X, 18, 212 ff.

tive: *šuriaš* 'god of the Sun', *bugaš* 'god Bhaga', *buriaš* 'lord', and 'god Rāmān', *viriaš* 'earth', and *ṭakaš* 'star'. Another lot end in *a*, *i*, and *u*: *šukamuna* 'Nergal, god of the mid-day Sun', *burna* 'servant', *kamula* 'god of the waters', *kukla* 'servant'; *mali* and *meli* 'man, servant', *saripu* 'foot' and *ilulu* 'heaven'. Those in *aš* are noticeably mythic and cosmic: the Babylonian author explains the element *aš* as being identical with Kossaean *iašu* 'land'. Since the same authority 'could scarcely have been a Pāṇini', whence did he obtain the apparently abstract stem form in *a*, which the Greek and Roman grammarians dodged all their lives? Again those ending in *i* and *u* are supposed to be given by the Babylonian author with Assyrian endings, an assumption which loosens the backbone of this bit of tradition in a pretty serious fashion. In general we may say, adopting the second half of Voltaire's well-known gibe, that the vowels count for nothing at all in these etymologies; that too, notwithstanding Scheftelowitz's grave attempt to make out a system of vocalism for the Kossaean.

Scheftelowitz divides his matter into two main divisions: words which coincide phonetically and semantically with Indo-European words, and such as approach them closely. Surely there is a good deal of external resemblance, but if I remind my readers of Dr. McCurdy's effort to prove the identity of Indo-European and Shemitic (Aryo-Semitic speech, Andover, 1881), and many similar efforts before and after, they will readily assign the correct value to comparisons based upon lexical assonance. Under the first—and best—class figures *kamula* 'god of the waters' = Skt. *kamala* 'water'. What Sanskritist really knows the very late poetic color-word *kamala* in the sense of water? It occurs a single time in the Kirātārjunīya V 25, a semantic nonce-act of an ecstatic poet. Or *buriaš* 'lord' is said to be Skt. *bharus* 'lord', a very late gloss-word which occurs as one of the numberless epithets of Çiva and Viṣṇu. There is also a word *burna* 'servant' which is identified with Lith. *bêrnas* 'servant'. Scheftelowitz places much emphasis upon this pair as containing the same root *bher* 'support' with really differentiating I. E. suffixes ('supporter' and 'supported'). But we note that the *u* in the radical syllable *bur* of both words, is altogether accidental and unfit from the I. E. point of view; that *buriaš* = *bharus* is not entitled to an *i*, whereas *šuriaš* = *sūryas* is; and that Lith. *bêrnas* from the evidence of *bernẽlis* 'boy' and Goth. *barn* (Engl. *bairn*) means

'child, boy' in the sense of τέκνον 'born'. The semantic transition of words for 'boy' to words for 'servant' is familiar to every one, but the pair *buriaš-burna* is in this way no longer agent noun and passive participle: 'supporter', and 'supported'. I can scarcely agree to the view that *kukla* another word for 'servant' = Vedic *kiṁkara*, that *ulav* 'male child' = Aryan *arva* 'swift, heroic', or that *viriaš* 'earth' with a new assortment of vowels = *varas* 'expanse'. Stunning is the identification, 'without further ado', of Kossaean *emi* 'to go, to go out' with Vedic *émi*, Greek εἶμι, Lith. *eimì* 'I go'. If that is correct we might, with equal propriety, derive English *emetic* from Vedic *émi*, Greek εἶμι, and Lith. *eimì* 'I go'.

Under the head of the less certain comparisons the identification of *nivgirab* (Delitzsch reads *nimgirab*) 'to spare' with Skt. *ni-vi-grabh* 'to receive cordially', or *šakašalti* 'release' from Skt. *saṁ-kṣar* 'to flow together', reminds us of periods in the universal study of language now long past. As a specimen of phonetic law, the author assumes for three cases a change of *r* to *n:* one of them is *nazi* 'shade' = Vedic *rájas* 'darkness', Gr. ἔρεβος, Goth. *riqis* 'twilight'; the other is *ianzi* or *ānzi* for *nāz* = Vedic *rāj*, Lat. *rex;* and the third is *našbu* 'lion' = Vedic *ṛṣabhá* 'bull'. The interest of this phonetic law lies in its infinitesimal verisimilitude.

The Kossaean proper names end most of them in *-aš*, and therefore resemble I. E. nouns of the second declension: Karaindaš, Karachardaš, Karaburiaš, Burnaburiaš, Ulavburiaš, Burašuriaš, Nazivaraddaš or Nazimaraddaš, and Nazibugaš. Quite a good deal depends upon this point: the sanest conclusion seems to be, however, that *-aš* is in some cases the word for land, and that names with *-aš* have become typical for the Kossaean dynasty. Karaindaš is described as prince of the land of Karduniaš (*ka-ra-in-da-aš šar māt kar-du-ni-aš*);[1] the mere statement c this title renders it exceedingly unlikely that Karaindaš is f *kara-nidhas* and means 'treasure of the army', *kara* be 'helper', or 'army' (cf. Goth. *harjis* 'army'), and *nidha* = Ve *nidhi* 'treasure'. For, we may ask, where does the geni Karduniaš, the name of the country, obtain its syllable or is there no etymological connection whatever bet the endings of nom. Karaindaš and gen. Karduniaš? Bura

[1] Delitzsch, p. 7.

cannot mean 'having the sun as his lord': the members of the compound would have to be reversed in order to justify this rendering. And the explanation of a number of these names as Kossaean words with Babylonian construction, e. g. Nazi Varaddaš[1] as = Vedic *rajas vṛddhas* 'shade, i. e. protection, is Varaddaš, i. e., the god Adar', climbs the dizziest heights of fancy.

I am inclined to judge that Kossaean is not Indo-European but Elamitic that has come under the influence of an old Persian dialect. The appearance of *bugaš* as the name of a god = Avestan *bagha*, Vedic *bhaga*, at any time and anywhere in Western Asia, is no more surprising than the spread of the Mithra-worship. The word *šuriaš* 'sun god' the 'swell' example among all these words, if its *aš* is not 'land,' and its *šur* sheer accident, may also come from some Old Iranian dialect, whose character will be discussed more conveniently below. And so perhaps one or the other proper names, like *šuvalia*, *šuzigaš*, etc. The element *burna*, especially, suggests the Iranian stem *farnañh*, very common in proper names reported by the Greeks: Φαρνάβαζος, Φαρνάσπα, Ἀριφάρνης, Τισσαφέρνης, Ἀρταφέρνης, etc. Cf. Streck, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XV 356, note 1.

Scheftelowitz's presentation is a skilful, yet garish piece of special pleading from the point of view of both phonetics and semantics. As a matter of fact the small list of Kossaean words, reported by a stranger to the language in an amorphous condition, leaves the Kossaean problem much where it was nearly 20 years ago, with a slightly increased chance of its being Elamitic, because Scheftelowitz's heroic effort to vindicate for it Indo-European character seems to me to have failed; because it is not Shemitic; and because from Elam came the Kossaeans. Still, as far as the existing materials go, it may be any other kind of language.

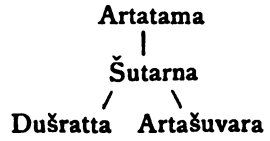
Another claimant to Indo-European membership has arisen in the North-West of Mesopotamia, in the people of the Mitani, situated on both sides of the upper Euphrates, the region called Aram-Naharaim in the Old Testament.[2] The discovery at Tel-el-Amarna, in Upper Egypt, of tablets containing letters

[1] Cf. Haupt, The language of Nimrod the Kashite, Andover Review, July, 1884, pp. 88 ff.

[2] See Winckler, Die Völker Vorderasiens, in the Series, Der Alte Orient, Erster Jahrgang, 1900, pp. 21 ff.

from kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitani, Phoencia, and Canaan to Egyptian Pharaos has thrown new light on the history of Western Asia and Cuneiform science; the emergence into history of the Mitani and their language seems to be the most important part of the discovery. The letters from Mitani are all of them written by a king Dušratta to Egyptian Pharaos; they are with one exception written in Assyrian. This one letter reveals the native language of Mitani, and, once more, Scheftelowitz has set up the claim that it is Indo-European.

In the Assyrian letters there are four proper names, Artatama, Artašuvara, Šutarna, and Dušratta, whose I. E. character is self-evident. In the Tel-el-Amarna letters dating from Canaan there are quite a number of others, notably Artamanya, Yašdata, Rucmanya, Šuwardata, Šutatna, and Šatiya, which, along with the name Aryok = Skt. *āryaka*, Genesis 14. 1, certainly appear to be Indo-European. It is important to note, however, that the Mitani letters contain names of a decidedly non-Aryan physiognomy. From Winckler's edition of the Tel-el-Amarna letters, and in his own transcription, I gather the following: King Dušratta has a sister Giluhipa, and a daughter Taduhipa; he sends to Egyptian Pharaos envoys, presumably Mitanians, named Gilia, Tunipipri, Hamašši, Perizzi, Bubri, and Mazipalali. Scheftelowitz fails to point this out, yet it contains the key to the situation. The four clearly Aryan names in the Mitani letters are strictly dynastic male names: Dušratta, his brother Artašuvara, his father Šutarna, and his grandfather, Artatama:



Nothing clearer can be imagined: on the one hand an Aryan dynasty with Aryan names rules in Mitani; on the other hand there is no indication of Aryan nomenclature outside of this dynasty. I may mention that the divinities of the Assyrian Mitani letters are certainly not Aryan: gods, Šamaš, Tišub, and Ammon; goddesses, Ištar, and Belit. The conditions of the non-Assyrian Mitani letters are much the same, except that there is one Iranoid name of a messenger, Artešuppa, who may have belonged to the dynasty. Otherwise there are mentioned

Dušratta, his father Šutarna, and his grandfather Artatama. Dušratta's daughter occurs again as Tatuhepa; his messengers, in addition to Artešuppa, are Giliaš, and Ašali; the divinities are Tešup, Ammon, Šauškaš, Šimigine, and Eašarrina.

Turning to the Mitani language as contained in the non-Assyrian letter of Dušratta, there are a few words which in their naked lexical state might be Indo-European well enough, as might indeed some of the dictionary words of any language at all. Scheftelowitz counts 13 all told, two of which, to begin with, should have been left out: *atta* 'father' and *avati* 'grandfather' belong to the 'laletic' nursery products of all peoples. For *avati* the text has, moreover *ammati*, if we are to trust Messerschmidt's and Sayce's renderings.[1] That these words are not bedded in I. E. roses can be seen from the way in which they appear in column iii, lines 58 and 59, of the Mitani-letter:

Messerschmidt:

58. *am-ma-ti-ip-pi-uš* *at-ta-ip-pi-uš* *at-ta-ip-pa* *pi-e-pi* *ma-ka-a-an-na*
My-grandfather (and) my father to thy father (and) thee presents

59. *gi-pa-a-nu-lu-u-uš-ta-a-aš-še-na.*
have sent.

Sayce:

58. *ammati-ppi-us* *atta-ippi-u-s* *atta-i-pa* *pĕpi* *makanna*
My grandfather (and) my father to thy father on the day presents

59. *gipānu-lū-stā-ssena.*
gave.

This passage contains two other words which Scheftelowitz regards as I. E.: *makana* 'gift' which he compares with Vedic *magha* 'gift' and *gipan* 'give' (Messerschmidt, 'send'). But what is the value of such assonances when we look at column ii, l. 54 where Messerschmidt reads and translates *ma-ka-a-an-ni-ip-pi-u-un-na gi-pa-a-ni-e-ta* 'will send as my present'. According to Messerschmidt the derivatives of *gipan* are as follows:

gi-pa-a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-še, 'he has sent'.
gi-pa-a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-še-na, 'they have sent'.
gi-pa-a-ni-e-ta, 'he will send'.
gi-pa-a-ni-e-ta-am-ma-ma-an, 'he will send'.

[1] Messerschmidt, Mitanni-Studien, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1899, pp. 175 ff.; Sayce, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1900, Vol. XXII, p. 171 ff.

gi-pa-a-nu-ša-a-uš-še-na, 'I have sent'.

gi-pa-a-nu-lu-u-uš-ta-a-aš-še-na, 'they have sent'.

gi-pa-a-nu-ul-ul-li-e-pi-a-at-ta-a-an, of uncertain meaning.

All this is not I. E., but agglutinative; moreover Scheftelowitz is obviously beguiled by the external similarity between Goth. *giban* and *gipan* without realizing that the syllable *-an* in the Gothic word belongs only to the infinitive, whereas in Mitani the syllable *-an* is rigid, and seems to belong to the lexical part of the word: the illusion is like that of comparing Kossaean *emi* 'to go' with Greek ἔλμι etc.; see above, p. 6. Of other comparisons that of *pir* = *bhar* 'carry' is doubtful even as regards the sense of *pir*; Messerschmidt, pp. 206 and 303, translates and argues in favor of 'know'; Sayce, Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch. 1900, p. 200, says the last word in favor of 'receive'.

The root *kat* 'communicate' is not Skt. *kath* 'narrate' because the latter is a late denominal from the pronominal adverb *kathā* 'how' (lit. 'to tell how'): Whitney very properly omits it from his list of Sanskrit roots. But instead of looking for weak points in these lexical equations we may simply refer to Messerschmidt's grammatical sketch (p. 270 ff.) and his word list (p. 296 ff.). A language that says *šuš* for 'I', *peš* for 'thou', *šala* for 'daughter', *tatukar* for 'love', *tiša* for 'heart', *te-u-u-na-e* for 'much' is not likely to be Indo-European. The same language has a nominative in *l*: Gilia-l-an; expresses the pronominal adjective 'mine' by adding *ippiuš*: *e. g. atta-ippiuš* 'my father', and the like.

The presence of Iranian names in Mitani and other Western Asia records seems to point to very early Persian satrapies, or to Persian dynasties which had obtained lodgement in Western Asia by conquest, dynastic inheritance, or diplomacy. We are reminded of the Manchu rulers of China, the Varangian Norsemen as founders of the present Russian dynasty, or the four Georges in England. For I. E. history these names are of curious interest. If the Mitani dynasty dates back to 1600 B. C. we have in these names the earliest direct record of I. E. chronology, apparently in a form which is at once Iranian and Pre-Iranian, i. e. they reflect a language which is Post-Aryan, or later than the common Indo-Iranian period, but which seems to precede the individual development of the Iranian dialects. The Post-Aryan character of the language seems to be guaranteed by the word Arta—which appears in many East Persian proper names and in Avestan *aša*. The sound *ar* represents here the vowel *ṛ* of Vedic *ṛta*, and

points to common Iranian. On the other hand they seem to precede the Iranian dialects, because initial *s* before vowels is not changed to *h* as is the case in all Iranian dialects of historical times. With all the desperate slipperiness of the ground it does seem likely that initial *s* in the names Šutarna, Šatiya, Šutatna, Šuvardata, etc., represents I. E. and Aryan *s*. The point becomes more significant if we remember that later Cuneiform records seem to render West Persian names beginning with *h* = Aryan *s* with total omission of the *h*. Esarhaddon (B. C. 680–668) mentions his victories over two chiefs named Šitirparna and Eparna. The first of these is either *cithrafarna* = Τι(σ)σαφέρνης, or *khšathrafarna;* the second seems = Old Persian *hu-farna* = Avestan *hu-hvarenañh* 'having brilliant lustre', 'illustrious'. Similarly Avarparna = *hvare-farna* 'bright as the sun' omits initial Old Persian *h* = Aryan *s*.

It is possible, however, that the Mitani and other Western Asiatic Iranoid proper names come from a dialect closely allied to Iranian, but yet not exactly Iranian, i. e. a dialect which did not change *s* to *h*. From such a dialect may come also Kossaean *šuriaš* and a few other words Kossaean proper loan-words; see above, p. 7. The Median language of which Herodotus reports σπάκα 'dog' was surely I. E. and certainly, by the very terms of σπάκα, closely allied to Iranian. On a broken prism belonging to the Annals of Sargon II, there is a list of Median countries and their princes among which figures the province Musana whose prince is Sutirna. In the Tel-el-Amarna letters 232 and 233 (Winckler's edition) the same prince is called Šutarna of Mušihuna: he sends a request in abject language to some Pharao for an Egyptian garrison to protect his country. This name Šutarna, or Sutirna, is certainly identical with Šutarna of the Mitani dynasty, above, and therefore would seem to show *su* = Iranian *hu* at a period much later than the Mitani letter.[1] Possibly, therefore, the Mitani and Western names are Median, and, finishing the circle, Median is an Iranian dialect which does not change initial Aryan *s* to *h*. It would seem therefore well to leave the decision as to whether the Iranoid names of the Tel-el-Amarna letters are ordinary Iranian, or derived from a language closely allied to Iranian (Median?) to the future. But

[1] Note Rost's doubtful comparison of Sutirna with Utirna, a Median province; see Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XV 353 and 356.

this doubtful element does not impair the least bit the clear result of my inquiry: there is no record of a new and independent I. E. language in the non-Assyrian Mitani letter, and in the Iranoid names of Western Asia recorded in the Tel-el-Amarna letters.

The third of the would-be I. E. languages is also found among the Tel-el-Amarna letters: it was spoken in Arzawa, or Arzapi, the latter being another possible reading. The location of this country is unknown. Northern Syria, Cyprus (Alašia in the Tel-el-Amarna letters) have been suggested, but the author of the most comprehensive treatise on the Arzawa, the Christiania Assyriologist, Knudtzon[1] places the land of Arzawa in eastern Cilicia or southern Kappadocia. There are two of these letters; in the longer one of them the Pharao Amenhotep III, who, according to present reckoning, dates from the 14th century B. C., carries on a correspondence with the Arzawa king Tarhundaraba. Knudtzon points out the noteworthy fact that the beginning of the name Tarhundaraba corresponds with numerous Cilician names of men and places which begin with Ταρκυ-, Ταρκο-, or Τροκο-, names like Ταρκόνδημος, Ταρκύμβιος, Τροκοζάρμας, etc., and bases upon that his geographic conclusion. Yet he does not fail to point out that the same type of name appears very widely elsewhere in Asia Minor and even outside of Asia Minor.

The Mitani dynasty with Iranoid names shows that conclusions of this sort when based upon dynastic names are not altogether safe: anyhow Knudtzon makes it the basis of his assumption that the Arzawa is akin to the dialect of the so-called Hatti, Hatians or Hettites; that both of these are I. E.; and that the other languages of Asia Minor that have names with *Tarku-* are Indo-European. I need scarcely remind the reader that the protagonist of Hettite study, Jensen, is the main source of the belief that Hettite is an I. E., quasi Pre-Armenian language, and that critics so careful as Winckler and Messerschmidt do not agree with him. Jensen's most recent summary of Hettite results, 'Hittitisch und Armenisch', IF. XIV, Anzeiger, p. 47, does not seem to me as convincing as to its author;[2] at any rate the attempt to

[1] J. A. Knudtzon, Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe, Leipzig, 1902. Cf. Horn, Anzeiger für Indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde, Vol. XV, p. 1; Kretschmer, Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, March 28, 1903, column 778 ff.

[2] See Winckler, Der Alte Orient, Erster Jahrgang, 1900, p. 20.

elucidate Arzawa by assuming connection with other languages of Asia Minor is at present an effort to clear up *obscurum per obscurius.*

Dr. Knudtzon has called in the aid of his two colleagues, Professors Bugge and Torp, both distinguished scholars, both deeply interested in the remoter and more problematic I. E. languages. After Knudtzon's concrete treatment of the letters come Bugge and Torp with 'Remarks on the Arzawa letters'. The nature of the claim that Arzawa is I. E. may be illumined best by Torp's statement (p. 108): 'The language shows its I. E. character in its forms. But, as it seems, only in its forms. We should expect the lexical materials to be equally I. E., but are disappointed this expectation. Both nouns and verbs are opaque and cannot be compared with I. E. words corresponding in meaning'. Torp explains this on the assumption of an uncommon influx of loan-words. Standard tests for Indo-European, such as the numerals, pronouns, the familiar verbs are excluded by the very terms of Torp's statement. And yet Knudtzon publishes his book under the sensational sub-title: 'The oldest documents in I. E. speech'. The situation would be a curious one: the oldest I. E. would happen to be farther removed from the reconstructed parent speech than the most modern dialect of Germany or India.

The larger letter begins with a kind of an address in Assyrian: 'Thus speaks Nimutria, the great king, king of Egypt, to Tarhundaraba, king of Arzawa'. This is followed by two correlated passages, in the first of which sundry Assyrian words for houses, women, children, warriors, countries etc., mixed into the Arzawa text, are furnished with the ending *mi*; in the second the same words are furnished with the ending *ti*. After the analogy of the abundant Assyrian Tel-el-Amarna letters it is evident that the sender states in one of the parallel passages that it is well with him, his houses, women, etc., in the other he expresses the wish that it may go well with the recipient of the letter, his women, etc. The second of the parallel passages, in which the affix *ti* appears contains the additional word *e-eš-tu* (*ěštu*); this Knudtzon identifies with Gr. ἔστω (I. E. *estōd*) 'may it be'; he concludes furthermore that *ti* in the same passage means 'thine', and that, consequently, *mi* in the first passage means 'mine'. A form Labbaian is probably a caseform of a nominative Labbaia (where *s* is lost): Knudtzon assumes *an* to be an accusative corresponding to I. E. forms in *m*. In addition he seems to

have found a genitive in *-aš*, and some forms which he regards as verbs ending in *-t*, in *-un*, and in *-ndu*.

The repetition of *mi* and *ti* after each word, so that the series 'thy houses, thy women, thy children, thy warriors, thy horses, thy wagons, thy lands' is rendered by *bitzunti dammešti turmešti . . . zabmešti kurrazunti bi-ib-bi-it-ti kurzunti*, to begin with, seems to me not Indo-European, but either Shemitic or Agglutinative. The stems themselves are confessedly not I. E. but Shemitic: if *mi* and *ti* really express 'mine' and 'thine'—the reverse, notwithstanding *e-eš-tu*, is not altogether impossible—we seem to have one of those mischievous accidents which we may call the standard snag of universal linguistic comparisons. The comparison of *e-eš-tu* with I. E. *estōd* is not as compelling as Knudtzon assumes, because of the initial vocalism.[1] So long as the statement 'To thee I have caused to bring a pitcher of gold as a present for thee' reproduces Arzawian *ka-a-aš-ma-ta up-pa-ah-hu-un 1 su-ha-la-li-ia azag-gi-aš dmq-an-ta*, or, so long as *zi-in-nu-uk hu-u-ma-an-da* is supposed to mean 'send thou abundantly' we shall hardly feel justified in counting the Arzawian among the treasured minor I. E. languages.

The Tel-el-Amarna letters have increased the scope and importance of Cuneiform science. Since Grotefend's decipherment of the syllabic Indo-European Achemenidan, or Old Persian, no less than eight languages in wedge character have been discovered, and are in a more or less advanced state of decipherment:

1. Achemenidan, or Old Persian.
2. Elamite (Amardian, Neo-Susian), the second variety of Persian Cuneiform.
3. Assyro-Babylonian.
4. Sumerian or Sumero-Accadian.
5. Kassian or Kossaean.
6. Vannic, or Armenian Cuneiform of Van, of problematic character.[2]
7. Mitani.
8. Arzawian.

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[1] Cf. Kretschmer, Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, March 28, 1903, column 780.

[2] See Winckler, Der Alte Orient, Erster Jahrgang, p. 28; Sayce, A Primer of Assyriology, p. 36.

II.—THE HISTORICAL ATTITUDE OF LIVY.

Very little can be gleaned from later writers in regard to the personality of Livy, and critics are compelled to gather from his work the statements which portray his historical attitude. But few illustrations are needed of the principal elements of his character. Deeply religious (3, 20, 5; 6, 41, 8; 43, 13, 1), but not unmindful that religion might degenerate into superstition (27, 23, 2); a firm believer in the good old days of republican rule and righteousness (26, 22, 14; 39, 6, 6), and a skeptic on some points in early Roman history (1, 16, 4; 2, 10, 11; 2, 14, 3), he undertook to construct, out of official records, earlier annals, and traditional reports, not a mere annalistic account, but a history in accordance with the principles of literary art. Yet it was historical accuracy rather than literary adornment that he had in view. As he says 9, 17, 1 nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis videri potest, quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinarem varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus velut deverticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem.

At the beginning of his work he did not comprehend the full extent of the field which he had undertaken to explore. This he frankly admits 31, 1, 5 iam provideo animo, velut qui proximis litori vadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quidquid progredior, in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum invehi, et crescere paene opus, quod prima quaeque perficiendo minui videbatur. Still this failure to predetermine the extent of the field does not affect the value of the work any more than the value of McMaster's History of the People of the United States is affected by the fact that it is more extended than was at first designed. Mistaken at the outset in regard to the labor involved, the value of Livy's work is but little affected because there was no careful preview of the material he utilized.

There are but few statements which indicate an examination of original records. It is stated 6, 1, 2 that most of the early records perished at the capture of the city by the Gauls: etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere. Prior to this

date, as Livy frankly states, events are res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno intervallo loci vix cernuntur, and also in 4, 23, 2 sed inter cetera vetustate incomperta hoc quoque in incerto positum. For this period we can expect no more accuracy of statement than is to be found in traditional reports handed down through the centuries, and with inevitable modifications from changing conditions, social and political, and especially by the influence of great families whose progenitors were, or were supposed to be, the makers of early history. For this period the annalists could be of no service to Livy, for they stood, so far as the power of verification went, as far as did Livy himself from the events recorded, and though they might, under the guise of history, record fables and traditions, they could not furnish historical verities. Livy felt this (8, 40, 5) and for later times emphasizes the work of the annalists who stood nearest the events described (22, 7, 4; 21, 38, 2; 29, 14, 9).

After the Restoration following the burning of Rome, there grew up a variety of official records, but some of these perished in the civil convulsions, so that at some points Livy was dependent on the annalists for statements of facts which he could neither prove nor disprove. Though dependent upon these, he was well aware of the uncertainties as well as of the actual falsity of parts of this annalistic material. Some things were obscure because of their remoteness. Not only this, but Livy had learned that poetical fables had been woven into Roman history (Praef. 6); that the founders of cities misstated the source of the early population (1, 8, 5); that invention was possible in historical matters (8, 6, 3); that the truth had been perverted by great families (8, 40, 4); that statues and monuments did not fully decide historical facts, and that pseudo-orations might pass for the genuine (38, 56, 5). He had also noticed that the annalists were frequently at variance. When the annalistic current runs smoothly he is silent in regard to the source of his information; but there are frequent eddies, and it is here that he gives us variant opinions. A few quotations will sufficiently illustrate the entire number.

In the account of the capture of Carthago Nova 26, 49, after giving different accounts of the number of hostages, he adds sec. 2, aeque et alia inter auctores discrepant. praesidium Punicum alius decem, alius septem, alius haud plus quam duum milium fuisse scribit. Reference is here made to at least three writers,

while in the account of the number of troops taken by Scipio into Africa 29, 25, 2 reference is made to five or more: alibi decem milia peditum . . . alibi sedecim milia . . . alibi . . . quinque et triginta milia . . . *invenio.* quidam non adiecere numerum, inter quos me ipse in re dubia poni malim. Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad immensum multitudinis speciem auget. Unharmonized accounts are also given for the details of the death and burial of Gracchus 25, 17; as well as in the case of Marcellus 27, 27, 12 multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim, si, quae de Marcelli morte variant auctores, omnia exequi velim. ut omittam alios, Coelius triplicem gestae rei rationem edit: unam traditam fama, alteram scriptam in laudatione fili, qui rei gestae interfuerit, tertiam, quam ipse pro inquisita ac sibi conperta adfert. There is a similar confusion in regard to Scipio 38, 56, 1 multa alia in Scipionis exitu maxime vitae dieque dicta, morte, funere, sepulchro, in diversum trahunt, ut, cui famae, quibus scriptis adsentiar, non habeam; and 38, 57, 8 haec de tanto viro quam et opinionibus et monumentis litterarum variarent, proponenda erant.

The conclusion to be drawn from these and similar passages is that Livy had before him irreconcilable statements from different annalists, and that he himself was unable to furnish the correct data. His references indicate merely his own uncertainty, and give no indication of the extent of his indebtedness to the individuals in the construction of his work. His dealings with two writers will illustrate this. He mentions 34, 44, 7 a plot to burn Rome. Had 29, 22, 10 by some chance been lost, who could guess that Livy derived his information from Clodius Licinus? His treatment of Polybius is still more noticeable. The first mention of him is in 30, 45, 5, and there, as well as in later passages, 33, 10, 10; 34, 50, 6; 36, 19, 11; and 45, 44, 19 he is cited merely for isolated facts. More than this, in 39, 52, 1 Livy declines to accept the statements of Polybius and Rutilius in regard to the date of Scipio's death. Had the works of Polybius been lost, no critical acumen could, from the references to him as an authority for disconnected facts, accurately determine Livy's dependence either indirectly or directly on the Greek. The words of Polybius are necessary as a basis for comparison, and, in the case of the Latin annalists, the loss of the originals precludes the possibility of calculating the extent to which Livy is under obligations to his individual predecessors,

and dogmatic determinations of the question tend to arouse a spirit of historical agnosticism.

When the annalists disagree, Livy is usually content to leave the question undecided, and it would have been futile for him to attempt to restore lost facts. However, he sometimes gives a reason for the confusion (10, 9, 13); or by argument tries to obtain a rational solution (1, 18, 3; 2, 14, 2; 3, 55, 12; 4, 20, 5; 5, 33, 4; 21, 15, 3; 34, 50, 6). There is also an occasional reflection on the course of events: the work of Brutus 2, 1; the workings of factions 4, 9, 3; fortune attending valor 4, 37, 7; falling into danger while seeking to escape 8, 24, 4; the nature of the mob 24, 25, 8; 28, 27, 11; 31, 34, 3; reliance on home resources 25, 33, 6; equality in a free state 27, 31, 4; great things from small 27, 9, 1; proneness to envy 35, 43, 1. He frequently gives his inferences, as is indicated by his use of *credo*, and here and there says that certain things which had stood as vouchers for historical deeds had passed away. Of these may be mentioned the horns of the wonderful Sabine cow (1, 45, 4) fixa per multas aetates cornua . . . monumentum ei fuere miraculo; the statue of Attius (1, 36, 5) statua Atti capite velato . . . in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit, cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant; of Cloelia (2, 13, 11) in summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo; and of M. Anicius (23, 19, 18) statua eius indicio fuit Praeneste in foro statuta; the tablet put up by T. Quinctius 6, 29, 9 his ferme incisa litteris fuit; and the shield in honor of L. Marcius (25, 39, 17) monumentum . . . usque ad incensum Capitolium fuisse in templo clipeum Marcium appellatum cum imagine Hasdrubalis; 6, 4, 3.

That Livy was not a mere transcriber is still further shown by the number of references which he makes to himself and his work; and these are, in most instances, evoked by his knowledge of the untrustworthiness of the works which he had examined. Their differences in statement gave to him an opportunity for a frank avowal of his own inability to establish the truth. At times he says it is not his intention or that it is not worth while to discuss a subject: Praef. 6 nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est; 5, 21, 9; 1, 24, 6 non operae est referre; 26, 34, 2; 33, 20, 13; 35, 40, 1; 41, 25, 8. The opposite view is taken 29, 29, 5 operae pretium videtur excedere paulum ad enarrandum. The apparent uselessness of effort is expressed with equal candor: 7, 6, 6 cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem; 8, 18, 2 in eo

parvi refert, quid veri sit ; 26, 49, 6 si aliquis adsentiri necesse est, media simillima veris sunt ; 29, 14, 9 sicut traditum a proximis . . . scriptoribus libens posteris traderem, ita meas opiniones coniectando rem vetustate obrutam non interponam ; 6, 12, 3 quod cum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissumque sit, cuius tandem ego rei praeter opinionem, quae sua cuique coniectanti esse potest, auctor sim ? 38, 56, 1. While such statements are fairly common, in most instances Livy gives an indication of his own position.

The Archiv Vol. X. pp. 80-81 gives the occurrences of two classes of verbs referring to Livy himself. The number for the different decades is 106–21–7–2, counting among them 1, 24, 1 hos ut sequar, inclinat animus ; 10, 5, 13 habeo auctores (also in a speech 8, 4, 10) ; 30, 29, 6 neutrum cur adfirmem habeo ; 43, 13, 2 quae in meos annales referam; and 44, 14, 13 ne nunc quidem haec sine indignatione legi audirive posse certum habeo. The large number of occurrences in the first decade indicates that Livy did not have much confidence in his sources, while for the later periods he felt that they were in the main correct, though he sometimes expresses doubt in regard to some statements.

There is also a considerable number of other passages in which Livy refers to himself either directly by a verb in the first person, or by an impersonal verb. The occurrences of the indicative, including those given in the Archiv X. p. 82, are as follows: 3, 4, 1 id admoneo, ne quis . . . putet ; 39, 52, 1 adsentior ; 43, 13, 2 nescio. 2, 2, 2 ; 23, 16, 16 ; 26, 42, 4 ; and 28, 12, 2 nescio an; 27, 7, 5 haud nescius ; 43, 13, 1 non sum nescius ; 3, 60, 2 haud scio an; 9, 19, 12 recordor. The plural is also used in a few passages : 10, 31, 10 agimus ; 9, 18 1 loquimur. Sometimes the plural is used by Livy speaking as a Roman citizen : 3, 65, 11 iniungimus ; 7, 25, 9 adeo in quae laboramus sola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque ; 9, 18, 5 ducimus ; 9, 19, 17 vivimus ; and in the perfect 9, 19, 15 laboravimus.

Impersonal statements are used with some freedom: 4, 29, 6 nec libet credere—et licet in variis opinionibus—; 5, 34, 6 nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet ; also 8, 30, 8 ; and 39, 41, 6; 9, 17, 2 ut quaerere libeat ; 1, 28, 11 ; 9, 18, 12 licet ; 9, 18, 4 referre . . . piget ; 10, 18, 7 piget tamen id certum ponere ; 26, 49, 1 piget scribere ; 9, 19, 1 restat ut . . . conparentur ; 3, 47, 5 nudum videtur proponendum ; 6, 20, 5 illud notandum videtur ; 8, 11, 11 illud adiciendum videtur ; 29, 29, 5. An adjective is used with

est 4, 16, 4 vix credibile est; 3, 5, 12 difficile ad fidem est, in tam antiqua re . . . exacto adfirmare numero; 8, 40, 3 nec facile est rem rei aut auctorem auctori praeferre; 1, 30, 7; 2, 1, 11; 31, 38, 7 mirum est; cf. 1, 43, 12 nec mirari oportet. There is an occasional instance of the future 22, 54, 8 succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare quae edissertando minora vero faciam; 45, 25, 3 haud inseram simulacrum viri copiosi 29, 14, 9; 2, 1, 1 peragam; 38, 12, 1 bellum gessit, quod nunc ordiri pergam. Passive forms occur 6, 1, 3 exponentur; 7, 29, 1 dicentur.

The perfect is used both in the singular and in the plural: 27, 7, 5 contuli; 8, 26, 6 haud ignarus . . . dedi; 36, 6, 1 dixi; 4, 37, 3; 22, 28, 8; 31, 35, 1; and 44, 3, 1 diximus (8, 24, 18 dixisse satis est); 8, 11, 1 duxi; 4, 20, 5; 6, 1, 1; and 10, 26, 5 exposui; 45, 43, 8 auctorem pro re posui; 32, 6, 8 legi; 9, 17, 15 nominavi; 5, 18, 6 and 36, 19, 11 scripsimus; 23, 48, 4 perscripsimus; 33, 10, 10 Polybium auctorem secuti sumus; 39, 48, 6 statui; 9, 44, 3 tradidimus; 23, 6, 8 veritus sum; 38, 56, 3 vidimus; 9, 17, 2 volutavi animum. The pluperfect is used 35, 15, 2 quem missum paulo ante dixeram in Syriam; 35, 40, 2 deverteram. While *dixi* and *dixeram* occur but once each, and *diximus* once in each of the decades, *ante dictum est* (see Fügner Liv. Lex. p. 1188) occurs for the different decades 7–17–12–3, and without *ante* 4, 61, 11 cuius excidium dictum est; and with *supra* 45, 4, 2; and 45, 26, 15.

The subjunctive is likewise used to indicate the attitude of Livy toward his sources or some phase of the subject which he was discussing.

A part are verbs of wishing: 8, 18, 2 illud pervelim . . . proditum falso esse; 21, 46, 10 malim de filio verum esse; 22, 7, 4 praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim; 29, 25, 2 malim; 38, 55, 8. 9, 17, 7 recenseam; 9, 18, 12 nominem; 9, 15, 10 haud sciam an; 6, 12, 3 auctor sim. Conditional statements occur 5, 21, 9; 26, 22, 14; 26, 49, 3 scripserim si auctorem Graecum sequar Silenum; 27, 27, 12; 39, 48, 6 si expromere velim, immemor sim propositi. A *cum* clause is used 33, 20, 13 non operae est persequi . . . cum ad ea . . . vix sufficiam; and result clauses 38, 56, 1; and 22, 36, 1 adeo variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Parenthetic statements in the subjunctive are found 9, 18, 2 ut ita dicam; 9, 17, 6; 27, 27, 13; and 37, 45, 12 ut omittam; 9, 17, 5 ut ordiar; 9, 17, 14 ne nominem.

The imperfect occurs 9, 17, 1; 9, 30, 5 rem dictu parvam praeterirem, ni ad religionem visa esset pertinere; 29, 14, 9. Livy also

speaks for others 1, 19, 3 using *videremus* in regard to the closing of the temple of Janus. In addition to *scripserim* 26, 49, 3, the perfect subjunctive is found 1, 46, 4 pluribus auctoribus filium ediderim; 8, 18, 3 ne cui auctorum fidem abrogaverim; 22, 23, 3 laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat; 22, 36, 1 ausus sim; 23, 16, 15 ausim. The pluperfect occurs 4, 20, 7 *audissem* referring to some information received from Augustus; and 27, 8, 5 libens reticuissem, ni ex mala fama in bonam vertisset.

At times Livy uses the personal pronoun referring to himself, as in 4, 20, 6 titulus ipse spoliis inscriptus illos meque arguit consulem ea Cossum cepisse; 21, 47, 6 potiores apud me auctores sunt; 35, 40, 1 abstulere me . . . Graeciae res inmixtae Romanis. The dative is used in the same way: 6, 12, 2 mihi percensenti; 27, 7, 6 mihi minus simile veri visum est; 41, 25, 8; 43, 13, 2 mihi vestustas res scribenti nescio quo pacto anticus fit animus. The pronoun is omitted 7, 6, 6 cura non deesset; and 41, 25, 8 sustinenti . . . scribere. Livy states his own opinions 29, 14, 9; and 37, 48, 7 quia neminem alium auctorem habeo, neque adfirmata res mea opinione sit nec pro vana praetermissa.

The details of many of the events recorded are given as if they were a part of the current tradition. *Ferunt* and *fertur*, *tradunt* and *traditur*, *dicunt* and *dicitur* are of frequent occurrence. It is probable that the account of some of the events thus apparently referred to tradition had come to Livy by literary transmission, but the use of these indefinite verbs gives a skeptical coloring to many a good old story. The occurrences for the different decades are as follows:

	Decade I.	III.	IV.	V.
dicitur	39	5	7	6
dicuntur	7	7	4	1
fertur	6	6	3	1
ferunt	33	11	4	3
traditur	21	2	2	4
tradunt	3	2	3	3
traduntur	4	1	2	1
memorare	3	...	...	...
prodere	8	4	3	...
credere	3	2	1	...
other verbs	6	...	1	...

	Decade I.	III.	IV.	V.
ambigitur	4	2	1	...
certum est	1	...	...	...
constat	22	6	4	...
convenit	4	3	2	1
discrepat (*haud* or *nec*)	2	1	1	...
Total	166	52	38	20

A few examples will be quoted as illustrations of the entire mass: 25, 24, 11 Marcellus ... inlacrimasse dicitur. *Dicuntur* is commonly used in giving numbers, as in 1, 44, 2 milia LXXX eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. *Fertur* and *ferunt* are used with the same freedom: 1, 48, 7 Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur; 1, 4, 5 Romularem vocatam ferunt; 1, 36, 4 eludens artem, ut ferunt, and also tum illud haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. *Fertur* is sometimes used to vouch for the genuineness of a speech as in 22, 38, 13; 22, 60, 5; and 28, 43, 1. Forms of *tradere* are used in indefinite references to literary sources: 5, 33, 2 eam gentem traditur ... Alpes transisse: 4, 12, 7 coepere a fame mala, seu adversus annus frugibus fuit, seu dulcedine contionum ... nam utrumque traditur. *Traduntur* like *dicuntur* is most commonly used in giving the losses in battle: 8, 30, 7 viginti milia hostium caesa eo die traduntur; 24, 17, 6; 34, 22, 2; 40, 40, 11; 42, 7, 9. *Prodere* is generally found in connection with *memoriae* as in 3, 39, 2; 3, 54, 12; 8, 6, 1; 9, 27, 14; 24, 43, 7; 25, 31, 9; 27, 26, 13; 27, 36, 8; 27, 40, 8; 28, 38, 7; 36, 37, 2; 38, 55, 2; 40, 29, 2. It is also used on the authority of others 38, 50, 3; and 40, 40, 6. Polybius 23, 14, 5 says φαρμάκῳ διέφθειραν, while Livy 39, 34, 10 softens the statement to veneno creditur sublatus. Some other verbs indicate matters of common report: 1, 7, 4 Herculem ... boves mira specie abegisse memorant; 1, 18, 2 auctorem doctrinae eius ... falso Samium Pythagoram edunt; cf. 40, 29, 8.

The general attitude of the sources is given in many passages, and their agreement or disagreement indicated, chiefly by *ambigitur*, *constat* and *convenit*: 2, 1, 3 neque ambigitur; 8, 40, 2 id ambigitur; 9, 15, 9 id magis mirabile est ambigi; 10, 5, 14 id unum non ambigitur; 21, 38, 6 eo magis miror ambigi; 33, 36, 15 id quoque inter scriptores ambigitur. Livy begins his narrative with *satis constat*, an expression which occurs a dozen times. *Constat* with some other modifier, or unmodified, is used a little

more freely, as in 1, 3, 3 certe natum Aenea constat; 4, 13, 7 nihil enim constat nisi in libros linteos . . . ; and 8, 12, 1 T. Manlius . . . cui venienti seniores tantum obviam exisse constat. *Convenit* is similarly used but less frequently: 2, 50, 11 (Fabios) trecentos sex perisse satis convenit; 44, 42, 7 facile convenit ab Romanis numquam una acie tantum Macedonum interfectum; 26, 49, 6 non de numero navium captarum, non de pondere auri . . . convenit; 30, 16, 12 pecuniae summam quantam imperaverit, parum convenit. Agreement of the sources is also indicated by *discrepat* with a negative in 8, 40, 1; 9, 46, 4; 22, 36, 5; and 38, 56, 5. Speaking of the movements of the Senones, Livy says 5, 35, 3 id parum certum est, cf. 27, 1, 13 quis pro certo adfirmet; and of L. Tarquinius, 1, 46, 4 Prisci Tarquinii regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet.

Different degrees of uncertainty are expressed by the use of adjectives. Probability is the result attained 34, 54, 8 adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est; veteribus, nisi quae usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt. Approximate correctness is all that is claimed for a number of statements: 2, 14, 3 proximum vero est ex iis quae traduntur; 2, 41, 11 id propius fidem est; 4, 17, 5; 4, 37, 1; 8, 37, 5; 9, 36, 4; 23, 12, 2; and 40, 50, 7 propius vero est. At other points verisimilitude only is the result of Livy's search: 7, 27, 9; and 21, 38, 4 magis veri simile est; 38, 55, 9 similius enim veri est; 6, 12, 4; 21, 38, 8; 21, 47, 5; 26, 22, 15; and 27, 7, 6 simile veri; 8, 26, 6; and 10, 26, 13 similius vero; 23, 19, 17 id verius est. Doubt is expressed 23, 47, 8 quam vera est, communis existimatio est; cf. 4, 20, 8 qui si ea in re sit error existimatio communis omnibus est.

Fabula. Fama.

Livy candidly admits at times that he allowed fables and common reports a place in his work. These may be considered as standing between those statements which are expressed by verbs, and those in which a person, definitely or indefinitely indicated, is given as authority for the account given.

Fabula.—The value which he attached to the fables is shown by Praef. 6 quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Some, however, were due, not to poetic embellishment, but to family pride: 8, 40, 4 vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus

reor falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familiae ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallenti mendacio trahunt. The number mentioned by Livy is not large: of Romulus and the she-wolf he says 1, 4, 7 inde locum fabulae ac miraculo; in the story of Tarpeia 1, 11, 8 additur fabulae; the seizing of the offering at Veii by Roman soldiers is characterized 5, 21, 8 inseritur huic loco fabula; and a little later, 5, 22, 5, he adds inde fabulae adiectum est vocem dicentis (Iunonis) velle auditam; explaining the origin of the name of lacus Curtius he says 7, 6, 6 et lacus nomen ab hac recentiore insignitius fabula est; and in writing about Scipio 38, 56, 8 alia tota serenda fabula est Gracchi orationi conveniens, et illi auctores sequendi sunt qui ... tradunt.

Fama.—Fama as a source of information is used more freely, for the different decades 9–13–4–0, and in some instances refers to statements derived from a definite source, e. g. 1, 1, 6 duplex inde fama est: alii . . . tradunt, alii . . .; 8, 20, 6; 29, 21, 1; 25, 17, 4 varia est fama, alii . . . alii . . . tradunt. Livy uses the word a few times in writing of the marvelous and improbable, e. g. 1, 49, 9 si famae credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus; and 24, 3, 7 fama est aram esse in vestibulo templi, cuius cinerem nullus umquam moveat ventus. However, in most passages, it is used with the same meaning as in 7, 6, 6 nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem.

Memoria.

Memoria is used a little oftener than *fama*, 13–4–4–1, most frequently with *prodere* or *tradere*, and like *fama* of both definite and apparently indefinite reports. Its definite meaning can be seen in such passages as 10, 37, 13 et huius anni parum constans memoria est . . . auctor est Claudius . . . Fabius . . . scribit; 39, 50, 10 a quibusdam memoriae mandatum; 39, 52, 2 quam notam nemo memoriae prodidit. In most passages the word may refer to statements from the annals though there is no indication of the fact, e. g. 8, 6, 1 proditur memoriae . . . vocem Anni spernentis numina Iovis Romani auditam; 10, 42, 6 illud memoriae traditur, non ferme alium ducem laetiorem in acie visum seu suopte ingenio seu fiducia gerundae rei.

Annales.

Livy refers to his own work 43, 13, 2 as meos annales; to Piso 10, 9, 12 as vetustior annalium auctor; and to Claudius 25, 39, 12 qui annales Acilianos ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem vertit.

The word is used in a few passages referring to historical compositions in general: 7, 21, 6 meriti aequitate curaque sunt, ut per omnium annalium monumenta celebres nominibus essent; 8, 18, 12 memoria ex annalibus repetita; 9, 18, 12 paginas in annalibus fastisque magistratuum percurrere licet; 9, 44, 4 in annalibus digerendis; 43, 13, 1 in annales referri; 22, 27, 3 (in a speech) quod nulla memoria habeat annalium. The other occurrences of the word, 20–4–1–1, refer to the writings consulted by Livy. Of these, thirteen have some form of *invenire*, most commonly in quibusdam annalibus invenio. In the remaining passages the word is modified, showing the uncertainty in which Livy was involved. *Quidam annales* is found 4, 20, 9; 4, 34, 6; 8, 30, 7; 8, 37, 3; 10, 17, 11; 21, 25, 4; 23, 47, 8. Other occurrences are as follows: 4, 20, 8 tam veteres a.; 7, 42, 3 aliis a. proditum est; 10, 30, 7 in pluribus a.; 22, 31, 8 omnium prope a.; 32, 6, 8 ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores quorum quidem ego legi a.; 42, 11, 1 plurium a., et quibus credidisse malis.

AUCTOR.

Auctor and *auctores*, without the name of a writer, are freely used by Livy, and generally refer to some source not otherwise designated. With the plural, always modified, *apud* is used five times, and twice with *neminem auctorem*. Most of the eight passages in which *inter* is used with *auctores* recount discrepancies in statement. *Quidam* is used with *auctor* eighteen times, *habere* four (also 8, 4, 10 in a speech), and in four more places we are told that authors disagree. Livy gives a statement 4, 20, 5 as found in all the authorities, and then argues against their conclusions. Uncertainty arises 4, 55, 8; and 30, 26, 12 from *diversi auctores*, while *nec* or *non omnes* is used 8, 6, 3; 8, 18, 2; and 29, 35, 2. *Alii . . . alii auctores* occurs 8, 20, 6. Livy follows many authors 1, 46, 4 and 6, 42, 6; and in 21, 46, 10 the majority. *Auctores sunt qui* or *qui sunt auctores* is used six times, while it is said 8, 26, 6 cum auctoribus hoc dedi, quibus dignius credi est. *Graeci Latinique auctores* is used 29, 27, 13; and 32, 6, 8. In the remaining passages, the word is found in a variety of connections: 3, 47, 5 antiqui; 6, 12, 2 propiores; 8, 40, 5 nec . . . certo a. stetur: 10, 25, 12 in utrumque auctores sunt; 21, 47, 6 potiores apud me; 30, 3, 6 maior pars; and in other general statements 2, 17, 3; 2, 21, 4; 8, 18, 3; 8, 40, 3; 38, 56, 8. The method of reference in the 72 passages where *auctor* is used, 37–27–7–1, is

the same as with *annales*, when the current runs smoothly nothing is said as to the sources, but when there is a divergence of opinions, Livy frankly calls attention to the fact.

Scriptores.

Scriptores is found in but few places, and the reading for all passages cannot be definitely determined. The usage is about the same as with *auctor*. It is found with *apud* 3, 23, 7 a. vetustiores; and 8, 30, 7 a. antiquissimos; with *inter* 9, 18, 5; 26, 11, 10; 33, 36, 15; and 38, 56, 5. It is used in connection with *auctor* 8, 40, 5; with *proximi* 29, 14, 9; and in contrast with a definite writer in 23, 6, 8; 26, 49, 5 Arinen . . . Antias Valerius, Magonem alii s. tradunt; and 45, 44, 19 haec de Prusia nostri scriptores; Polybius . . . tradit. Speaking of the renown of Philopoemen, Livy says 39, 50, 10 ab s. rerum Graecis Latinisque tantum huic viro tribuitur, ut a quibusdam Cf. 8, 10, 8 ut facile convenerit inter Romanos Latinosque, qui eius pugnae memoriam posteris tradiderunt. In a general reference 1, 59, 11 his atrocioribusque, credo aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis . . . perpulit.

Alii. Quidam. Sunt Qui. Plerique.

Statements in which a pronoun alone indicates the authorship occur with considerable frequency. *Alii* (10–8–4–1), *quidam* (13–8–1–1), *sunt qui* (13–3–1–0) and *plerique* (0–3–1–0) are used in the same way. Compare 4, 21, 9 alii, alii . . . tradunt, with 8, 20, 6 alii . . . alii auctores; and 7, 22, 3 quidam Caesonem, alii Gaium nomen Quinctio adiciunt, and 9, 36, 2 eum Fabium Caesonem alii, C. Claudium quidam . . . tradunt; or 10, 17, 12 sunt qui . . . faciant . . . quidam. *Apud* is used with *alios* and *quosdam* as with *auctores* and *scriptores*, though the occurrences of the nominative of these pronouns are more numerous. A number of verbs are employed, as *dicunt*, *scribunt* and *tradunt*, with an occasional instance of some others, e. g. 4, 17, 3 levant quidam regis facinus; 29, 25, 3 quidam non adiecere numerum. *Sunt qui* is at times a variant with *alii* or *quidam*, e. g. 25, 17, 1–4 sunt qui . . . contendant . . . sunt qui . . . scribant . . . alii . . . alii . . . tradunt.

There are also a few other references expressed in different ways: 6, 12, 3 ab antiquis tacitum praetermissumque; 9, 28, 5 qui . . . trahunt, adiciunt, cf. 25, 11, 20 in diversum auctores

trahunt; 10, 11, 9 ut scripsere quibus aedilem fuisse in eo anno Fabium Maximum placet; 38, 56, 1 multa alia . . . in diversum trahunt; 40, 50, 6 L. Postumium . . . egregie pugnasse scribunt. Without mentioning the name, Livy gives in 9, 17, 14 the statement of Cineas, senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus constare dixit unus veram speciem Romani senatus cepit! And alludes to some unnamed Greeks 9, 18, 6 id vero periculum erat, quod levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent, dictitare solent, ne maiestatem nominis Alexandri . . . sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus! Notice also 9, 17, 6 Cyrum, quem maxime Graeci laudibus celebrant.

ALIBI . . . ALIBI.

As a rhetorical variation for the pronominal form of statement *alibi . . . alibi* is used a few times with *invenire* in the third decade: 26, 49, 1 piget scribere, quippe cum a. trecentos ferme, a. tria milia septingentos viginti quattuor fuisse inveniam; 26, 49, 2; 27, 1, 13; 29, 25, 2 inter auctores discrepat, a. . . . a. . . . a. . . . invenio . . . quidam . . . Coelius; 30, 16, 12 a. quinque milia talentum, a. quinque milia pondo argenti, a. duplex stipendium militibus imperatum invenio.

AUTHORS.

The passages in which Livy mentions by name the earlier annalists whose works he utilized are to be found in Peter's Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta, and will not be repeated excepting so far as it is necessary to call attention to their general character. As a matter of convenience we shall give them in the order in which they are found in Peter.

Fabius.—Fabius was rated high by Livy, yet all the references are to isolated facts: 1, 44, 2 the number of Romans at the first census; 1, 55, 8 the number of talents used in building the temple to Jove; 2, 40, 10 the old age of Coriolanus; 8, 30, 9 the reason for burning the Samnite booty captured by Q. Fabius; 10, 37, 14 the movements of the consuls in the Samnite campaign; 22, 7, 4 the loss at Trasumene. These citations, limited in number and referring to specific facts, throw no light on the question of the extent to which his work was utilized by Livy in the portions where Fabius is not mentioned.

L. Cincius Alimentus.—There is but one mention of this writer and that by no means complimentary 21, 38, 2 quantae

copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat . . . L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime *me* auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta (in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt); ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentem numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse.

C. Acilius.—Livy refers 25, 39, 12 to the *annales Aciliani* as the source of one of three accounts of a fight in Spain; and 35, 14, 5 for the conversation at Ephesus between Hannibal and Scipio. From some source, perhaps from these annals, perhaps from Cicero, Livy had read of the ambassadors from Cannae returning to camp, a story of which he says 22, 61, 10 mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam quid veri sit, discernere queas.

Cato.—Livy expressed high regard for the personal character of Cato 39, 40, 3, and Servius ad Verg. Aen. more than once cites both as coordinate authorities for events in early Roman history. For historical information Livy refers to him but once, and that in a colorless statement, 34, 15, 9 Cato ipse, haud sane detractator laudum suarum, multos caesos ait, numerum non adscribit. Cf. 38, 54, 11 exstat oratio eius de pecunia regis Antiochi.

L. Calpurnius Piso Censorius Frugi.—A high value is not put upon the work of Piso in the six passages in which he is mentioned by Livy: 9, 44, 2 there is a brief discussion of his omission of two pairs of consuls; 1, 55, 7 Fabius is preferred; 2, 58, 1 another source is followed; and 2, 32, 3 a more common report is taken. In 25, 39, 12–15 Piso's is one of three accounts given without comment; and 10, 9, 12 a statement made by Macer Licinius and Tubero is not given *pro certo* because of the account in Piso.

L. Coelius Antipater.—Surprise is expressed 21, 38, 6 at what Coelius says of Hannibal's route across the Alps; 21, 46, 10 another account is preferred of the saving of Scipio at the Ticinus; and 21, 47, 4 there is an argument against the account of Hannibal's passage of the Po. A similar rejection of statement is found 22, 31, 8; while 29, 25, 3 there is an implied criticism of the number given of the troops said to have been taken by Scipio into Africa;



and 29, 27, 14 Livy does not believe there was a storm as described by Coelius, but says prosperam navigationem sine terrore ac tumultu fuisse permultis Graecis Latinisque auctoribus credidi. A variant account is likewise given 26, 11, 10 of Hannibal's route to Rome. Coelius is also mentioned in connection with other writers: 28, 46, 14 different accounts of the same event are given from Valerius and from Coelius, while the two are given 29, 35, 2 as coordinate authorities. From the form of statement it would seem that more than these are referred to 23, 6, 8 quia . . . Coelius et alii id haud sine causa praetermiserant scriptores, ponere pro certo veritus sum. The carefulness of Coelius is indicated 27, 27, 13 where Livy mentions three accounts given of the death of Marcellus, but there is nowhere an indication of his general indebtedness to Coelius.

P. Rutilius Rufus.—Reference is made but once to this writer 39, 52, 1 where, with Polybius, he is cited as authority for the date of Scipio's death.

Q. Claudius Quadrigarius.—Livy gives 6, 42, 5, but without accepting it, the year in which the Gaul was slain by T. Manlius; 9, 5, 2 the view of Claudius in regard to the agreement at the Caudine Forks is rejected; and 33, 10, 17 is given the number killed at Cynoscephalae, and then the number given by Claudius is added. Claudius (Aciliani annales) is mentioned 25, 39, 12, together with Valerius and Piso, for losses in battle, and the first two again 33, 10, 8; 33, 30, 8; and 38, 23, 8; and 10, 37, 13 Claudius and Fabius. In 8, 19, 13; 33, 36, 13; 38, 41, 12; and 44, 15, 1 separate items are mentioned from Claudius, and 35, 14, 5 from the Aciliani libri.

Valerius Antias.—The writer most frequently mentioned, and the one most severely criticised is Valerius Antias. Livy more than once scores his audacity or mendacity: 3, 5, 13 audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere summas; 26, 49, 3 nullus mentiendi modus est; 30, 19, 11; 33, 10, 8; 36, 38, 7 in augendo eo non alius intemperantior est; 40, 29, 8 adicit Antias Valerius Pythagoricos fuisse . . . vulgatae opinioni . . . mendacio probabili accommodata fide. In contrast with these statements, as if surprised at the modesty shown, Livy says 38, 23, 8 that Antias gives the loss at 10,000, while Claudius puts it at 40,000. Some charity is shown for him 38, 55, 8 has ego summas auri et argenti relatas apud Antiatem inveni. In L. Scipione malim equidem librarii mendum quam mendacium scriptoris esse in summa auri atque argenti.

If Livy's references are a fair index to the work of Antias it must have swarmed with errors both in facts and figures. Livy rejects 30, 3, 6 the account of the negotiations with Syphax; 30, 29, 7 of the battle before that at Zama; 32, 6, 5 of the operations of Villius; 36, 19, 12 of the loss in the army of Antiochus; 37, 48, 1 and 6 of the capture of the Roman leaders in Asia; 39, 52, 1 of the date of Scipio's death; 39, 41, 6 of the number of poisoners executed; 39, 43, 1 of the story of Flaminius and the harlot; 42, 11, 1 of the conduct of Attalus, and 44, 13, 12 of Eumenes; 45, 40, 1 of the amount of gold and silver in the triumph over Perseus; and 45, 43, 8 of the amount brought back from Illyria by Anicius.

Without attempting to make the proper corrections, Livy places the account of Antias along with that of other annalists in 4, 23, 2 names of consuls; 25, 39, 14 and 34, 15, 9 loss in battle; 28, 46, 14 movements of Carthaginian ships; 29, 35, 2 capture of Hanno; and 33, 30, 8 terms of treaty.

In the fourth and fifth decades the following references are made to isolated facts gathered from the work of Antias and presented without comment: 33, 30, 10 stipulation in a treaty; 33, 36, 13 and 34, 10, 2 loss in battle; 35, 2, 8 voyage of C. Flaminius; 36, 36, 4 first scenic games; 37, 60, 6 return of captives; 38, 50, 5 the accusers of Scipio; 39, 22, 9 Scipio as legate to Asia; 39, 56, 7 date of Hannibal's death; 41, 27, 2 L. Furius as colleague of L. Cornelius Scipio.

Macer.—The authority of Macer is questioned 7, 9, 5 quaesita ea propriae familiae laus leviorem auctorem Licinium facit. 4, 7, 12 he is quoted for the names of the consuls 310 B. C.; 4, 20, 8 for the official position of Cossus; and 9, 38, 16 for the abomination of the Faucia curia. In 10, 9, 10 he is mentioned with Tubero: 4, 23, 1 with Antias; and 9, 46, 3 with Piso.

Q. Aelius Tubero.—Livy always associates the name of Tubero with that of another annalist: 10, 9, 10 with Macer; and 4, 23, 2 with Macer and Antias.

C. Clodius Licinus.—From Licinus Livy obtained 29, 22, 10 the story of the conspiracy of Pleminius, which, without reference to the source, is again given 34, 44, 7.

Cincius.—Livy has an item 7, 3, 7 in regard to the nails in the temple of Nortia the Etruscan goddess, and this is referred to Cincius "diligens talium monumentorum auctor."

The following table gives the number of references, arranged according to decades, to the different authors:

	Decade I.	III.	IV.	V.
Antias	2	7	22	5
Claudius	4	1	6	1
Cincius	1	...	...	...
Fabius	5	1	...	...
Macer	7	...	...	...
Piso	5	1	...	...
Tubero	2	...	...	...
(Acilius)	...	1	1	...
Alimentus	...	1	...	...
Clodius Licinus	...	1	...	...
Coelius	...	11	...	...
Cato	...	...	1	...
Rutilius	...	...	1	...
Polybius	...	1	3	1

Livy frequently gives to his narrative a present coloring by comparing past conditions with those existing at his own time. This method of presentation gives him an opportunity to record his own observations, and tends to unify the past and the present in the narrative. *Hodie* and *nunc* are used in these comparisons, and *nuper* also referring to a period a little removed from Livy. Of these terms *hodie* is rare, while *nunc* is freely used.

HODIE.

Hodie quoque is found in the following passages: 1, 17, 9 hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius vi adempta; 1, 26, 13 id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; 5, 27, 1 quod hodie quoque in Graecia manet. *Hodie quoque* is also found in speeches 24, 8, 18; and 40, 12, 11 referring to the time of the speaker as does *hodieque* 5, 4, 14; and 42, 34, 2.

NUNC.

In all the passages here considered, *nunc* refers to conditions existing at the time of Livy. It is used in speaking of Livy's own work as in 7, 6, 6 nunc fama rerum standum est; and 10, 31, 10 supersunt etiam nunc Samnitium bella. Some of the statements, we know not how many, are true also for the source followed, and may have been directly copied by Livy. Compare 40, 3, 3 in Emathiam quae nunc dicitur, quondam adpellata Paeonia est, with Polybius 24, 8, 4 *εἰς τὴν νῦν μὲν Ἡμαθίαν, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν Παιονίαν*

προσαγορευομένην. Cf. 33, 17, 5 Leucadia nunc insula est ... tum paeninsula erat. Others are certainly due to Livy himself, giving his views in regard to the prevailing social and religious conditions of the times, or referring to changes taking place later than the time of the annalists to whom Livy may have been indebted for the general facts stated.

Appellative and Geographical.—To Livy himself perhaps may be assigned the remarks in regard to changes in names of places, and the location of places in and about Rome. The old and the new name of a place is sometimes given: 1, 3, 5 Albula: Tiberis; 1, 4, 5 Romularis: Ruminalis; 4, 37, 1 Vulturnus: Capua; 4, 59, 4 Anxur: Tarracinae; 8, 15, 4 Suessa: Aurunca; 9, 27, 14 Maleventum: Beneventum. Livy describes the position of the Asylum 1, 8, 5 locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, but this must not be taken as a type of his method of locating places which is usually quite definite: 1, 3, 9 in eo colle qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis; 2, 7, 12 ubi nunc Vicae Potae est, domus ... aedificata; 3, 26, 8 trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc Navalia sunt; 3, 63, 7 in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est; 5, 32, 6 in nova via ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae; 5, 35, 1 ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt; 6, 20, 13 cum domus fuisset ubi nunc aedes atque officium Monetae est; 8, 22, 5 Palaepolis fuit haud procul inde, ubi nunc Neapolis sita est; 10, 9, 8 locus ... ubi nunc Narnia sita est; 25, 20, 1 ad Volturni ostium, ubi nunc urbs est, castellum; 32, 7, 3 Castrum portorium quo in loco nunc oppidum est; 39, 22, 6 haud procul inde, ubi nunc Aquilia est; 39, 45, 6 in agro qui nunc est Aquileiensis. In other places attention is called to the names applied at the time of Livy: 1, 17, 6 nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum; 1, 26, 10 eo loco qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur; 1, 35, 8 tunc primum circo, qui nunc maximus dicitur; 1, 36, 7 quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias; 3, 48, 5 tabernae quibus nunc novis est nomen; 26, 27, 2 argentariae quae nunc novae appellantur; 3, 54, 15 in pratis Flaminiis ... quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant; 7, 5, 9 nam antea, sicut nunc, quos Rufulos vocant, imperatores ipsi faciebant; 7, 39, 16 viae quae nunc Appia est.

Religious.—The religious element in Roman society is made prominent by Livy and different phases are presented in several places: 1, 20, 1 sacra ... quae nunc ad dialem flaminem pertinent; 1, 32, 5 ius ... quod nunc fetiales habent; 22, 57, 3 scriba



pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant; 5, 40, 8 sacello proximo aedibus . . . ubi despui religio est. The earlier, better days are mentioned 4, 6, 12 hanc modestiam, aequitatem et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tum populi universi fuit; and 10, 9, 6 id, qui tum pudor hominum erat, visum, credo, vinculum satis validum legis. nunc vix servo ita minetur quisquam. 26, 22, 14 eludant nunc antiqua mirantis; non equidem, si qua sit sapientium civitas, quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt, aut principes graviores temperantioresque a cupidine imperii aut multitudinem melius moratam censeam fieri posse; cf. in a speech 6, 41, 8 eludant nunc licet religiones. As an indication of early religious scruples, in 9, 30, 10 is mentioned the rewards given to the extradited pipers: datum ut triduum quotannis ornati cum cantu atque hac, quae nunc sollemnis est, licentia per urbem vagarentur. Contrasted with these early conditions is the later degeneracy: 3, 20, 5 sed nondum haec, quae nunc tenet saeculum, neglegentia deum venerat; 43, 13, 1 non sum nescius ab eadem neglegentia, qua nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant, neque nuntiari admodum ulla prodigia in publicum neque in annales referri; and 45, 28, 3 templo . . . nunc vestigiis revolsorum donorum, tum donis dives erat.

Political.—Political conditions come in for their due share of mention: an institutional change is mentioned 1, 43, 12 nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus . . . ad institutam ab Servio Tullo summam non convenire. The cooling down of political passions is portrayed 4, 45, 13 parva nunc res et vix serio agenda videri possit, quae tunc ingenti certamine patres ac plebem accendit; cf. 44, 14, 13. The importance of the Laws of the Ten Tables is stated 3, 34, 6 quae nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo fons omnis publici privatique est iuris. As a reward for the friendliness of some of the provinces offering aid to the Romans in 209 B. C., Livy 27, 10, 7 gives their names with the remark, ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur fraudenturve laude sua. Speaking of the inhabitants of Emporia 34, 9, 1 Livy mentions the Greeks and Spaniards, and then adds, tertium genus Romani coloni ab divo Caesare post devictos Pompei liberos adiecti. nunc in corpus unum confusi omnes Hispanis prius, postremo et Graecis in civitatem Romanam adscitis. The political conditions in Sardinia are described 40,

34, 13 cum Iliensibus, gente ne nunc quidem omni parte pacata, secunda proelia facta. This statement is practically the same as that of Diod. Sic. 5, 15 τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος διεφύλαξε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. Here also may be placed 28, 37, 6 referring to the Balaerians, fundis, ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo utebantur.

The decline of the population in Italy is commented on in two passages: 6, 12, 4 simile veri est aut intervallis bellorum, sicut nunc in delectibus fit Romanis, alia atque alia subole iuniorum ad bella instauranda totiens usos esse; aut . . . aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quae nunc vix seminario exiguo militum relicto servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant; and 7, 25, 8 decem legiones scriptae dicuntur . . . quem nunc novum exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat, hae vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis, contractae in unum haud facile efficiant.

There are a few other observations, some of which refer to local conditions at Rome. In the discussion of the pomerium 1, 44, 4 aedificia . . . quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt. An anomalous feature at Rome is accounted for 5, 55, 5 ea est causa, ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis occupatae magis quam divisae similis. The account of a fight is criticised 4, 34, 6 classi quoque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Veientibus quidam in annales rettulere, rem aeque difficilem atque incredibilem nec nunc lato satis ad hoc amne, et tum aliquanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, artiore. A remark of the annalist is illustrated by a reference to similar conditions 9, 36, 3 habeo auctores vulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Graecis, ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos. An improvement in the Latin language is indicated 27, 37, 13 carmen in Iunonem Reginam canentes ibant, illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur.

The present time is sometimes indicated by a noun, by a demonstrative pronoun, or by a verb in the present tense.

Aetas and *saeculum* with some modifying word are used to fix the time of certain events, and *usque ad aetatem* or *memoriam* to fix the nearer terminus. 7, 14, 6 imperatores, nostra quoque quidam aetate usi sunt; 28, 12, 12 prima Romanis inita provinciarum . . . postremo omnium, nostra demum aetate, ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est. 26, 22, 15 vix ut verisimile sit, parentium quoque hoc saeculo vilis levisque apud liberos



auctoritas fecit; 39, 22, 2 prope huius saeculi copia. 2, 14, 1 mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsinae vendendi; cf. 1, 30, 2 curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est; 34, 51, 5 a principio ad nostram usque aetatem traducentis. 2, 41, 3 tum primum lex agraria promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata; 6, 38, 13 usque ad memoriam nostram . . . certatum viribus est.

Forms of the pronoun *hic* are at times used to indicate conditions that were present to Livy: Praef. 4 festinantibus ad haec nova quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiant; 1, 56, 2 quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam adaequare potuit; 6, 4, 12 Capitolium . . . opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum; 7, 29, 2 quotiens in extrema periculorum ventum, ut in hanc magnitudinem quae vix sustinetur, erigi imperium posset! Less flattering than these are the following: 7, 2, 13 ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut appareret quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit; and 44, 9, 4 mos erat tum, nondum hac effusione inducta bestiis omnium gentium circum complendi, varia spectaculorum conquirere genera.

Livy mentions some places at Rome in the present tense 2, 41, 11 ea est area ante Telluris aedem; 10, 31, 9 aedem quae prope circum est; 23, 31, 9 utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretae. Verbs of naming are given about 130 times in the present tense, as 1, 26, 14 sororium tigillum vocant; 1, 48, 7 monumento locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant; 3, 26, 8 prata Quinctia vocantur; 8, 30, 4 ita vocant locum; 25, 16, 25 ad campos, qui Veteres vocantur, periit; 30, 8, 3 in Magnos—ita vocant—campos; 38, 15, 14 ad Beudos, quod vetus appellant, pervenit; (30, 10, 16 harpagones vocant). It is stated 1, 25, 14 that the sepulchres of the Horatii and Curiatii were still extant, as were the names of those who subscribed to the agreement at the Caudine Forks 9, 5, 4. The boldness of the Athenian orators is indicated 9, 18, 7 id quod ex monumentis orationum patet; orations of Cato are mentioned 39, 42, 6, and 45, 25, 3; and doubt is expressed in regard to the authenticity of others 38, 56, 5 orationes si modo ipsorum sunt quae feruntur.

A few miscellaneous quotations will be given in which Livy states a fact or a reflection in the present: 36, 15, 6 id iugum, sicut Appennini dorso Italia dividitur, ita mediam Graeciam divi-

dit; 31, 44, 3 nec umquam ibi desunt linguae promptae ad plebem concitandam; quod genus, cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum praecipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur; 31, 44, 9 Athenienses quidem litteris verbisque, quibus solis valent; 1, 9, 16 accedebant blanditiae . . . quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces sunt; 27, 44, 1 apparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex eventu famam habiturum; 22, 39, 10 (in a speech) eventus . . . stultorum iste magister est. Compare with these 2, 30, 2 rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis.

NUPER.

Nuper is used in the Praef. 12, and three times in the history referring to events closely connected with the present: 1, 48, 6 ad summum Cyprium vicum ubi Dianium nuper fuit. The removal of this is mentioned by Cicero, de Harusp. resp. 32. 9, 36, 1 silva erat Ciminia magis tum invia atque horrenda quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus. An experience of Livy's is mentioned 38, 56, 3 statua quam tempestate disiectam nuper vidimus ipsi. A recent career is incidentally mentioned 9, 17, 6 sicut Magnum modo Pompeium.

TUM. TUNC.

Tum and *tunc* are of common occurrence and generally refer to events which, from their nature could not be continued till the time of Livy. But in many passages they are used to contrast past and present conditions, or to emphasize the time at which something new was introduced. In some passages, already quoted, the two periods are formally contrasted by the use of *tum . . . nunc*. It cannot always be determined whether *tum* in any specified passage is due to Livy or to the source followed, but this at least is sure, that Livy, when he wrote, had in mind the changes which had taken place among the Roman people, and that he did not view Roman history with the eyes of a mere annalist. While this is true, it is a matter of interpretation whether contrast is implied in particular instances, and the following examples are intended only as a general illustration of the method of Livy. The divisions will correspond in the main to those already given under *nunc*.

Appellative.—3, 4, 11 dare Quinctio subitarios milites—ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant—iussi; 3, 52, 3 via Nomentana cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit; 3, 63, 7 ubi nunc aedes Apollinis

est—iam tum Apollinarem appellabant; and similarly 10, 25, 11 ad Clusium quod Camars olim appellabant.

Geographical.—Attention is called 1, 4, 6 to the wilderness where Romulus and Remus were exposed; 9, 36, 1 to the wildness of the Silva Ciminia; 21, 25, 9 to the forest near Mutina; 21, 38, 8 to the lack of roads over the Alps; 33, 17, 5 to Leucadia as a peninsula; 43, 21, 3 obsides ... Dyrrhachium—tum Epidamni magis celebre nomen Graecis erat—missi; 43, 21, 6 Stratus validissima tum urbs Aetoliae erat.

National.—Statements in regard to national conditions and movements are occasionally found, though in some there may not be an intended contrast with the present. 1, 1, 5 the Aborigines in Italy; 4, 44, 12 the Greeks at Cumae; 5, 8, 4 Veii as the center of Roman interest; 5, 35, 3 the Senones in northern Italy; 5, 33, 2 wine a new indulgence for the Gauls, and 33, 21, 3 their presence in Asia; 23, 10, 11 the government of Cyrene; 28, 37, 4 the Carthaginian control of Pityusa; 33, 26, 6 the independent Spanish uprising; 37, 47, 4 the Romans pitching camp for the first time in Asia; 38, 32, 9 the influence of the Achaeans with the Romans; and 4, 29, 8 the disregard by the Romans of the Carthaginians in Sicily. Notice also the statement without *tum* 34, 50, 7 adice nunc, pro portione, quot verisimile sit Graeciam totam habuisse.

Political.—The election of new officers is duly mentioned though they are more frequently designated by *primus*, or the time is emphasized by *tum primum:* 2, 58, 1 tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt: cf. 3, 54, 12 quem primum tribunum plebis creatum in Sacro monte proditum memoriae est; 4, 54, 3 the first plebeian quaestors; 23, 31, 13 the first election of two plebeian consuls; and 29, 38, 7 augur ... admodum adulescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis sacerdotiis erat. Other references are to varied political actions: 2, 41, 3 the first agrarian law; 3, 63, 11 a triumph ordered by the people; 4, 8, 6 circumstances affecting the actions of the tribunes—id quod tunc erat; 7, 15, 12 the first putting of a bribery question to the people; 3, 36, 3 and 31, 5, 2 the Ides of March as inauguration day; 31, 15, 6 the mention of a new tribe—quam Attalida appellarent; 38, 36, 9 the first enrollment of certain tribes; 40, 16, 4 two provinces as one.

Military.—The following refer to military measures: 2, 6, 8 leaders engaging in single combat; 5, 7, 13 a new form of

military service by the knights—equo merere; 22, 38, 1 the military oath; 24, 11, 9 the equipment of a fleet by private means; 27, 10, 9 the government upheld by the colonies; 31, 36, 4 the use of elephants; 33, 7, 13 the best cavalry in Greece; 44, 23, 6 the naval glory of the Rhodians.

Religious.—Changes in religious conditions are at times mentioned: 1, 5, 1 the existence of the Lupercal in early times; 1, 7, 12 the first sacrifice to Hercules with the Potitii and the Pinarii, then famous families, as guests; 1, 45, 2 the fane of Diana; 5, 13, 6 the first lectisternium; 7, 2, 8 Livius as actor of his own songs, as were all writers then; and 31, 12, 10 a processional song, carmen, sicut patrum memoria Livius, ita tum condidit P. Licinius Tegula. Of similar import are the remarks about the ancient obedience 3, 29, 3; and modesty 10, 9, 6.

Economic and *Social.*—Old economic and social conditions seem to have been continually before the mind of Livy, and he freely calls attention to the steep decline since the good old days: 1, 2, 3 Caere opulento tum oppido; 1, 3, 3 florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam; 2, 50, 2; 2, 63, 6; 1, 9, 7 quanto apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant; 2, 7, 4; 5, 13, 7; 39, 6, 7; 4, 45, 2 indicibus dena milia gravis aeris, quae tum divitiae habebantur, ex aerario numerata. The absence of basilicae is mentioned 26, 27, 3; the mines of Spain as a source of wealth 34, 21, 7; the early fame of Corinth 45, 28, 2; and the inexperience of the early Romans in presenting spectacles 45, 32, 10. Notice is taken 3, 6, 1 of the beginning of the new year; 5, 41, 9 of the wearing of beards; 39, 6, 9 the recognition of cooking as an art; 10, 47, 3 the introduction from Greece of the practice of presenting palms to the victors in the games; and 39, 22, 2 the first contests of athletes.

PRIMUS. PRIMUM.

In a number of the passages quoted under *tum, primum* is also used definitely marking the beginning of a new order of things. Attention is frequently called to the first holder of an office continuing to the time of Livy, and also to the first performance of some action which had been perpetuated among the Romans.

Livy speaks of the men who were the first of the plebs elected to various offices, and of these a list is given in a speech 10, 8, 8: 3, 54, 12; and 6, 37, 8 tribune; 7, 6, 8 consul; 7, 17, 6 magister



equitum ; 7, 22, 7 dictator ; 8, 15, 9 praetor ; 27, 8, 3 maximus curio. It is said of Ancus 1, 35, 2 that he was the first to use demagogic tactics with the plebs; compare similar remarks about Manlius 6, 11, 7 and 6, 20, 4 : that Servius 1, 41, 6 primus iniussu populi voluntate patrum regnavit ; that Tarquin 1, 49, 7 primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit ; 8, 26, 7 two new honors given to Publilius ; 9, 20, 5 the election of praefect at Capua ; 2, 5, 9 ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus, cf., 3, 13, 8 ; 38, 16, 14 stipendium . . . primus Asiam incolentium abnuit Attalus ; cf. 37, 52, 7 ; 40, 44, 1 the fixing of the legal age for candidates.

Military.—Account is taken of the fact 1, 53, 2 that Tarquin stirred up a war with the Volsci that lasted for 200 years; 9, 41, 4 the Marsi first battling with the Romans ; 7, 5, 9 the election of tribunes by the suffrage of the soldiers ; 10, 31, 10 the consuls first carrying on war with the Samnites, cf. 31, 1, 4 ; 40, 38, 9 the first triumph without a war.

Religious.—1, 10, 7 the first temple is mentioned ; 27, 23, 7 the first vowing of perpetual games ; and 25, 40, 2 the beginning of admiration for Greek art and of despoiling things both sacred and profane.

Social.—8, 20, 2 carceres set up in the circus ; 10, 47, 3 crowned spectators at the games ; 24, 43, 7 scenic games presented by the curule aediles; and 36, 36, 4 some information gathered from Antias, quos primos scenicos fuisse Antias Valerius est auctor, Megalesia appellatos. And to close the lists may be given 30, 45, 7 the first taking of a name from the conquered country. Similar to these are the passages in which certain things are spoken of as *nova :* 1, 7, 8, literature among unskilled men ; 5, 2, 1 winter quarters ; 7, 2, 3 ludi scaenici nova res bellicoso populo ; 42, 65, 9 hoc illo bello novum genus teli inventum est.

Ante. Antea.

Statements containing *ante* with a negative differ from those with *primum* only in form, *primum* asserting the beginning of something and *ante* denying its existence before a certain time. Some are general statements, or indicate a new order of things or a new event more important than the preceding, and nearly all of them refer to political and military happenings.

Ante.—1, 42, 5 the character of the burdens imposed by Servius ; 1, 46, 1 the unanimity with which he was proclaimed king ; 2, 22,

7 the close union between Roman and Latin ; 2, 30, 7 the size of the army ; 2, 46, 2 the high spirit of the Romans ; also 9, 39, 5 ; 2, 9, 3 the terror at the invasion of Porsina ; 27, 33, 7 the killing of two consuls in war—quod nullo ante bello acciderat—; 2, 61, 3 the hatred shown to a prisoner ; 3, 63, 9 a unique honor ; also 8, 26, 7 ; 45, 42, 12 ships drawn up in the Campus Martius ; 39, 56, 6 the appearance of a new island. Similar statements are also found in speeches : of Scipio 26, 45, 9 vias ante numquam initas humano vestigio aperirent ; and of Fabius 28, 40, 10 quod fando numquam ante auditum erat, imperium mecum aequaretur. Religious conditions are mentioned : 5, 23, 3 a supplication for four days ; and 22, 57, 6 human sacrifices in the ox forum. Instead of the adverb the preposition *ante* is used in a few passages : 8, 18, 11 neque de veneficiis ante eam diem Romae quaesitum est ; 22, 8, 6 the election of a dictator by the people ; and 42, 1, 8 ante hunc consulem nemo umquam sociis ulla re oneri aut sumptui fuit ; 4, 59, 11 decerneret senatus, ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere est.

Antea.—Antea is occasionally used with a negative as in 9, 37, 2 ; 22, 38, 2 ; and in a speech 23, 23, 1. However, it is found most commonly in affirmative announcements. It is used twice in the discussion of the Roman army 8, 8, 3 clipeis antea Romani usi sunt ; dein, postquam stipendarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere ; et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonibus, hos postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse. It also occurs 2, 58, 1 in a criticism of Piso ; 9, 30, 3 the election of tribunes of the soldiers by the people though this had previously been the function of the dictators and consuls ; and 45, 21, 5 the trespassing by a praetor on the prerogatives of the senate. Attention is called 5, 23, 4 to the fact that unparalleled crowds greeted the arrival of Camillus ; and 38, 50, 10, of Scipio on his way to trial. The condition of roads is stated 27, 39, 7 ; and 39, 45, 6.

Aetas. Saeculum. Tempus. Tempestas.

Nouns indicating time are also used with the demonstrative pronouns to indicate the period with which the contrast is made.

Aetas.—1, 18, 1 consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat ; 1, 57, 1 Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque ea aetate, divitiis praepollens ; 8, 13, 9 statua—rara illa aetate res—; 9, 16, 19, haud dubie illa aetate, qua nulla virtutum feracior fuit, nemo unus erat vir, quo magis innixa res Romana staret.



Saeculum.—1, 19, 4 rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam.

Tempus.—3, 55, 12 quae refellitur interpretatio quod illis temporibus . . . mos fuerat; 4, 13, 1 ut illis temporibus praedives. 10, 46, 2 insigni, ut illorum temporum habitus erat, triumpho; 29, 37, 16; 7, 3, 6 eum clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt.

Tempestas.—*Tempestas* is found in a larger number of passages, referring to past conditions contrasted with the present, and also to temporary measures. A common use is with an adjective, *ea tempestate* designating the time for which the statement was true. 1, 30, 4 genti ea t. secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque; 23, 28, 10; 28, 18, 1. Other adjectives are found: 37, 8, 4 bellicosior; 9, 7, 15 clarior; 1, 56, 6 ignotus; 1, 18, 1; 1, 36, 3; 26, 11, 8 inclutus; 30, 1, 4 instructior; 23, 15, 8 nobilis; 25, 24, 11 pulcherrima; 10, 30, 10, spernenda; 9, 29, 2 terribilior. 4, 20, 3 quae prima opima appellata sola ea tempestate.

In other passages the reference is rather to temporary conditions, e. g. 5, 45, 1 aequis iniquisque persuasum erat tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse; and in more than a score of other passages.

Past conditions are sometimes expressed by the verb alone, e. g. 2, 40, 11 adeo sine obtrectatione gloriae vivebatur; and 28, 34, 7 mos vetustus erat Romanis.

Parenthetic Comparisons.

We have noticed nearly 100 passages in which *qualis* or *ut* is used with some verb usually *adsolet*, *solet* or *fit*. These are used in calling attention to the general character of the facts stated, while *ut mos est* is added in regard to events both native and foreign. While these additions do not increase the number of facts recorded by Livy, yet most of them are general in character, and indicate that his view extended beyond the specific facts set forth. An illustration of the most common forms of comparison will suffice: 7, 2, 4 parva ut ferme principia omnia; 23, 24, 12 purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro caelavere; 9, 13, 7 molliore atque, ut evenit fere, locis simili genere; 22, 22, 6 tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem; 34, 54, 4 praebuit sermones, sicut omnis novitas solet; 28, 24, 6 licentia ex diutino, ut fit, otio conlecto.

References to the Reader.

The references either direct or indirect to the reader are here added as a counterpart of what has been given, and though the value of these is not historical, yet they impart a rhetorical tinge to Livy's work. The larger number are in the subjunctive, and while grammatically they are to be assigned to the indefinite 'one', some of them were perhaps originally intended to be applied to the person to whom were addressed the stories of which they form a part.

The present indicative is used in a question 9, 18, 11 quin tu . . . confers? with nearly the force of an imperative. The latter mood is found in the stereotyped form *adice nunc* 34, 50, 7, and, in the more personal section dealing with Alexander 9, 19, 6 adde, quod Romanis ad manum domi supplementum esset, Alexandro . . . exercitus consensuisset. The present participle *legentibus* is found 6, 12, 2; and 9, 17, 1, the same as *legentium* and *festinantibus* in Praef. 4; 9, 17, 4 ea et singula intuenti et universa. The subjunctive is freely used in the different prefaces, and is not uncommon throughout the narrative portions.

Present.—The second person of the present subjunctive is used in the prefaces directly addressed to the reader. Other remarks intended for the reader are called out because of the uncertainty of statements found in the annals: 22, 61, 10 mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere queas; 25, 17, 7 si illis . . . credere velis; 42, 11, 1 annales plurium, et quibus credidisse malis; 44, 13, 12 si Valerio Antiati credas, cf. 33, 10, 8 si qui credat. References are also made to other matters: 22, 54, 10 compares cladem ad Aegatis insulas; 30, 26, 9 sicut dubites . . . sic nihil certius est; 32, 4, 4 repente velut maris vasti, sic universa panditur planities, ut subiectos campos terminare oculis haud facile queas; 38, 53, 10 quid ad primum consulatum secundus, etiam si censuram adicias; 44, 41, 7 si . . . circumagere . . . cogas confusa strue implicantur. An indirect appeal is made to the reader 10, 31, 15 quinam sit ille quem pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque quae gerentes non fatigaverunt. Compare with this use of the present, the indirect statements in 2, 3, 3 regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; leges rem surdam . . . nihil laxamenti nec veniae, habere si modum excesseris; and



31, 48, 10 et pugnandum esse interdum, non quia velis, sed quia hostis cogat.

Perfect.—4, 6, 12 altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tum universi populi fuit. The account of the road to the Caudine Forks is put into a personal form 9, 2, 8 sed ante venias ad eum, intrandae angustiae sunt, et aut eadem, qua te insinuaveris, retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum . . . evadendum; and also the description of Cato 39, 40, 9 nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Compare the indirect statement of the words of Philip 28, 8, 4 nec pro difficile id bellum habendum, in quo si modo congressus cum hostibus sis, viceris.

Imperfect.—The imperfect is the tense most freely used, and occurrences of a dozen different verbs are found, a number of them in conditional statements: *aestimares* 29, 26, 2 si magnitudine classes a.; *cederes* 36, 32, 5 erat Quinctius sicut adversantibus asper, ita, si cederes, idem placabilis; *cerneres* 22, 7, 12 inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis c.; 42, 30, 1 principum diversa c. studia; *conferres* 37, 59, 2 non magis comparandus, quam si imperatorem imperatori aut Antiochum ducem Hannibali c.; *consuleres* 39, 40, 6 idem in pace, si ius c., peritissimus, si causa oranda esset, eloquentissimus; *crederes* 2, 43, 9 maestique, c. victos . . . redeunt in castra; 22, 46, 4 Afros Romanam magna ex parte c. aciem; 30, 32, 11 vultuque ita laeto, ut vicisse iam c., dicebat; 40, 50, 3 fere victos c.; *diceres* 2, 35, 5 quidquid erat patrum reos d.; 29, 28, 3 ut relinqui subito Africam d.; 39, 40, 5 ut natum ad id unum d., quidcumque ageret (Cato); *discerneres* 21, 4, 3 haud facile d., utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; *intenderes* 3, 11, 2 manu obtinendum erat, quod intenderes; *nescires* 3, 35, 3 n. utrum inter decemviros an inter candidatos numerares; *numerares* 2, 1, 7 libertatis autem originem inde magis . . . n.; *sentires* 41, 13, 8 taciti ut iratos esse sentires, secuti sunt currum; *sperneres* 2, 49, 4 quorum neminem ducem s.; *videres* 28, 30, 9 et fugientem navem v. vertice retro intortam victoribus inlatam; 30, 10, 17 scindi v. vincula; 44, 34, 7 neminem totis mox castris quietum videres. Here may also be given a few indefinite interrogatives: 1, 3, 2 haud ambigam—quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet? also 27, 1, 13; 28, 12, 6 cui non videatur mirabile nullum motum in castris factum?

SUMMARY.

Several of the above references are at times found within a single passage so that the number of including passages is considerably less than the number of references. While this is true, there is a large number of independent sections into which Livy has introduced remarks not demanded by a bare recital of facts. Some of these may be justly held as belonging to his sources, but those certainly due to Livy are numerous, and from them the following facts are established:

1. Livy freely admits his skepticism in regard to early Roman history, and in so doing makes most of the references to himself.

2. References to his sources are largely indefinite, and when earlier writers are mentioned it is for isolated facts, or for purposes of criticism.

3. Livy sought to connect past and present through the use of *nunc*, *tunc*, etc., and to give an air of universality to specific statements by using *ut fit*, *ut solet*, etc.

4. Through the use of the second person of the verb, the reader is made a quasi-associate to witness and to pass judgment on what is presented.

5. The frank acknowledgment of the existence of difficulties, and of the inability to solve them is characteristic of Livy, and is one of the merits of his work.

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III.—GREEK OSTRACA IN AMERICA.

A beginning of publishing the Greek ostraca in America has already been made by Professor Sayce, who in 1901 published an ostracon brought from Elephantine by Professor W. W. Goodwin.[1] With that document, therefore, a provisional survey of the Greek ostraca in this country naturally begins. In connection with Professor Goodwin's ostracon from Elephantine, may be mentioned two in the writer's possession, probably of a much later time than it, but coming from the same district. One was bought on the island of Elephantine, the other picked up among the ruins of Philae, in 1899. A much more extensive collection, however, is that of Professor H. W. Haynes, of Boston. Like the pieces already mentioned, these ostraca are from the vicinity of the First Cataract, where Professor Haynes secured them in 1878-9. The Haynes ostraca, Coptic, demotic and Greek, number forty-three in all, seventeen of them being Greek. These belong, with two exceptions, to the second century after Christ.

The Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia, has, among other ostraca, three written in Greek. Their museum designations with their dimensions are A. E. S. 2556+2550 (two pieces) cm. 8.5×14; A. E. S. 2552, cm. 12×15; and A. E. S. 2575, cm. 14×16. The first of these is a receipt dated (*ἔτους*) *δ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου* (A. D. 119–120); the other two are fragments of accounts in drachmae, probably of the same general period.

The Field Columbian Museum, Chicago, has over two hundred ostraca of all sorts, about half of them Greek. These come, as far as I have observed, from the neighborhood of Thebes. There are about the same number of ostraca of all sorts in the Haskell Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago, and of these about one-half are Greek. The Field and Haskell ostraca were collected and brought to America by Mr. Ed. E. Ayer, of Chicago, and the Haskell pieces, like the Field, seem to come, prevailingly at least, from about Thebes. The New York Historical Society has, in the Abbott Egyptian collection, an interesting group of Greek ostraca, almost wholly Ptolemaic.

[1] Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1901, p. 216.

There are twenty-six ostraca in the Abbott collection, about one third of which are Greek.[1] There are said to be Greek ostraca in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, but of these I am unable as yet to speak particularly.

These eight collections, small and great, of Greek ostraca, are the only ones in America known to me, although they can hardly include half the Greek ostraca actually in this country, in public and private collections. The irreparable injury quickly done by our climate to these potsherds, when they are not specially treated to resist it, makes it imperative that their inscriptions be read and recorded as soon as possible after their arrival here; otherwise the flaking off of the surface may, within a few months' time, injure or utterly destroy the writing.

The following texts represent some of the best preserved of the Haskell and Field ostraca, and sixteen of the Haynes ostraca. It will be seen that the Haskell and Field texts, while ranging from 121 B. C. to A. D. 255, belong for the most part to the first Christian century, while the Haynes texts belong almost wholly to the second. As already remarked, the Field and Haskell pieces come from Thebes, the Haynes pieces from Syene. Nearly all are of types made familiar by the work of Professor Wilcken, and the frequent references in the following pages to his volumes will suggest the writer's great indebtedness to them.

HASKELL OSTRACA.

I. 121 B. C. *cm.* 7.5×8.

Ἔτους μθ Ἐπεὶφ θ
τε(τακται) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κρο(κοδίλων πόλει) τράπεζαν ἐφ' ἧς
Αλιτι̣χ(ος) ἐννο(μίου) τ(ο)ῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους)
Πατῆς Πετεσούχου
χιλίας ἐνακοσίας ν
ά ν
Αλιτι̣χ(ος) τρα(πεζίτης)
. ος αλ() τρ() τρ(απεζίτης)

5 A similar ⌊ occurs in Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 1620 (129 B. C.) which shews other resemblances to this document.

[1] The texts of these and of other Greek documents in the same collection are reserved for another paper.



9 The beginning of the line is badly rubbed.—Perhaps ἄλ(λης) τρ(απέζης)

2. A. D. 38. *cm.* 7.5×9.

Ἀ[σκ]λᾶς τελώνης γερ(δίων)
Πασῆμι Σάχαντος
Ἔχω ἀπὸ τέλ(ους) μη(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ
(δραχμὰς) β ζ α κε (ἔτους) Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος
3 L. ἀπὸ

3. A. D. 46. *cm.* 6×9.

Πορουῆς Ψεναμοῦνις καὶ
μετοχω Χεμτοσνυις
Πελειλις (χαίρειν). Ἀπέχ(ομεν) ὑ(πὲρ) βαλ(ανικοῦ) . . .
τοῦ ς (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
5 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Μεσορὴ τ
1 L. Ψεναμούνιος.
2 L. μέτοχοι.
3 L. Πελείλιος.—Only faint traces appear after βαλ(ανικοῦ), where the amount in drachmae probably stood.

4. A. D. 48. *cm.* 7×9.

Πορουῆς Ψεναμοῦνις καὶ
μέ(τοχοι) Χεμτοσνυεις Πελειλις
χ(αίρειν). Ἀπέχο(μεν) τοῦ ζ̣ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
Μεσορὴ ιζ
1 L. Ψεναμούνιος.
2 L. Πελείλιος.

5. A. D. 50. *cm.* 10.5×11.5.

Δια(γε)γρά(φηκεν) Χεμπνε(ὺς) Πενμώνιος
ὑ(πὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) ι (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δεκάπεντε | (δραχμὰς) ιε—
καὶ προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα) ἐξ-ς Ἔτους ι Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ) Γερ(μανι)κοῦ
5 Αὐτοκράτορος Φαρμ(οῦθι) λ ε Βάσσο(ς) Δεκ(μου) π(ράκτωρ)
1 Cf. Haskell 7 and 8 and Field 5, 6, 7, and perhaps 3, in which, notwithstanding differences of spelling, the same individual may be meant.

6. A. D. 53? *cm.* 8.5×10.

Θησ(αυρῷ) μη(τροπόλεως) Ἐπεὶφ δ

Σενσεχῶ(νσις) Πετεχώ(νσιος) ⸗
Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδ(ίου) Κυρί[ου] ιγ (ἔτους)

2 ⸗ perhaps (πυροῦ); there is a possible trace of an amount after it.

7. A. D. 55. *cm.* 8.5×10.5.

Δια(γε)γρ(άφηκεν) Χεμπν(εὺς) Πενάμεως
ὑ(πὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) α (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δεκάπεντε /(δραχμὰς) ιε
καὶ τούτω(ν) προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα) (Ἔτους) α Νέρωνος
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
5 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
Φαρ(μοῦθι) κδ̄ σεσ(ημείωμαι)

8. A. D. 68. *cm.* 6×6.

Πετοσῖρις καὶ
μετοχων Χεμτενε[ὺς
Πελείλι(ο)ς [χ]αίρ(ειν). Ἀπέχ(ομεν)
ὑ(πὲρ) βαλανικ(οῦ) τ[ο]ῦ
5 ιδ (ἔτους) τοῦ Κυρίου
Παῦνι .

2 L. μέτοχοι.

5 From the official mentioned above, a date in the reign of Nero seems to be meant; cf. Gr. Ostr., II, no. 1404, A. D. 71–2.

9. A. D. 71–72. *cm.* 12.5×12.5.

Διάγρ(αφεν) Χεμ ο() Πουω() Αρσενεως
Πετεσήμιο(ς) ὑ(πὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) Νότου [κ](αὶ Λιβὸς) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δ. (Ἔτους) δ
Ολασπασιανοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου Φ(α)με(νὼθ) β
ὁμο(ίως) Φαρμο(ῦθι) κγ̄ (δραχμὰς) η ὁμο(ίως) Παῦ(νι) β̄ (δραχμὰς) η
5 ὁμο(ίως) Φαῶ(φι) β̄ δ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δ σεση(μείωμαι)
ὁμο(ίως) Ἀθὺρ ᾱ (δραχμὰς) ια μβ

Cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, nos. 430–435.

10. A. D. 89. *cm.* 10×11.

Σατορνῖνος στρατιώτης
Πετεμενῶφις Φενεμούνιος
χ(αίρειν). Ἀπέχω παρὰ σοῦ ἀχύρου
γόμων ὁ (ἔτους) η Αὐτοκράτορος



Δομιτιανοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου
Ἐπειφ κδ /
. . . ρι .
θ

3 L. ἀπέχω.—L. σοῦ.

11. A. D. 89. *cm.* 4×4.

]μούνιος ὑ(πὲρ) χω(ματικοῦ) η . [
κα]ὶ προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) (ἔτους) η Δομιτιανοῦ
Ἐ]πειφ λ ε · σεση(μείωμαι)

Cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 470.

12. A. D. 107. *cm.* 9×10.

Μέτρη(μα) θησαυρ(ο)ῦ μητροπ(όλεως) γενή(ματος) ι (ἔτους)
Τραιανοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου Μεσορὴ ιζ ὀνόμ(ατος)
Ὧρος Ψεναμούνιο(ς) (πυροῦ) δύο / (πυροῦ) β Πικ(ῶς)

Cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 802.

13. A. D. 117–138. *cm.* 4.5×4.

. . . [. .] . [
Ἔσχο(μεν) ἀνακεχω() [
Ἀ]δριανοῦ Καίσαρο[ς τοῦ Κυρίου
] Ἀθὺρ τ (δραχμὰς) β

2 Cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., I, p. 152.

14. A. D. 129. *cm.* 6×8.

Μί(τρημα) εἰς θησ(αυρὸν)] μητρο(πόλεως) γενή(ματος) ιγ (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ] Κυρίου Ἐπειφ ε̄ ὀνόμ(ατος)
.] . ακηστιος δι(ὰ) Πικῶτο(ς)
.] (πυροῦ) μίαν τέταρτον
5 /(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) α δ]

15. A. D. 255. *cm.* 7×8.5.

Διέγραψεν Μεχεὶρ ιζ τοῦ ἐν(εστῶτος)
β (ἔτους) τῶν Κυρίων ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ
καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαστῶν
Πασῆμις Ψενενμούθου ὑπὲρ
5 Ἄμμωνος Θεουκοτίστου

δραχμὰς τέσσαρας ∫ (δραχμὰς) δ

προσιητης· δέκα Πρῶτος
σεση(μείωμαι)

4 Possiby Ψενθερμούθου.

5 For Θεοκτίστου.

FIELD OSTRACA.

1. 120 B. C. *cm.* 8×8.

Ἔτους ν Ἐπεὶφ[. . τέτακται
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κρο(κοδίλων πόλει) τρά(πεζαν) ἐ[φ ἧς
. ∠ Σενεψεν[
τετρακοσίας π[
α.[
. . .

3 The beginning of the line is obliterated.

4 τετρα is doubtful. π may be the numeral, or the initial of π[εντήκοντα.

2. July, A. D. 44. *cm.* 11×11.5.

Δ]ιόγρα(ψεν) Ὧρος Παήσιος ὑ(πὲρ) λαογρ(αφίας) δ <(ἔτους)?>
Μεμνον]ίων (δραχμὰς) δ (Ἔτους) δ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσ]αρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐ]τοκράτορος Φαμενὼθ κ σεβ()
. . . .] . . ων . . . δ [the rest demotic.
. . . .] . . . ικων [the rest demotic.
. . . .]ων Ἐπεὶφ κε ὑ(πὲρ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ (ἔτους)
.] . φ . . . ὑ(πὲρ) βαλαν(ικοῦ) / (δραχμὰς) β

Ἐπεὶφ κη ὑ(πὲρ) χωμ(ατικοῦ?)
(δραχμὰς) γ . .

2 Four drachmae is too little for poll tax, which at this time in the vicinity of Thebes amounted usually to about ten drachmae, yet the payment is not said to be ἐπὶ λόγου; and there seems hardly room for the introduction of a new tax at the beginning of l. 2.

5, 6 In each of these lines the latter half is demotic.

10 Perhaps ϝ ϛ after ϛ γ.

3. October, A. D. 44. *cm.* 9.5×7.5.

Διά(γραψεν) Χεμβσενε(ὺς) Πεάμιος
ὑ(πὲρ) χω(ματικοῦ) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ἐξ (τριώβολον) / (δραχμὰς ϛ (τριώβολον) καὶ προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα)



ε (Ἔτους) ε Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτ(οκράτο)ρος
Φαῶφι κγ Πικ(ὼς) Κ(ε)φάλ(ου)
A line of demotic follows, as in no. 7.

2 We should have expected four obols instead of three, in the first item, and the usual ς—ϲ.

5 Cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr. II., no. 394.

4. A. D. 48. *cm.* 13×9.

.]μωνγ() Πταρμ()
Επρεμγε() μη(τρὸς) Παση(μιος)
ὑ(πὲρ) λαογ(ραφίας) η (ἔτους) Μεμ(νονείων) (δραχμὰς) ιϛ. (Ἔτους) η
Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπεὶφ κϑ

5. A. D. 49. *cm.* 6.7×8.2.

Ζωίλος Ἀμμωνίου Χεμσνεὺς
Πελίλιος χαίριν· Ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ
εἰς λόγον μεταβόλων ὑπὲρ μηνῶν
τριῶν / ἕως Ἀθὺρ δ (δραχμὰς) ιϐ. (Ἔτους) ε Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι[κοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος Χοιακ ιγ ὁμοίως . . .
. . (δραχμὰς) δ τυδρ() . .
Two pieces fitted together.

3 τέλος μεταβόλων ἁλιειῶν, a tax on the retailing of fish, is attested by two Theban ostraca, Gr. Ostr., II, nos. 647, 1449, both later than A. D. 150. But there is no trace of ἁλιειῶν in this receipt. ὑπὲρ is written in, above μηνῶν.

6. A. D. 50. *cm.* 7.5×9.5.

]Ζωίλος Ἀμμωνίου Χεμσνεὺς Πενάμ[(ιος)
]χαίρειν· Ἔχωι παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀγορα(νομίας)
ὠ]νίων (ἔτους) ι (δραχμὰς) δ (Ἔτους) ι Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Κα]ίσαρος Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐ]τοκράτ[ο]ρος Μεχεὶρ η̄. Ὁμοίω(ς) (δραχμὰς) δ
ὁ]μοί(ως) Φαμενὼ(θ) λ̄ (δραχμὰς) δ ὁμοί(ως) Φαρ[μοῦ(θι)] κε (δραχμὰς) δ
ὁμ]οίως Παχὼν λ̄ (δραχμὰς) δ ὁμοίω(ς) Παῦνι λ (δραχμὰς) δ

ὁ]μοίω(ς) Ἐπεὶφ κς (δραχμὰς) δ

1 Cf. the preceding ostracon, the hand of which closely resembles the hand of this.

2 ἀγορανομία ὀνίων. Cf. Gr. Ostr., II, no. 1419.

7. A. D. 56. *cm.* 9.5×8.

Διέγραψεν Χεμψενε(ὺς) Πανάμ(εως)
ὑ(πὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) β (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δεκάπεντε
/(δραχμὰς) ιε καὶ τούτω(ν) προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα)
(Ἔτους) β Νέρωνος Κλαυδ-
ίου Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ) Γερ(μανι)κοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος Παῦνι κη
Βάσ(σος) σε(σημείωμαι)

A line of demotic follows.

2 Fifteen drachmae is an unusual amount for poll-tax; ten was the usual figure about Thebes, though it varied with the district. The number here is closest to that usual at Memnonia, which was sixteen drachmae, though not invariably so. Cf. Gr. Ostr., I, p. 236.

8. A. D. 120. *cm.* 10×10.5.

Ἀπολλόδ(ωρος) πράκ(τωρ) Νεχῶς
N οσ . () μη(τρὸς) Σανκεμήτ(ιος).
Ἀπίσχ(ον) ὑ(πὲρ) λαογρ(αφίας) καὶ βαλ(ανικοῦ)
δ (ἔτους) ῥν(παρὰς) (δραχμὰς) δώδεκα /ῥυ(παρὰς) (δραχμὰς) ιβ.
(Ἔτους) δ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ Κυρίου Μεχ(εὶρ) κγ
σε(σημείωμαι) Ἀπολλώδ(ωρος)

9. A. D. 132. *cm.* 7.5×11.8.

Μέ(τρημα) εἰς θησ(αυρὸν) μη(τροπόλεως) γενήμ(ατος) ις (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ Κυρίου Ἐπεὶφ λ ὀνόμ(ατος) Ψεναμούνιος
Πετεμενκώφεως (πυροῦ) τέσσαρες ἕκτον (πυροῦ) δ ς′
σεσ(ημείωμαι) (πυροῦ) δ ς′

10. Second Century A. D. *cm.* 6×5.4.

Μ(έτρημα) εἰς θησ(αυρὸν) μ[η(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) . (ἔτους)
Καίσαρος τοῦ [Κυρίου



Σενχώνσιο(ς) .[
. ερμου ὑ(πὲρ) (ἀρουρῶν) .[
/ (πυροῦ) α ὁ̣ σε(σημείωμαι) =[

1 The fragmentary condition of the ostracon leave date and place uncertain.

4 Possibly θερμου; after which the ostracon has

II. A. D. 220. *cm.* 8.5×8.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γ(εν)ή(ματος) γ (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου
Ἐ(πεὶ)φ ιᾱ ὑ(πὲρ) Χ(άρακος) ὀνό(ματος) Κυον() Φατρῆ(τ)ο(ς) ὁ(μοίως)
Φαλή(ριος) Παρο() (πυροῦ) ἥμισυ τρίτον (πυροῦ) L <>
καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Φατρῆ(τ)ο(ς) ὁ(μοίως) Φαλή(ριος) ὑ λου() (πυροῦ) α ς′
καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Σποτοῦτος Ἑρμί(ου) καὶ Φατρῆ(τ)ο(ς)
ὁ(μοίως) Φαλή(ριος?) ὑ λου() (πυροῦ) L ᵈ /ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (πυροῦ) δύο ἥμι-
συ τρίτον / (πυροῦ) β L″ Αὐρήλ(ιος) Φιλ() σ(εσ)η(μείωμαι)
(πυροῦ) δύο ἥμισυ τρίτ<ον> / (πυροῦ) β L″ σ(εσ)η(μείωμαι)

1 Elagabalus is meant.

3 Cf. Gr. Ostr., I, p. 819, n. 2; and II, no. 993, where ὁ(μοίως) appears in a like connection.

4, 5, 7 Written φαλη′.

7 The sum given below, 2 ½ ⅛, would require ιβ′ or some form of 1/12 here after ½ ⅛ to make the three items, when added together, equal it.

8 The same endorsement appears in Gr. Ostr., II, no. 993, an ostracon of the same month and year.

Haynes Ostraca.

I. A. D. 95. *cm.* 5.5×5.

[. Διέγραψεν]
Πετο]ρζμῆθι[ς] Π[
τοῦ] Πετορζμ(ήθου) Λουψ μ[ητ(ρὸς) . . .
. . . .]⊢ λαο(γραφίας) Ἐλεφ(αντίνης) ιδ (ἔτους) ἀργυ[ρίου
δραχ(μὰς)] ἐννέα / (δραχμὰς) θ μει . [.
διὰ Λ]έοντος γραμμα[τέως. (Ἔτους) ιε
Δομιτιανο]ῦ Καίσαρος·[
τοῦ Κ]υρίου Θ[ὼθ .
ὁ]μοί(ως) διπ[λ(ᾶν)?

10 δρα]χ(μὰς) [. / (δραχμὰς)

.

The date assigned is suggested by the parallel formulae, especially διὰ Λέοντος γραμματέως, of no. 42 in Wilcken, Gr. Ostr.; a document connected, though not with entire positiveness, with A. D. 95.

2, 4 Possibly the same person is meant as in no. 2, in which case the restorations Π[ετεύρεως l. 2 and Τισᾶ]τ̣(ις), l. 4, might be made.

4 The poll tax for this place and period has been shewn to have been 17 drachmae; cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., I, p. 238. It is likely however that a partial payment of nine drachmae is meant, and the words ἐπὶ λόγου probably stood before λαο(γραφίας).

2. A. D. 112. *cm.* 6.5×10.5.

Διάγραψ(εν) Πετορζμῆτ(ις) Πετεύρε(ως)
Πλουψ μητ(ρὸς) Τισᾶτις ὑ(πὲρ) χιροναξί(ου)
τοῦ ιε (ἔτους) Τραιανοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου δραχ(μὰς)
δεκάδυο ⏜ (δραχμὰς) ιβ. (Ἔτους) ιε Τραιανοῦ
5 τοῦ Κυρίου Τῦβι θ δι(ὰ) Λουκίου Αὐρηλί[ου
ἐπιτ(ηρητοῦ)

3. A. D. 115–116. *cm.* 7×7.

Διδυμ[ίων πράκ(τωρ)
Διάγραψ[εν
μητ(ρὸς) Τηπάνιο[ς ὑ(πὲρ) μερισμ(οῦ)
ποταμοφολικί[δος (δραχμὰς) . (Ἔτους) ιθ Τραιανοῦ
5 Ἀρίστου τοῦ Κυρίου .[
δι(ὰ) Σαραπίωνος . . [

4 The singular (δραχμὴν) should perhaps be read; this tax was usually small.

4, 5 The use of the title Ἄριστος points to Trajan, and a year of his reign not earlier than A. D. 114. Didymion was πράκτωρ in Trajan's nineteenth year, as well as in several years of Hadrian. Διὰ Σαραπίωνος too, suggests the same year; cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, nos. 102–104, all of A. D. 115–116.

4. A. D. 115–116. *cm.* 9×6.5.

Ἰο]ύλιος Μάξιμος καὶ μέτοχ(οι)
. . . .] . πραισιδ(ίου) Σοή(νης ?) Ηλι() Τισασιχου



ἔσ]χ(ομεν) παρὰ σο(ῦ) ὑπὲρ παικισωνος
καὶ ?] ὑπὲρ χω(ματικοῦ) ὀψω(νίου) (δραχμὰς) μα (πεντώβολον) σὺν ακκ()
(Ἔτους) ι]θ Τραιανοῦ Ἀρίστου Καίσαρος
τοῦ] Κυρίου Μπαῦνι κ

While the ink is fresh and the ostracon almost complete, the hand is difficult and irregular.

1 Μάριος Μάξιμος would fit better in the reign of Trajan (Cf. Gr. Ostr., II, no. 88) but the reading Ἰο]ύλιος seems certain.

2 On πραισιδίου cf. Gr. Ostr., I, § 101; II, no. 621. ἀπαι(τηταὶ) μερ(ισμοῦ) seems too much for the probable space missing before πραισιδ(ίου).—Perhaps σοκ() or τοκ() for Σοή(νης).

3 Or πα() κ(α)ὶ ταωνος.

4 Possibly συμακκ().

5 A. D. 116–117. *cm.* 10.5×8.5.

Ἀμμώνιο(ς) πράκ(τωρ). Διέγ(ραψεν) <Παχνοῦ-
μις Βιήγχεως μη<τ(ρὸς)
ὑ(πὲρ) ὀψωνίο(υ) ποταμοφ<υλακ(ίδου) (ἔτους) .
Ἀδριανοῦ (δραχμὴν) α (τετρώβολον). (Ἔτους) α Α<δριανοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου

The latter half of each line has been obliterated. The last line is so cursively written as to be very doubtful.

While the year is almost illegible, it is fixed by the mention of Ammonius as πράκτωρ and Hadrian as emperor. The last year of Ammonius as πράκτωρ was the first of Hadrian's reign; cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 105.

3 The same tax ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου ποταμοφυλακίδου is discharged in Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 104, also from Syene, dated A. D. 115–116, the amount being one drachma three obols.

6. A. D. 119–120. *cm.* 7.5×11.

Σανμοῦς πράκ(τωρ). Διέγρ(αψεν) Φανω-
. θεως ὑ(πὲρ) μερισμ(οῦ) πο-
τ]α<μοφυλα>κ(ίδος) δ (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου
ῥυ(παρὰν) (δραχμὴν) . . Σ>αρ(απίων) γρ(αμματεὺς) ἔγρ(αψα)

4 For this year, the river-police tax seems to have been one drachma five obols; cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., I, p. 285, on Berlin P. 8620; and probably that was the amount in this ostracon.

The illegible letters at the end of the line probably indicated the month and the day.

7. March, A. D. 136. *cm.* 6×6.5.

Φανμοῦς πράκ(τωρ). Διέγραψ(εν)
Πετορζμῆτ(ις) Πετεύρεως
Πλουψε ὑ(πὲρ) μερισμ(οῦ) διπλ(ῶν)
κ (ἔτους) ῥυ(παρὰς) (δραχμὰς) β (ὀβολοὺς δύο) χα(λκοῦν). (Ἔτους) κ
'Αδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ Κυρίου Φαμ(ενὼθ) κθ

3 On διπλῶν cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., I, p. 179. No. 8 and Wilcken's nos. 163, 164 are the only other ostraca known to me of the form ὑπὲρ μερισμοῦ διπλῶν. All four are from Syene and from the same πράκτωρ, Psanmous, no. 163 being made out of the day before this one.

8. April A. D. 136. *cm.* 8×7.5.

Φανμοῦς πράκ(τωρ). Διέγραψ(εν)
Ζμενπῶς Πετορζμήθεω[ς
μητ(ρὸς) Τισᾶτις ὑ(πὲρ) μερισμοῦ
διπλ(ῶν) κ (ἔτους) ῥυ(παρὰς) (δραχμὰς) β . (Ἔτους) κ
'Αδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ Κυρίου Φαρμ(οῦθι) κζ

2 Cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 162, this man's receipt for river-police tax of the same year.

9. A. D. 138. *cm.* 8×8.

Οὐαλέριος Μαρίων καὶ οἱ σὺν
αὐτ(ῷ) ἐπιτηρητ(αὶ) ἱερᾶς πύλ(ης) Σο-
ήνης διὰ Παχομψάχ(ιος) βοηθ(οῦ).
Διέγρα(ψεν) Καλασεῖρις Πετορ-
ζμήθου μητ(ρὸς) Θεινπετορ-
ζμῆθις ὑ(πὲρ) λαογρα(φίας) κβ (ἔτους)
'Αδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου
(δραχμὰς) ις (ὀβολὸν) δραχμ(ὰς) δέκα ἑπτὰ ὀβολ(όν).
(Ἔτους) κβ 'Αδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ Κυρίου Φαρμοῦθι
ις

3 Cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 168.

10. A. D. 139. *cm.* 6×8.

Πετεσοῦχος πράκ(τωρ). Διάγ(ραψεν)
Ζμαντπῶς Πετορζμήθ(εως)
μητ(ρὸς) Τισᾶτις ὑ(πὲρ) μερισμ(οῦ)
ποταμ(οφυλακίδος) β (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου ῥυπ(αροὺς) (ὀβολοὺς δύο) (χαλκοῦς τέσσαρας)
διπλ(ᾶν) (δραχμὰς) γ (ὀβολὸν) στατ(ίωνος) (χαλκοῦς δύο) Μεχ(εἰρ) ιθ.

6 The usual charge for *statio* in ostraca of a few years earlier, A. D. 127–129, was six chalci; cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, nos. 145–147; but no trace of the sign for χαλκοῦς τέσσαρας is discernible before (χαλκοῦς δύο).

11. A. D. 145. *cm.* 6.5×10.5.

Σωτὴρ καὶ Παπρεμίθης πράκ(τορες)
ἀργυρικ(ῆς) Ἐλεφ(αντίνης). Διέγραψεν Φαν-
ῶφις Ἐρισεχνούθεως θιμὴν
δημοσίου φύνικ(ος) γενήματος
θ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Κυρίου (δραχμὰς) δ (τριώβολον)
(Ἔτους) θ Ἀθὺρ κ̄

3 L. τιμὴν.
4 L. φοίνικος.

12. A. D. 147–148. *cm.* 6. 5×8.

Γερμανὸς καὶ Δομίττιος Φαν-
Φανιανὸς πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῆς) Ἐ(λε)φ(αντίνης) ὑ(πὲρ) .. Διάγρα(ψεν)
Π μηθ() μητ(ρὸς)
ὑ(πὲρ) μερισμ(οῦ) ια (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου ῥυ(παρὰς) δραχ(μὰς) τέσαρας
⁀ (δραχμὰς) δ Τῦβι γ Δομίτιος Φαννια-
νὸς σ(εσ)ημ(είωμαι) δραχ(μὰς) τέσαρ[α]ς (δραχμὰς) δ

1 Φαν- is written, and then disregarded.
5, 7 L. τέσσαρας.

13. A. D. 148. *cm.* 9.5×13.5.

Παβοῦς Πρεκμήχ(εως) τελ(ώνης) γερ(διακοῦ) (ἔτους) ια
Παπρεμῖτις—χαίρειν. Ἔσχον
παρὰ σοῦ τέλ(ους) [[ο]] λίνου γ (ἔτους) ιβ Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου Φαῶφι ιε
δι(ὰ) Ψενθατρῆ Σαράμεως

1 γερ(διακοῦ) is somewhat doubtful. The ἔτος sign ⲗ looks very much like the sign ἄρουρα.

3 οἴνου seems to have been corrected to λίνου.
5 Perhaps Ψενθατρῆς Ἀράμεως should be read.

14. A. D. 150. *cm.* 6×6.5.

Στλάκκι]ος μισθωτὴς ἱερᾶς
πύλ(ης) Σοή(νης) διὰ] Ἀμμωνίου βοηθ(οῦ). Διάγρα(ψεν)
.]μεγ() τοῦ καὶ Πιλκοῦνις
μητ(ρὸς)] . γρα() ὑ(πὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) δραχ(μὰς) δέκα ἑπτὰ
ὀβολ(ὸν)——(δραχμὰς) ιζ] (ὀβολὸν) τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρ]ος τοῦ Κυρίου Φαρμ(οῦθι) κθ

1 Although the earliest other notice of Stlaccius as μισθωτὴς is dated Feb., A. D. 155, the form of this receipt and especially the mention of Ammonius as βοηθός (cf. Wilcken, Gr. Ostr., II, no. 226) seem to justify the restoration of his name.

15. Second Century A. D.? *cm.* 7.5×14.5.

Ἀπόδ(ος) εἰς Ἐλεφαντίνην
τῷ υἱῷ Βουκόλῳ
π(αρὰ) Πανῶτος (δραχμὰς) χ

2 βουκόλῳ should perhaps be read, or Βουκόλω = Βουκόλου.

16. Second Century A. D.? *cm.* 10.×9.5.

Πατορζ(μῆθις) τῷ φιλτά-
τῳ πλεῖ]στα χαίρειν.
]εθησις πέμψω μου
]ητωριτιων μου ἐπὶ
]εχι αὐτὸ σήμερον
]εν μὴ ἀμελήσις
]λκας ουτι εικη ους
]τινα κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆ(ς)

This seems to be part of a letter of instructions (L. μὴ ἀμελήσῃς), but the fragment yields no connected sense and few intelligible words.

The University of Chicago. Edgar J. Goodspeed.

Note.—In printing these texts parentheses () indicate expansions of abbreviations and symbols, square brackets [] restorations of parts broken or flaked off, double square brackets [[]] letters deleted or written over, and single angle brackets <> letters erased or obliterated.



IV.—THE APODOSIS OF THE UNREAL CONDITION IN ORATIO OBLIQUA IN LATIN[1].

In view of the uncertainty and error existing in almost all our Latin grammars concerning the form of the Apodosis of the Unreal Condition in Oratio Obliqua in Latin, I have undertaken to investigate and to ascertain definitely the usage of classical Latin in this construction; my investigation is complete for the following authors: Cato, Varro, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Pliny Minor and Suetonius.

The rule is variously given in the different grammars, some of them unqualifiedly—and unqualifiedly wrong, as I shall endeavor to show—that for present time the form -rum esse should be used; some qualify by noting that this construction is very rare, others even go so far as to say that it is doubtful, while some state quite correctly that in Indirect Discourse Present Unreal Conditions are not distinguished in the Apodosis from Past.

The most striking fact, however, revealed by an examination of the treatment of this subject in the various grammars is the uniformity with which the rule for the use of -rum esse in Present Condition is supported by the one example from Caesar Bell.

[1] This paper had its origin in a letter written toward the close of 1898 by Prof. Peters of the University of Va. to Prof. Morgan of Harvard. In his letter Prof. Peters criticised the traditional rule for this form of Apodosis, stating that he believed the example in Caes. B. G. 5, 29 to be unique, and that the Romans ordinarily used the form -rum fuisse in both present and past of the Unreal Condition in O. O. Prof. Morgan kindly proposed the subject to me for investigation, the results of which have been to confirm Prof. Peters in every particular. My work was practically completed within a year from the above date, but stress of professional duties and unavoidable interruptions have prevented my printing earlier.

In regard to the method of conducting the investigation, with the exception of Cicero and Caesar, the examples were collected by me from the authors themselves. For Cicero and Caesar I used the article of Joseph Priem, Phil. 1883, Suppl. Vol. 5, p. 263. Priem had collected and classified all the conditional sentences in these two authors. For this valuable and labor-saving reference my thanks are due to Prof. Bennett of Cornell University.

Gall. 5, 29. This fact has led certain scholars to call the rule in question and to consider the solitary example in Caesar as insufficient for the foundation of a grammatical rule, and even, not without reason, to suspect the correctness of the passage from Caesar.

So far as I have been able to discover, doubt in regard to the correctness of the form -rum esse in the Apodosis of the Unreal Condition referring to present time was first raised by Sp. Vassis in the Journal Πλάτων 1883, p. 414 ff., under the title Ἀνασκευὴ ἡμαρτημένου γραμματικοῦ κανόνος. Little or no attention has been given to this article, doubtless owing to the very limited circulation of the journal. Again in the Rev. de Phil., 1887, p. 42 ff., Vassis attacked the traditional rule as given in the recently published grammar of O. Riemann, and restated at some length the arguments which I take to be the same as those used by him several years before in the Πλάτων. To this Riemann replied in the Rev. de Phil., 1891, p. 34 ff., where he with some reluctance agrees in the main with the views set forth by Vassis and offers some very strong additional arguments against the possibility of the employment of the form *scripturum esse* in O. O. as an equivalent for the form *scriberem* in the Unreal of O. R. Cf. A. J. P. XII (1891) 112; XIII (1892) 379.

These articles seem to have been practically ignored by the writers of our grammatical treatises, and no sufficient examination of the usage of Latin authors on the point, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was made by either Vassis or Riemann. I have undertaken to settle by a thorough examination; first, whether the example in Caes. B. G. 5, 29 was really the only source of authority for the rule that the form -rum esse is used for the Present Unreal in O. O.; and secondly, whether a sufficient number of undoubted examples of -rum fuisse for the Present Unreal in O. O. could be found to warrant the rule that the Romans did not distinguish in O. O. between Present and Past Unreal Conditions, but used the form -rum fuisse indifferently for both forms of Unreal Apodosis in O. O. Before entering at length into the evidence, it may be well to state here that my investigation seems to establish both these propositions: namely, that the example from Caesar of -rum esse is unique and that there are abundant examples of -rum fuisse which we seem forced to take as representing the imperfect subjunctive of O. R.

Considering the quantity of Latin read for the purpose of this



paper, the total number of examples of the Unreal Condition in O. O. is not large, being all told only about 188, distributed as follows: Cicero 99; Caesar 4; Livy 62; Nepos 3; Sallust 1; Paterculus 1; Tacitus 8; Pliny 3; Suetonius 7. When we consider that out of these 188 examples gathered from thousands of pages of Latin, including nearly all the extant classical prose, only one case of -rum esse has been found, we must conclude that the construction itself is open to grave suspicion; that suspicion is still further confirmed by the fact that this passage admits of easy emendation to make it conform to the other 187 examples, and that the idea of present time is not in any way necessary to the sense of the passage. If in addition to these considerations strong *a priori* reasons can be adduced to show that the presence of the -rum esse construction in the language would have resulted in great practical inconvenience, not to mention other difficulties of a linguistic nature, all of which we shall discuss at length below, it will have to be admitted that the construction should have no place in our grammars.

Since the fact that the form in -rum fuisse represents the Past Unreal in O. R. is not in dispute, and since the main purpose of this paper is to prove that the same form is used for the Present Unreal of O. O., I shall at once adduce some of my strongest examples in support of this latter thesis.

First, Cicero ad Fam. 4. 9. 2: Omnia enim delata ad unum sunt, is utitur consilio ne suorum quidem, sed suo. Quod non multo secus fieret, si is rem publicam teneret, quem secuti sumus. An, qui in bello, cum omnium nostrum coniunctum esset periculum, suo et certorum hominum minime prudentium consilio uteretur, eum magis communem censemus in victoria *futurum fuisse*, quam incertis in rebus fuisset? et, qui nec te consule tuum sapientissimum consilium secutus esset nec fratre tuo consulatum ex auctoritate tua gerente vobis auctoribus uti voluerit, *nunc* omnia tenentem nostras sententias *desideraturum censes fuisse?* Both the cases of -rum fuisse in the above passage manifestly refer to present time, and the presence of *nunc* in the latter example would seem to set the question beyond all reasonable doubt. Cicero refers here clearly to three different periods of time: first, when Marcellus was consul (*secutus esset*); next when Marcellus' brother was consul with Marcellus as the power behind the throne (*voluerit*); then the present time with *desideraturum fuisse* emphasized by *nunc*. The use of *desideravisset*

in O. R. here would be hardly conceivable. It was my wish when I began this investigation, to find an example of this form of Apodosis with *nunc;* I have been more fortunate than I hoped for. There is another equally strong example in Livy 38, 47, 13: "Stipendium scitote pependisse socios vestros Gallis et *nunc*, liberatos per vos regio imperio, *fuisse pensuros*, si a me foret cessatum." I consider this an absolutely certain passage in support of my thesis; *pependissent* in O. R. cannot be considered for a moment. It would be difficult to imagine two stronger examples than the above, and if they do not prove the possibility of this construction for the Present Unreal in O. O., we shall be forced to conclude that the Romans had no such construction in their language. I here quote also a very strong example from Aulus Gellius, though I have not made a complete examination of that author (20, 1, 53): "An putas, Favorine, si non illa etiam ex duodecim tabulis de testimoniis falsis poena abolevisset et si nunc quoque, ut antea, qui falsum testimonium dixisse convictus esset, e saxo tarpeio deiceretur, *mentituros fuisse* pro testimonio tam multos quam videmus." Here we have *nunc* and the imperfect subjunctive in the Protasis, and the *quam videmus* seems to fix beyond all reasonable doubt the time of the Apodosis as coincident with this. I shall now proceed to give many more examples equally as strong, but in most cases without nunc.

The following example from Cicero de Fin. 1, 39 is perhaps one of the most interesting in the entire collection: "Sin autem summa voluptas est, ut Epicuro placet, nihil dolere, primum tibi recte, Chrysippe, concessum est, nihil desiderare manum, cum ita esset affecta, secundum non recte, si voluptas esset bonum, *fuisse desideraturum.* Idcirco enim non *desideraret*, quia, quod dolore caret, id in voluptate est." Here the general sense of the passage shows that present time was in the mind of the speaker, and the Protasis *si-esset* is present; but the most interesting point is that Cicero himself immediately explains his meaning in O. R. and represents *fuisse desideraturum* by *desideraret.* This example seems well-nigh decisive of the whole question, and it would be difficult to imagine a better one.[1]

[1] The example quoted below from Pliny's letters 4, 22, 6 is an exact parallel to this passage from Cicero, and would more appropriately find its place here: "De huius (Messalini) nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cenam loquebantur, cum ipse imperator (Nerva) 'quid putamus *passurum fuisse*, si viveret?' et Mauricus 'nobiscum *cenaret*?'" "What do we suppose



In the following examples from Cicero, it would seem clear that this form of Apodosis must refer to present time. Sulla 22: "Si iam tibi hoc concedam, Q. Hortensium, tanta gravitate hominem, si, hos tales viros non suo stare iudicio, sed meo; si hoc tibi dem, quod credi non potest, nisi huic ego adessem, hos *adfuturos* non *fuisse*, uter tandem rex est, isne, cui innocentes homines non resistunt, an is, qui calamitosos non deserit?" Here with the trial actually taking place, Cicero, Hortensius, and the others referred to being present in the court room, the Protasis in the present form, we seem forced to the conclusion that the Apodosis *adfuturos fuisse* refers to the present time. Note that there is not a word in the entire passage which refers to past time. De Nat. Deorum 1, 78: "Quid censes? si ratio esset in beluis, non suo quasque generi plurimum *tributuras fuisse?*" This example seems a perfectly clear case, and the Apodosis of O. R. must be *tribuerent*. De Nat. Deorum 1, 122: "Ne homines quidem censetis, nisi imbecilli essent, *futuros* beneficos et benignos *fuisse*." The context shows clearly that the idea of present time is in the mind of the writer; he is treating a general truth, as is the case in several of the following examples. De Fin. 5, 31: "Hoc magis intellegendum est haec ipsa nimia in quibusdam *futura non fuisse*, nisi quidam essent modica natura." Ib. 5, 93: "Cum tantum igitur in virtute ponant ii, qui fatentur se virtutis causa, nisi ea voluptatem faceret, ne manum quidem *versuros fuisse*."[1] De Div. 2, 141: "An tu censes ullam anum tam deliram *futuram fuisse*, ut somniis crederet, nisi ista casu non nunquam forte temere concurrent?" Ad Quint. Frat. 1, 1, 34: "Simul etiam illud Asia cogitet nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem *afuturam fuisse*, si hoc imperio non teneretur." Ad Att. 1, 1, 4: "Simul et illud ostendi, si ipse unus cum illo uno contenderet, me ei satis *facturum fuisse*."

This completes our selection of examples from Cicero, and it would seem that if Cicero had known any such form of Unreal

he *would be doing* if he were alive?" The answer comes from Macrinus—"he *would be supping* with us." The time expressed by *passurum fuisse* and *cenaret* must be identical, and must be present. These two examples prove conclusively that the Romans considered the form in -rum fuisse O. O. as an exact equivalent to the Imperfect Subjunctive O. R. referring to present time.

[1] The Gildersleeve-Lodge Grammar very properly converts this to *verteremus* O. R. [Comp. A. J. P. XXI 109.—B. L. G.]

Apodosis as -rum esse, he certainly had occasion to employ it in some of the above examples.

We shall now return to citations from Livy; they will be found equally good in support of this thesis. It is hardly necessary to state that for an intelligent appreciation of these passages a thorough knowledge of the context is necessary; this, of course, limits of space prevent me from giving. Livy, 2, 28, 3 and 4: "Profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum *futurum fuisse* Romae nisi publicum concilium; nunc in mille curias contionesque, cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam, unum hercule virum—id enim plus esse quam consulem—qualis Appius Claudius fuerit, momento temporis *discussurum* illos coetus *fuisse*." The idea of present time is so strongly emphasized throughout this passage that it seems exceedingly forced to make the apodoses *futurum fuisse* and *discussurum fuisse* refer to past time. Livy, 4, 57, 4: "Tum quoque, si res sineret, libenter se *daturum* tempus iis *fuisse* ad receptum nimis pertinacis sententiae." Ib. 8, 31, 3: "Et tunc invidia impedire virtutem alienam voluisse cupidiissimisque arma *ablaturum fuisse* militibus ne se absente moveri possent, et nunc id furere, id aegre pati quod sine L. Papiro non inermes, non manci milites fuerint, quod se Q. Fabius magistrum equitum duxerit ac non accensum dictatoris. quid illum *facturum fuisse*, si, quod belli casus ferunt Marsque communis, adversa pugna evenisset, qui sibi devictis hostibus, re publica bene gesta, ita ut non ab illo unico duce melius geri potuerit, supplicium magistro equitum minetur! neque illum magistro equitum infestiorem quam tribunis militum, quam centurionibus, quam militibus esse. si posset, in omnes *saeviturum fuisse;* quia id nequeat, in unum saevire;" I would especially urge the careful perusal of this entire chapter. The Present Infinitives *furere* (time emphasized by *nnnc*), *pati*, *saevire*, the clause *quid id nequeat* all show present time to have been in the mind of the speaker. It will be noticed further that the clause *nunc id furere* is used in contrast to a preceding *tunc voluisse*, *ablaturum fuisse* and *facturum fuisse*, all referring to past time; and if there had been any way of distinguishing the two forms of condition, we are warranted in believing that Livy would have done so here in *saeviturum fuisse*. Id. 10, 21, 15: "Se, nisi confideret eum consensu Romani populi consulem declaratum iri, qui haud dubie tum primus omnium ductor habeatur, dictatorem *fuisse extemplo dicturum*."



Here again the form of the protasis and the context point to present time. Ib. 22, 25, 10: "Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se *laturum fuisse* de abrogando Q. Fabi Imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure." Id. 24, 33, 7: "Ad ea Epicides, si qua ad se mandata haberent, responsum eis ait se *daturos fuisse;* cum in eorum, ad quos venerint, manu res Syracusana esset, tum reverterentur." Ib. 32, 36, 7: "Quinctius verum id *futurum fuisse* dicere, si aestas et tempus rerum gerendarum esset; nunc hieme instante nihil amitti dato spatio ad legatos mittendos." Id. 34, 4, 14: "'hanc', inquit, 'ipsam exaequationem non fero' illa locuples. 'cur non insignis auro et purpura conspicior? cur paupertas aliarum sub hac legis specie latet, ut, quod habere non possunt, *habiturae*, si liceret, *fuisse* videantur?'" Here again we have an exceedingly strong example in support of my position; all the verbs are present, and the same idea of time which is contained in *habiturae fuisse* is expressed in *quod habere non possunt*, clearly present. Id. 34, 24, 5: "Romanus, cunctis undique increpantibus Aetolos, *responsurum se fuisse* iis dixit, nisi ita infensos omnis in eos videret, ut sedandi potius quam irritandi essent." This is a good example to show the power which the Protasis may have in fixing the time of the Apodosis, and also the absurd position of those who insist upon the English "would have" as an equivalent to the simple "would" in these apodoses; for how could it be predicated here "he said that he would have replied in some past time unless he saw something now", or "I did not reply last week because I now see reasons for not doing so"? Other interpretations may be possible, but hardly probable. If the Protasis in this example is present (and it seems hardly possible to take it otherwise) the Apodosis must refer to the same time. Nepos Ages., 6, 1: "Idem, cum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret essetque sine muris oppidum, talem se imperatorem praebuit ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam *futuram non fuisse.*" It may seem like hair-splitting, but it is nevertheless true that it would be absurd here to say that "unless Agesilaus had been, Sparta would not have been," the meaning clearly being that it would have fallen and *would not be* in existence now. Out of four examples found in Pliny Minor, one seems clearly to support the view set forth in this paper (Ep. 4, 22, 6): "De huius (Messalini) nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes

super cenam loquebantur, cum ipse imperator (Nerva) 'quid putamus *passurum fuisse*, si viveret'? et Mauricus 'nobiscum cenaret'". Suetonius furnishes one example (Augustus 31): "Cumque in demortuae locum aliam capi opporteret, ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent, adiuravit, si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeret aetas, *oblaturum se fuisse* eam."

The above is the evidence—and it must surely seem ample to any unprejudiced mind—on which we rest our conclusion that the Romans could and did employ the form -rum fuisse in O. O. to represent both the Present and the Past Unreal of O. R. I propose now to adduce some a priori reasons to show (1) that the form -rum esse from the very nature of the case never could have been used to represent the Unreal; and (2) that if it had been, it would have led to endless confusion, which would have caused its abandonment in the early stages of the language.

(1) Scripturum fuisse is nothing but the infinitive of scripturus fui or eram; they are all essentially unreal, just as the English "I was going to write" in general means that I did not write. There is no need of the subj. essem or fuissem to bring in the contrary-to-fact idea, and hence even in Unreal Conditions in O. R. the past indicative is the rule with the future participle in this form of condition. Now on the other hand scripturum esse is nothing but the infinitive of scripturus sum, and if there is no unreal idea in the indicative form, it is difficult to see how it could ever get into the infinitive. Daturum esse might stand for dem or dabo as well as daturus sum of O. R., but any unreal idea such as is found in darem or dedissem is totally foreign to it. Riemann, Rev. de Phil., 1891, 34, puts it: "Comment expliquerait-on que scripturum esse eût pris le sens de l'irréal? Scripturum esse n'est autre chose que scripturus sum mis à l'infinitif, par conséquent, 'dico me scripturum esse' signifie 'je dis que je suis dans la situation de quelqu'un qui est destiné à écrire, qui est sur le point d'écrire, qui propose d'écrire': comment passer de cette idée à celle-ci 'j' écrirais actuellement si—mais la vérité est que je n-écris pas?"

(2) In addition to these difficulties of a logical nature, the employment of -rum esse for the Present Unreal of O. O. would lead to great confusion with the future infinitive. After the principle verb in historical tense neither the form of the Protasis nor of the Apodosis would be of any assistance in determining whether the condition were Unreal, Real, or Ideal. The

Latin language is already sufficiently poverty-stricken in the matter of distinguishing the different forms of conditions in O. O.; let us not without reason and authority enhance this poverty. Take for example one of the passages cited above, Livy 34, 33, 7. Here with *daturos esse* instead of *daturos fuisse* it would be impossible to tell whether the O. R. should be si haberetis—daremus, or si habeatis—demus, or si habebitis—dabimus, or daturi sumus; but with fuisse for esse, we may at once draw the line sharply between Unreal and Future conditions, and as a matter of practice all further differentiation will be found unimportant, and can safely be left to the context of the passage. In fact too much stress seems to have been laid by grammarians on the necessity of two different forms for the Unreal Apodosis in O. O.; in avoiding, or rather assuming, one difficulty, their eyes have been closed to other difficulties of a more serious nature, both logical and practical. The form of the Protasis and the general sense of the passage will generally make it sufficiently clear whether present or past time is intended; where these leave it uncertain, it will be found to be a matter of indifference. If the time is indifferent to us, it must have been equally so to a Roman, as it springs from the inherent nature of the circumstances, and no more difficulty is felt than in the inability to distinguish in O. O. the different forms of Future conditions.

In face of the above array of facts and reasons, how did it ever happen that this -rum esse heresy got such a firm foothold in the grammatical lore of our time? The answer is interesting, and serves well "to point a moral and adorn a tale". The unique and solitary example on which the rule rests happens to occur in Caesar, an author read by every Latin student; and since the construction of the Unreal in O. O. is comparatively rare in any event, and this one example of -rum esse happened to be immediately preceded by a case of -rum fuisse referring to past time, and itself easily admits of reference to present time, the whole passage, occurring as it did in one of the best Latin writers, seemed to have been designed just to establish the rule. It was undoubtedly a trap into which the most wary might fall, and it can occasion no surprise that eminent scholars seeing the rule supported by such authority should have allowed it to pass unchallenged, without thinking of other usage on the point. A closer examination, however, at once dispels the illusion which has clung around this example. In the first place, it must be

admitted by all that one example is not a sufficient foundation for a grammatical rule; if this were the only instance in Latin literature of a Present Unreal Apodosis in O. O., serious doubt would be cast upon this one instance, and scholars should be slow to accept the existence of any such construction in the language. All, however, who have read the evidence set forth above must admit that I have given numerous examples ranging from Cicero to Gellius where the construction must have been used, if any such existed. I have also given what seems to me strong reasons against the possibility of such an Unreal form as -rum esse; even if such a form were established by several undisputed passages, it would give rise to almost insuperable linguistic difficulties. Can we believe that the usage of Cicero, so well attested, differed on this point from that of Caesar? Must we believe that in the whole range of Latin literature there is only one place where the construction was needed or was possible? These are some of the incredible things which the defenders of this *exemplum solitarium* would have us believe.

Let us now turn to the passage itself, Bell. Gall. 5, 29: "Brevem consulendi esse occasionem; Caesarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam; neque aliter Carnutes interficiendi Tasgeti consilium *fuisse capturos*, neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta contemptione nostra ad castra *venturos esse*. Non hostem auctorem, sed rem spectare". It will be seen at once that it is by no means necessary to the sense here to construe *venturos esse* as a present Apodosis; the sense is equally good, or even better, and more in accord with the facts, to take it as a past: "For otherwise the Carnutes would not have formed the design of slaying Tasgetius, nor would the Eburones, if he were present, with such contempt for us, have stormed our camp". This is a perfectly natural translation and puts no strain whatever on the Latin; the only change needed is to place the full stop after *venturos* and to amend the *esse* to *sese*, to be taken as the subject of the following *spectare*. As the text now stands, it is necessary to supply *se* as the subject of this infinitive, as most of the editions tell us. If this emendation were made, the *venturos* would be constructed with the preceding *fuisse*. This is the emendation proposed by Sp. Vassis; the change is slight, *sese* being easily corrupted into *esse*, it fulfills every demand of sense and grammar, and after repeated and careful consideration of all the evidence bearing on the subject, I am of the opinion that it ought to be universally



accepted as one of the few absolutely certain emendations of classical texts. There is already some progress in this direction: Giltbauer, in his edition of Caesar, deletes the esse, Meusel accepts the emendation of Vassis, Menge and Preuss bracket esse. There can be no question that past time suits the sense of the passage fully as well as present, or even better, as it seems to me, since the transition from a preceding past Apodosis to present appears a little too rhetorical. Caesar had placed the legion in winter quarters among the Eburones, as we are told in chapter 24; the Eburones had risen in revolt, and at the time of the debate, had already made their attack on the legion. The translation " they would not have come ", or " would not have attacked ", satisfies every demand that could have been made upon the sentence. *Ad castra venturos* would then be exactly equivalent to *castra oppugnaturos fuisse*, 6, 41 (fin).

In regard to the fuisse being understood and supplied from the preceding verb, the following passages will make this easy. The first examples from Livy will be found to be almost exactly parallel. Livy, 35, 32, 8: "Menippus post eum intromissus optimum fuisse omnibus, qui Graeciam Asiamque incolerent, ait, integris rebus Philippi potuisse intervenire Antiochum; sua quemque *habiturum fuisse*, neque omnia sub nutum dicionemque Romanum *perventura*." Id. 3, 9, 8: "Mortuis duobus consulibus, jacente aegra civitate in conluvione omnium rerum ad tollendum rei publicae consulare imperium *laturum leges fuisse*, ducem Volscis Aequisque ad oppugnandam urbem *futurum*." Id. 41, 3 (fin): "Sed docebat etiam, si victores Histri, quibus armis cepissent castra, iisdem capta retinere in animo haberent, primum exutum castris hostem ad mare *persecuturos fuisse*, deinde stationes certe pro vallo *habituros:* vino somnoque veri simile esse mersos iacere." This last ought to be an exceedingly interesting passage to those who insist upon taking the *venturos* in Caesar as a present Apodosis, for the *habituros* in this passage from Livy, *without either esse or fuisse*, seems better taken as a present Apodosis, and would form an exact parallel to the Caesarian passage, with the esse emended to Sese. See also Livy 37, 14, 6: "Ita *adempturum* se maris usum hostibus *fuisse* inutilemque classem *facturum*." Id. 33, 28, 8: "Multaque in eam partem probabiliter est argumentatus, quibus fidem apud quosdam fecit nunquam, si sibi conscius esset, *oblaturum* se multitudini mentionemve eius caedis nullo lacessente *facturum*

fuisse." Id. 44, 39 (med): "Ego autem neque *mansurum* eum neque in aciem copias *educturum fuisse* certum habeo, si cedere hinc statuisset." To these add the following from Cicero: Quinct. 41: "Dubitabitur, utrum sit probabilius, Sex. Naevium statim, si quid deberetur, *petiturum fuisse* an ne *appellaturum* quidem biennio?" Ad Att. 14, 14, 2: "Sublato enim tyranno tyrannida manere video. Nam, quae ille *facturus non fuit*, ea fiunt, ut de Clodio, de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non *facturum*, sed etiam ne *passurum quidem fuisse.*" These passages show conclusively that two participles were often used with the fuisse expressed with only one of them. It is well known that fuisse is often omitted entirely in the later writers; five out of the eight examples furnished by Tacitus lack the fuisse. It is also wanting in Livy 23, 2, 5: "Vocato senatu cum sibi defectionis ab Romanis consilium *placiturum* nullo modo, nisi necessarium fuisset, praefatus esset." Id. 23, 43, 12: "Si ambo consules cum suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis pares Hannibali *futuros*, quam ad Cannas fuissent."

Two examples in Cicero with the participle alone yet remain to be considered. It seems easier and more natural to consider both these as Unreal and to supply fuisse, but the suggestion of such a possibility for Cicero would doubtless cause some of the learned to stare and gasp; yet no valid objection can be raised against this after it has once been established by numerous examples that -rum fuisse is the only construction found in Cicero. Those who object to this must supply esse and construe as potential, for I maintain that in the light of the above evidence, to supply esse in the Unreal Apodosis is out of the question. The passages are de Fin. 1, 39: "Hoc ne statuam quidem dicturam pater aiebat, si loqui posset." Quinct. 92: "Si causa cum causa contenderet, nos nostram perfacile cuivis probaturos statuebamus." It seems very easy to take this last as a potential, though the real Apodosis is *statuebamus*. Taken as unreal they will form an exact parallel to Livy 23, 2 and 23, 43. There can really be no more objection to supplying fuisse with Cicero or Livy than with Tacitus; the only difference is that with Tacitus it is the rule and has long been acknowledged as such, while with Cicero and Livy it is very rare, and the attention of scholars has never been called to it.

A few general remarks on some phases of the conditional sentence and I am done. The periphrasis *futurum fuisse ut*



for the passive, I find to be exceedingly rare, only two examples being found in all the authors mentioned above: Cic. Tusc. 3, 69, Caes. Bell. Civ. 3, 101, 2. Not a single case of this periphrasis with the active was found. The form *fuisse* for *futurum fuisse* seems to be fairly common, as Caes. B. G., 1, 14, 2, Nepos Tim. 3, 4; Livy, 30, 10, 21. Potuisse is regularly used, the supine stem being wanting to this verb. Similarly the Perfect Infinitive of other verbs is occasionally used for the form in -rum fuisse, as Cic. de Senec. 82; conatos esse; Ad Att. 2, 24, 2 defuisse. These are the only two examples of such a construction in Cicero.

The conclusions then to which we seem to be led by these investigations are: (1) That the Romans did not distinguish in O. O. between Present and Past Unreal Conditions, the participle in -urus with fuisse being alone employed in this construction.

(2) That no inconvenience arose from this usage, since the form of the Protasis and the general sense of the passage were able to designate the time with sufficient clearness.

(3) That the unique example of -rum esse Caes. B. G. 5, 29, is a corrupt reading, and the emendation *sese* for *esse* should be accepted as the true reading.

For convenience we here subjoin all the passages of this construction collected.

CICERO.

Quinct. 41 (bis)
" 92
Verr. A. pr. 44
" A. 2, 24
" A. 2, 81
" A. 2, 125
" A. 2, 3, 111
" A. 2, 4, 11
Cluent. 52, (bis)
Leg. Agr. 2, 93
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" 1, 13
" 3, 4
" 3, 5
" 4, 4
" 5, 21
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" 3, 180
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" 2, 17
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" 1, 39 (bis)
" 2, 60 (bis)
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CICERO.

Sest 47
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" 56
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" 3, 98
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" 39
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" 3, 6, 2
Ep. Fam. 4, 4, 4
" 4, 9, 2 (bis)
" 5, 20, 1 (bis)
" 5, 20, 2
" 10, 28, 3
" 15, 21, 2
Quint. Fr. 1, 1, 34
Att. 1, 1, 4
" 2, 24, 2
" 3, 24, 1
" 10, 41, 8
" 11, 2, 1
" 13, 27, 1
Att. 14, 14, 2 (bis)
Brut. 1, 15, 7
Tusc. 1, 4
" 3, 69
De Nat. 1, 78
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De Div. 2, 22
" 2, 23
" 2, 58
" 2, 84
" 2, 141

CAESAR.

B. G. 1, 34, 2
" 5, 29, 2
B. G. 6, 41, 3
B. Civ. 3, 101, 2

LIVY.

1, 26, 9
1, 46, 7
1, 51, 4
2, 2, 5
2, 28, 3
2, 28, 4
3, 9, 8
3, 50, 7
4, 15, 2
4, 57, 4
5, 39, 6
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9, 14, 146
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10, 37, 11
21, 2, 2
22, 25, 10
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37, 52, 7
38, 47, 13
38, 50, 1
39, 40
41, 3
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" 8, 6, 12

SUETONIUS.

Jul. Caes. 56 (bis) | Aug. 31 | Otho 10
" 72 | Tib. 62 (bis)

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V.—DAĒVA IS DEVÁ; AṢA IS ARŠA, ETC.

A Study in Alphabets.

Notice that our supposed *ẹ* (as -*y* + *ā* and *y* + *a*) seldom occurs except after the '*y*' in the *interior* of verbal terminations and indeed of those of the -*ya* verbs. See however where it is interior in the body of the word in our supposed *yẹṣẹ*, *yẹzẹ*,[1] etc. after *y*. There again of course the syllable is '*yā*' (or '*ya*') and the words are *y*(*y*)*asẹ*, *y*(*y*)*azẹ*; cp. Indian *yáje*; read *yasẹ*, *yazẹ*. Here the terminal '*ẹ*' is correct. It is the sound expressed by the character.

The *ẹ* sound is totally absent from the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, of the active personal verbal terminations of the -*ya* verbs in the Avesta language; and so we should have long since suspected.

As an interesting clincher I will here interpose the analogous case of the now irrational, but once so useful '*a*' of the supposed combination *aẹ̄* for Indian *e*, in such forms as *daẹ̄va*, *daẹ̄sa*, *dvaẹ̄θa*, *dvaẹ̄ṣ*(*š*)*a*, *naẹ̄ma*, *paẹ̄sah*, etc., etc. No close critic should look upon these forms with the *aẹ̄* = Indian '*e*' without a suspicion of the clumsy presence of débris.

It is precisely in line with the '*y*'; see this Journal for Nov., 1903. The '*a*' is here débris left in its old place after its original had done its work; and our compositum (see the Zend original of *ẹ*, *ẹ̄*) a little lengthened to distinguish it from the same characters when meaning *yā* or '*š*' (*sh*), etc. is correctly used for the '*ẹ*' sound, though it is preceded by an irrational '*a*'.

But this '*ẹ*' sound arose from the Pahlavi sounds *a* + *i* = an '*ẹ*'. And this *a* + *i*, as I strongly hold, was, among other values,

[1] It seems to be necessary to explain that it is only in writing for German periodicals that we use the many good devices which we have adopted for German readers. The transliteration *ž* for our English *z* has no meaning for English readers. *z* in German spells the '*ts*' or '*tz*' of other languages; hence the Germans very properly write *ž* for the *z* sound; so for our '*j*', they have no corresponding letter, so write *ǰ* and sometimes the awkward *dsch*, etc. 'Avesta' was also once written; but it spells in English 'Afesta'. The transliteration which I make use of in writing for the Z. D. M. G. is by no means 'standard', least of all in Oxford. I am here in this article controverting it, even for Germany.



expressed by our original Pahlavi sign without its prolongation.

It was the same cursive character which we have for *y* + *ā*; see above. No expert in Pahlavi needs to be reminded of the excessive multiplicity of significance which inheres in our Pahlavi characters. The elements of '*ẹ*', *a* + *i*, were once expressed by our compositum a little lengthened when it correctly expresses '*ẹ*', and still further lengthened for '*ẹ̄*'.

And at the transition period this '*a* + *i*' in Avesta characters was introduced *to guide the learning readers*, as to the true meaning of this sign as here used for '*ẹ̄*'; that is to say for the purpose of *guarding them against* seeing a *y* + *a*, on the one side, in the character, or an *š* (*sh*) on the other (both of which sounds it would in other occurrences express with a very slight trimming off of later additions).

But, as before (see again my remarks in the previous number), an objector should point to the loss of the '*i*' in the inserted Avesta *a* + *i*, leaving only our '*a*' as in *d(a)ẹ̄-*, as well as object to the clumsy presence of the '*a*', whether without its '*i*' (as *a-*), or with its former '*i*' (as in *ẹ̄* = *a* + *i*). I answer that the '*i*' of this '*a* + *i*' (also present in *ẹ*, *ẹ̄*) has *simply perished*, from its former place as gloss, just as the *ā* of the '*y* + *ā*' became absorbed in the following signs. I would therefore state that this '*a*' before '*ẹ̄*' in *d(a)ẹ̄va*, etc. is merely débris, just as the redundant '*y*' of a *y(y)āmi* would be débris; (see this Journal of Nov., 1903) and it (this '*a*') should be bracketed, or omitted, for it was no doubt originally treated in that way; that is to say, it was originally understood (see above) to be of the nature of gloss, just as our '*y*' was so understood. The words are *d(a)ẹ̄va*, *d(a)ẹ̄sa*, *dv(a)ẹ̄šа* (*dv(a)ẹ̄ša*), etc. etc.; or better simply *deva*, *desa*, etc.; cp. Indian *devá*,*-dvêša*, etc. (All Pahlavi scholars now freely correct the clumsy redundancies of our texts, as in the case of *havā-* (old *hōman-*); it is hardly *havām* as an indicative for old *hōmanam*, yet there is the long '*ā*' apparently expressed. Before I leave these forms, let me further ask whether a false epenthesis has not had something to do with the irregularity which I have noticed; I surmise that it may have exercised some influence, though I refrain from suggestions here).

To return to our '*y*' sound for a moment I have repeatedly asserted since 1887[1] that the letter rendered '*ī*' in haiθīm, with its

[1] See S. B. E. XXXI, Zeitschrift D. M. G. '95, '98, 1901, also Gāθas Comm. 1892–94, Vol. III. a. Dictionary, Pref. XIII, fig., 1902.

throng of sister forms as acc. sing. masc.-neuters (N. B.) is the Pahlavi consonant '*y*' with its inherent vowel '*a*', and that the word is *haiθyam;* cp. Indian *satyám*, and that no *i* sound whatsoever is present and except in so far as an *i* sound inheres in our '*y*'. (And I have had more than one expression of acquiescence from scholars who read the Pahlavi as to this and the other points). That Pahlavi signs with a value exclusively Pahlavi survive in the Avesta Alphabet is simple fact—certified elsewhere beyond all question—see the Avesta compositum for *hv* = Indian '*sv*';[1] it is made up of two entirely distinct purely Pahlavi signs joined together after the manner of Pahlavi writing. The one for '*h*' never at any time expresses '*h*' elsewhere in Avesta, nor does the one for '*v*' (*w*) ever express that sound elsewhere in Avesta. They are both purely original Pahlavi, and yet prominent in the fully elaborated Avesta Alphabet.

In the vast majority of *-ya* nouns and adjectives, if not in all, the same old Avesta-pahlavi sign is present for '*ya*', in the acc. sing. masc. and nom.-acc. neut. where they occur; and this side by side with the rational usage as to the other cases; that is to say, we have '*ya*' (*yō, yāt,* etc.) in other cases. And we have all along mistaken this *-ya* for an Avesta long '*i*'. What has a long '*i*' to do in an '*-im*' for an acc. sing. *masc. neut.* (!) of a *-ya* noun or adjective? I refrain from statistics here, though over a hundred cases are involved in these restorations; but I cannot help mentioning that this form of the Pahlavi '*y*' (with the tags below doubtless later falsely added here to indicate an erroneous Avesta lengthening) occurs side by side with some of the rational terminal declensional forms of the *ya-* nouns and adjectives actually in the same words as well as in different words of the same declensional termination; see especially *-yāt* and in some scores of instances. Our Avesta blunder '*i*' for '*ya*' (see above as to *haiθim*) is invariable, or nearly so, for we have till '87 invariably written '*im*' for the proper '*yam*' which the signs express. Also the terminal *-yehya* (though falsely and irrationally read as *-yehe*) appears in the genitive sing. masc. neut. of these '*ya*' nouns or adj. It will ultimately be correctly reproduced as *-yahya* or *-yehya* (see this Journal for Nov., 1903) = Indian *-yasya;* see Gaθic '*-ahyā*'. (Why this mistaken '*-im*'

[1] By writing *h*ᵛ (*h*ᵂ) with the '*v*' above, we falsify the fact that the '*v*' (or '*w*') is on the same footing with the *h*. See the vocabulary. The Avesta '*hv*' is not at all restricted, but is simply = Indian '*sv*' in all (?) its occurrences.



occurred in these cases of accusative sing. masc. neut. was, I think, owing to its containing the final nasal,[1] which was represented by some now lost sign of nasalization, i. e. by an anusvāra. But the character means '*y*' with its inherent '*a*' beyond all manner of doubt, and *-im* is here not at all present in any nom. acc. neuter (!) sing. in any serious sense or form.)

Before we leave this irrationally transliterated syllable or compositum, I would note the instance where the Pahlavi sign for terminal '*y* + *a*' occurs unencumbered with the late Avesta stroke, the sign of lengthening. In the totally irrational *verezinti* the first '*i*' is pure Pahlavi '*i*' = *y* + its inherent vowel '*a*' = '*ya*', and the word is *-yanti*, so in the supposed *iriš*(*š*)*inti* the word is, of course, *iriš*(*š*)*yanti*; so in *gēurvāin*, the word is *gēurvāyan*, etc.; '*i*' is here everywhere Pahlavi '*y*' = Avesta '*y*' with its inherent vowel '*a*', and so = '*ya*' (see the purely Pahlavi-avesta *kv* already explained above).

Where however the noun-adj., or pronoun, ends in *-aya* there our erroneous transliteration '*ẹ*' for the compositum '*y* + *a*' reappears. We have all misread it again as *-aẹm.* (or *-aẹ̄m*).

I refrain from statistics here again; but see the few cases of *-aya* nouns and adjectives. This irrational *-aẹm* (or '*-aẹ̄m*') as acc. sing. masc.-neut., and as nom.(?) -acc. sg. nt. occurs side by side with the rational *-yō* as nom. sg. masc. and with the *-yāt* of the abl. sing. Note especially the demonstrative pronoun ridiculously written '*aẹm*' (or '*aẹ̄m*): the word is *ayam* (or '*ayem*') and the '*ẹ*' (*ẹ̄*) sound is of course again totally absent in the syllable, see the Gāθic *ayēm* (so) and the Indian *ayám*. '*aẹm*' is an especially offensive so-called 'monster', which will soon vanish, as science makes its way through prejudice.

Our sign occurs again mistaken for an *ẹ* as a clear final in its original sense of '*y* + *a*' - '*ya*', see *nasya* and *urv*(*a*)*ẹ̄*(*ẹ*)*sya* by all of us formerly reproduced as *nasẹ* and *urvaẹ̄*(*ẹ*)*sẹ*. Justi keenly felt that it represented *-ya* as a 2nd sg. imperv.[2] But it does not

[1] See the Zeitschrift D. M. G. as above cited for 1895, 1898, also 1901.

Where our supposed '*im*' represents a pronoun in the nom. sing. fem. the long *i* is again a mistake; it is again original Avesta-pahlavi '*y*' with its inherent vowel = *-ya*. The initial '*i*' has very naturally become absorbed in the following '*y*' (or indeed in the mistaken *i*) and the word is *iyam* or '*iyem*' Indian *iyám*; as n. s. fem.

[2] As in many of these other items, he saw that what we all supposed to be *ẹ*, *ẹ̄ represented* '*ya*', but this is very different from the explanation that it *is* actually '*ya*'.

merely *represent* '*ya*', it simply and actually *is* our '*ya*' with the stroke purposely prolonged and nothing else (as a 2nd sg. imperv. act.), being a survival of our original Avesta-pahlavi sign.

One of the most interesting cases of grossly false transliteration is where we have hitherto mentioned such forms as *pāδavę* as dat. dual and *bāzuvę* as inst. dual. Here our sign is of course beyond all doubt again the original expression of $y + \bar{a}$, showing also one of the most marked of all linguistic phenomena, viz., the non-expression of the nasal; see the Achaemenical Inscriptions which so often omit the expression of the nasal. Recall the French nasal which is left half pronounced.

The word barbarously reproduced as *pāδavę*, dat. dual is of course *pāδāvyā(m)*; and the '*e*' sound is a monstrous intrusion. Nowhere in any sense does the '*e*' sound exist in the originals here in this final syllable; see the Indian *pādāb*ʿ*yām*; see even the Avesta form *pāδaęibya(m)* which approaches the rational reproduction, failing only in the familiar lost nasal and the intruding false '*ę*'; see above, which '*a*' as Pahl. possibly represents here a proper *ā*, and was the reason why we miss the '*ā*' of the Indian? See also the abnormity *bāzuvę* (sic); no such scandal exists in Zend Philology. The word is *bāzuvyā(m)*; see Indian *bāhúb*ʿ*yām çátrub*ʿ*yām, d*ʿ*enúb*ʿ*yām*, etc. and see it correctly (?) written even in the Avesta *bāzubya(m)*. Even this last seemingly erroneous or inadequate final short '*a*' may be also a relic of original spelling; the sign for Avesta short *a* is the same as that for long *ā* in the more original Avesta-pahlavi. How could a native Iranian utter a termination *-ę* when he meant to express the equivalent of *-yā(m)*?, and is admitted to have often actually so spoken *-ya(m)* as at times (approximately) correctly reported. An '*e*' sound has been again here reported by us in this termination which is utterly discordant to all analogies and was never present in any sense in any vernacular speech; that is to say, in any real language. It will be well to recall just here perhaps the grossest of all our cases of miswriting which well drives home the entire argument. It was our wonderful *kainę* as a nominative singular feminine of the '*a*' (!) declension. The word is of course *kainyā*; cp. Indian *kanýā* (*-yà*); see the Zeitschrift D. M. G., July 1895, and 1901; see S. B. E. XXXI, so long ago as 1887. We have again our original Avesta-pahlavi compositum $y + \bar{a}$ and the *ę* sound is totally absent. (I came upon these discoveries through the Pahlavi translation of *-yānī* in *ufyānī*; see Zeitschrift D. M. G. for Oct. '98.)



Aṣa is arša.

As a postscript, I would call attention to two further new suggestions; first, that our sign for ṣ is in some of its applications and perhaps originally '*-rš*'; see its form; the first stroke was originally the sign for '*r*'.[1] I should say it was thus originally, and not later, two characters, *r* + š, because it (the original of ṣ) does not exist at all in the original Pahlavi Alphabet, as so very many of the Avesta letters do, Pahlavi being the original of the Avesta Alphabet. See Avesta *arṣuxδa*, *arṣmanah*, *arṣṣyaoθna*, etc. I do not believe that there is any *aṣa* or *ašā*. Our form is *arša* (so, better than *arṣa*); cp. Indian *ṛtá*, (*arš* became easily degenerated (?) to *arṣ*); see *aršṭk(a)eš(š)a*, *aršdāta*, *aršvacah*, etc. Where the '*r*' is separately expressed š is better as a following form than ṣ, for the ṣ originally included this '*r*' (see again the first stroke of this character (the ṣ) in the original). And so of the word *aš*, so well rendered by Justi as 'very'. It is again really *arš(a)*. The '*r*' is again already expressed in the fuller character ṣ, which now so often correctly[2] expresses for us only ṣ(*sh*), or where the shorter form for š occurs and not ṣ, in words which should contain an '*r*', there the '*r*' has again dropped out. And this ṣ = *rš* (*rsh*) has again its inherent vowel '*a*', though it is here not written; the word is *arša* for *aršā* = *ṛténā*. Recall where 'The cows bellowed '*ṛténa*';—'right lustily', Ṛv. X, 108 (934), 10. See also Ṛv. II, 24 (215), 8, where 'the bow with staunch bow-string' ('*ṛtájyena*') is mentioned.

See Ṛv. V, 66 (420), 1, where Váruṇa is referred to as *ṛtápeçase*, 'of splendid appearance'; see also *ṛta-yúg(k)* of Indra at Ṛv. VI, 39 (480), 2, 'the well-yoked on'; also used of 'the horses' at Ṛv. VI, 39 (480), 4, *ṛtayúgbʰir(ḥ)*, etc. Beyond all question *ṛtá* is the correspondent to this supposed '*aṣ*' really = '*arša*' = '*aršā*' = '*ṛténa*'.[3]

This is the reason why *ameṣa* corresponds to *amṛta*, etc., etc., the word is really *amerša* (or '*amarša*').

[1] In Gāθas Vol. III. a, Dict. Pref. XVII, 1902, we have the original characters cited in these connections; they are omitted here to save inconvenience and expense.

[2] I say 'correctly', but it is now more closely noticed than before that ȝ and ȝ alternate irrationally in the MSS. It is because ȝ is really '*rš*'.

[3] As Pahl. '*as*' occurs for *aš*, I think '*as*' in *asvereθrajāstemō* should be *aš-v* . . ., or *aṣ-v.* for *arša-v*; see Gāθas Vol. III. a, Preface p. XIII, flg.

One more item let me add. I think we have an explanation of our Avesta sign for '*v*' (German '*w*') in the fact that it arose from a combination of the Avesta-pahlavi characters for *b* + *h*; see the original shapes. And recall that Avesta '*v*' (German '*w*') corresponds phonetically to Indian *b* + *h*. (*bh*). Many other such items might be presented.[1]

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[1] In the citations above I write the old-fashioned ç, etc. to avoid inconvenience owing to distance.

VI.—THE VOCATIVE IN AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES.

In Homer and Hesiod[1] it was found impossible to form any rules for the use of the interjection with the vocative, except negative ones. In Early Epic the interjection was not used in passages of worship, dignity, or elevation. In familiar scenes its use was not obligatory, but only permissive.

First in Aeschylus and Sophocles is it possible to state the conditions, which require the addition of the interjection.

The rules are as follows:

I. The interjection must be used when the participle is used in the vocative without the noun.

Aesch. P. V. 613, ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα θνητοῖσιν φανείς,
Pers. 673, ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών,
Pers. 708, ὦ βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχὼν ὄλβον εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ,
Cho. 806, ὦ μέγα ναίων στόμιον,
Eum. 754, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους,
Sep. 951, ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες
πόνοισι γενεάν,
Sep. 1001, ἰὼ δαιμονῶντες ἐν ἄτᾳ.

Ai. 379, 845, 1271. El. 134, 1162, 1273, 1326. O. R. 200, 903, 1223, 1327. O. C. 107, 337, 761, 1701. Ant. 1263, 1287, Tr. 99, 102, 633, Ph. 1006, 1128, 1290, 1380, 1402, 1445. There are no exceptions to this rule. The carrying power of the interjection with the participle was very great, and ὦ could be held long in suspense, as in these three examples:

El. 1162, ὦ δεινοτάτας, οἴμοι μοι,
πεμφθεὶς κελεύθους,
An. 1286, ὦ κακάγγελτά μοι
προπέμψας ἄχη,
Trach. 633, ὦ ναύλοχα καὶ πετραῖα
θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ πάγους
Οἴτας παραναιετάοντες.

[1] See A. J. P. XXIV 192 ff. The Vocative in Homer and Hesiod.

II. The interjection must be used in addresses, or apostrophe to inanimate objects, or abstract qualities.

As there are 208 examples of this rule, I shall illustrate by a single play from each poet.

P. V. 45, ὦ πολλὰ μισηθεῖσα χειρωναξία.
88, ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαί,
694, ἰὼ μοῖρα μοῖρα,
1091, ὦ μητρὸς ἐμῆς σέβας, ὦ πάντων
αἰθὴρ κοινὸν φάος εἱλίσσων.

Ai. 14, 173, 356, 412, 417, 596, 845, 853, 856, 859, 982, 992, 1004, 1197, 1393.

In over two hundred addresses to the inanimate the interjection is not omitted in a single case. How strong the feeling for the interjection was with the inanimate is shown by these two examples:

Antig. 891, ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφὴς
οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος.
Phil. 936, ὦ λιμένες, ὦ προβλῆτες, ὦ ξυνουσίαι
θηρῶν ὀρείων, ὦ καταρρῶγες πέτραι.

Ant. 100 begins without the interjection, but renews the apostrophe with ὦ. Ag. 508 is an address to both the animate and the inanimate, so the interjection is not necessary. A series of inanimate objects may be included under a single interjection.

Here the interjection gives the feeling of interested, sympathetic personality. The converse of this rule is true. In names of persons, where the personality is in the name itself, the interjection is not used, unless the proper name be modified. There are over sixty examples of unmodified proper names of persons, and not one has the interjection.

Phil. 793, ὦ Μενέλαε is in partitive apposition with the modified ὦ διπλοῖ στρατηλάται, and is no exception, and O. R. 1394. ὦ Πόλυβε is joined to καὶ Κόρινθε καὶ τὰ πάτρια, where the address to the inanimate requires the interjection. In names of gods, particularly in prayers, even when the name is unmodified, the interjection is regularly used. In Soph. Ζεῦ, once, ὦ Ζεῦ, 20 times. Here it is an appeal to the sympathetic, human personality in the divine,

" My flesh, that I seek
In the Godhead ".

III. The interjection must be used with an adjective in the

vocative, when the adjective is used without a substantive, unless the substantive idea is given by the context.

As there are 127 examples of this use, I shall illustrate by only two plays:

P. V. 315, ἀλλ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ',
594, ὦ τάλας,
999, τόλμησον, ὦ μάταιε.

Ph. 339, 369, 759, 801, 930, 974, 984, 1016, 1031, 1096, 1170, 1196.

Aesch. has one apparent exception to this rule, Cho. 1051, σὲ . . . φίλταν', where the personal pronoun shows the substantive nature, and the interjection is not necessary. The rare exceptions in Soph. are easily explained from the context. As a corollary to this rule, while unmodified names of persons do not take the interjection, modified names may, where the appeal is to the attribute rather than to the person. In O. C. 740, ὦ ταλαίπωρ' Οἰδίπους, Creon appeals to the old man "by his long suffering" to return, and live in peace. There are very few examples of the use of the interjection with names of persons, even when modified, as the personality lies in the name itself.

IV. The interjection must be used in trimeter, when the arsis of the third foot is a monosyllabic vocative.

P. V. 651 illustrates the rule, θέλει· σύ δ', ὦ παῖ. Other examples are: Sep. 255, Ag. 907, Cho. 18, 654, 896. No exceptions in Aesch.

Ai. 1, 510, 593, 824, 831, 1180. El. 2, 251, 662, 671, 1112, 1130, 1180, 1184, 1220, 1224, 1230, 1354. O. R. 103, 286, 304, 834, 852, 1145, 1484. O. C. 322, 329, 553, 722, 846, 1014, 1104, 1130. 1173, 1177, 1420, 1431, 1507. An. 563, 639, 648. Trach. 61, 92, 738, 744, 1087, 1090, 1227, 1253. Ph. 242, 260, 478, 533, 578, 620, 628, 869, 889, 896, 967. In the two exceptions to this rule, Ph. 50, Ἀχιλλέως παῖ, and 87, Λαερτίου παῖ, the word of four syllables preceding makes the insertion of the interjection impossible.

Except these cases mentioned above, the omission or use of the interjection is largely a matter of hiatus and rhythm, the position of the vocative in the verse, in general, determined the use; vocatives in the first three feet are likely to have the interjection, while Aeschylus has but four interjections in the last three feet in trimeter.

This table shows the growth of the use of the interjection since Homer and Hesiod:

Homer and Hesiod;	Vocatives with ὦ, 188;	without ὦ, 1166.			
Aesch.	Vocatives with ὦ, 110;	with ἰώ, 55;	no interjection, 170.		
Soph.	"	" ὦ, 532;	" ἰώ, 43;	"	365.

Fragments are omitted in this study.

There is no difference in usage between Soph. and Aesch. Soph. simply has more examples of the above usages. Aesch. does not have a single exception to any of them.[1]

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[1] Aeschylus' fondness for ἰώ seems not to have escaped the notice of Aristophanes, as it is found just twice in the Frogs, both times in the assumed words of Aesch. Frogs, 1141, 1142.



REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache, . . . herausgegeben von GUSTAV LANDGRAF. Dritter Band. Syntax des einfachen Satzes. Erstes Heft. Einleitung in die Geschichte der Lateinischen Syntax (Golling); Literatur zur historischen Syntax der einzelnen Schriftsteller (Landgraf und Golling); Tempora und Modi; Genera Verbi (Blase). Leipzig, 1903.

This long title is worth giving in full, because it informs us, briefly, in spite of its length, of the progress of an important undertaking. Vol. I of the new historical grammar, the phonology by Stolz, appeared in 1894–5. Since that time there have been changes among the collaborators, the general editorship has been placed in the hands of Landgraf, and the whole plan of the syntax has been apparently somewhat enlarged. Now, without waiting for the completion of Vol. II, on morphology, the first part of Vol. III is issued separately, with the assurance that the second and third parts are ready in manuscript. The disregard of strict succession, which carries with it an implication of considerable independence on the part of the several writers, is altogether to be desired and approved.

The Einleitung in die Geschichte der Lateinischen Syntax by Professor Golling of Vienna consists of three parts:—I. The Roman grammarians, pp. 1–17; II. The syntax of the Middle Ages, pp. 17–37; III. Modern Syntax, pp. 37–87, of which nearly 30 pp. are given to the 19th century—a just proportioning of space. There are six lists of titles upon the history of Latin syntax, making altogether the most complete published bibliography of the subject.

Within the space of 87 pp. it was plainly impossible to write a history of Latin syntax and Golling has confined himself to the narrower task of sketching the history of syntactical systems, that is, of following the successive steps by which syntax has been separated from grammar and has come to be an independent science, with its own body of principles and its special aims. The two important epochs in this development were the XII–XIII centuries and the end of the XVIII. In the first, the influence of the mediæval dialectic led to inquiry into the fundamental conceptions underlying language and to the beginning of syntactical system; this movement is illustrated by a rather full analysis of the Doctrinale of Alexander de Villedieu (pp. 28–33), perhaps the most interesting pages in the earlier portion of the sketch. It is from the same point of view—the rise of system—

that Golling is justified in saying (p. 58) that the period from 1400 to 1800 was one of retrogression, in spite of the fact (mentioned on p. 59) that these were centuries of constant gain in the amount of observed and recorded fact. It was upon the basis of this enlarged knowledge that the second great step, at the beginning of the XIX century, was taken, under the stimulus of the philosophy of Kant and the special inspiration of Hermann.

The necessary limitation of the sketch to Latin brings with it some disadvantages, especially the omission of all work in Greek syntax, like the programs of Koppin. But if Golling has interpreted his task strictly at this point, he has, on the other hand, taken into account other influences by which Latin syntax has been affected, comparative philology, linguistics, semantics and especially, as might be expected, lexicography and the work in late Latin.

The treatment of the history from 1850 to 1902, which is particularly difficult because of its variety of aim and because it deals with the work of living scholars, is eminently fair and comprehensive. German names naturally and properly occur most frequently, with Americans an easy second; the treatment of French syntacticists is brief, perhaps too brief; the only English scholar named is Roby. The bibliography of works dealing with the syntax of single writers (pp. 88–96), by Landgraf, is partly a repetition of the similar list in Schmalz, partly supplementary to it.

The reading of this excellent sketch of a bit of philological history nowhere else given so connectedly or so fully is both interesting and instructive. I would especially commend it to graduate students who are proposing to write their theses in the field of Latin (or Greek) syntax.

The larger part of the volume is occupied by Blase's *pensum* of the Syntax proper, the treatment of the modes, tenses and *genera* of the verb in independent sentences, not wholly excluding the apodoses of conditional sentences, a field which Blase has made peculiarly his own.

The first impression which the work makes, may best be conveyed by saying that in scope and magnitude it is like a revised Draeger, while in aim and general method it most nearly resembles Schmalz's syntax in Müller's Handbuch. It is like Draeger in giving a great number of examples, more than can be found anywhere else, arranged chronologically in each section. So far as I have made a detailed comparison, Blase seems to give more examples than Draeger, perhaps twice as many, and he has apparently taken pains to select different illustrations, so that the two collections do not duplicate each other. But here the resemblance ends, for the illustrations in Blase are accompanied by an amount and kind of discussion which was impossible thirty years ago and which suggests rather a comparison with Schmalz's syntax. The corresponding sections in Schmalz cover

only a dozen pages, but they have certainly served a useful purpose as a record of progress and a guide-post to research. This aim Blase, doubtless in accordance with the general plan of the grammar, has evidently had constantly before him. There are bibliographies in abundance and many references in the text to current literature and discussion, while in various places the need of further study in one or another direction is suggested.

But in pointing out its historical connections, I do not at all mean to imply that this book is merely a revision of Draeger or an expansion of Schmalz. It is not; it is, on the contrary, an original piece of work, with some rather surprising innovations in method and system. By way of illustration, I take at random the treatment of the imperative, §§57 ff. Prefixed to §57 is a bibliography supplementing Hübner, to whom reference is made for earlier work. (It is of interest to note the indications which the bibliographies give of the direction of syntactical work during the last few years; *e. g.*, Blase can add nothing on the perf. indic., p. 160, to the list given by Hübner in 1880). After a brief section on prehistoric uses, §58 takes up the impv. in *-to*, (1) after a fut. subordinate clause, with 19 examples from Plaut. and Ter. and statistics on Cato; (2) after another impv., with a general statement of usage and 12 illustrations ranging from Plaut. to Val. Max.; (3) with reference to the future or in general rules, with 7 examples; (4) Cicero's usage, with 11 examples of the future use and about 30 showing the loss of distinction between the future and the present meaning; (5) the post-Ciceronian usage, three pp. of examples down to Arnobius, Mart. Capell., Prudent.; (6) the explanation of the loss of the distinction, with illustrations; (7) a few lines on the 3 pers. in *-to*. Then follow sections on the impv. with *ne*, *non*, *neue*, *nec*, on the weakening or strengthening of the impv. by *dum*, *modo*, etc., on the impv. in concessions and on the periphrases of the impv. mode. These 20 pp. are a fair specimen of the method of work; it is fuller than Draeger (4 pp.), and more suggestive even than Schmalz. The section on the periphrases of the impv. is very good indeed; the section on the strengthening or weakening of the impv. is good, but is capable of much finer analysis; the treatment of the impv. in *-to* is excellent; and in all these points just mentioned, there is considerable originality of arrangement and method.

Taking the book altogether, the peculiarity which will attract the most attention and comment is the arrangement of the material on the basis of temporal rather than of modal use. Thus there is a section on the present indicative, a second on the fut. indic. and the pres. subjv. treated together, a third on the imperf. indic., and so on, the fut. perf. indic. and the perf. subjv. being also treated under one heading. But there is no special heading under which all the uses of either mode are brought together and the reader who consults the book on the subjunctive mode or even on the concessive or the potential uses of

the subjunctive must gather his information for himself from a number of different places. There is, no doubt, a certain inconvenience in this arrangement, which will be at first the more keenly felt because we are all accustomed either to have temporal usage treated as subordinate to modal or else to a double treatment of the material, first under modal and then under temporal headings, as in Schmalz. But Blase's bold adoption of a novel system justifies itself. It is, on the whole, more nearly in harmony with Delbrück's Comparative Syntax; it avoids the complexities and elaborations of functional groupings without actually challenging their value; it makes it possible to follow the meaning of a form down into the minuter variations of meaning in the 2nd and 3d pers. (pp. 113–118, 140 ff.), wherever such variations are really significant. Especially it brings into prominence that close relation between tense and mode which our ordinary system tends to obscure. An arrangement which makes a natural place for §§8–11, on the modal uses of the fut. indic.—sections of great interest and value—and which avoids the necessity of deciding by main force whether *feceris* is a fut. perf. indic. or a perf. subjv. (§§30, 36), has merits which easily offset a slight inconvenience. But to one who, beginning as a trembling doubter, has hardened into a cheerful agnostic in regard to the meaning of modes, Blase's system is welcome as a frank and practical recognition of the principle that syntactical usage must be treated from the standpoint of form, and I do not doubt that this arrangement, strange though it may at first seem, will in the end be generally accepted, even in school-grammars.

As this grammar will go through several editions, I add a few notes on minor points.

I do not quite see why the concessive use of the pres. subjv., §19, follows the potential; it should come, I think, after §16, with the other sections on the subjv. of will. On p. 116, Men. 187 is a badly chosen example; the text is corrupt and the important word *leges* is not in the MSS. nor in GS. or Leo. P. 120, top, the statement is not clear to me; *opinor* does, it is true, show the weakness of the potential force, but it also proves that there is a certain degree of potentiality. P. 126, Catull. 67, 2 is not a good example; the second part of the sentence is optative, not jussive. On 131 ff. I wish that more had been said about the use of particles with wishes of general content, but not with formulaic wishes like *di te perduint, salvos sis* On p. 135 the order and the words *hierher gehört* seem to imply that questions with *quid si* are optative. I do not think this is so meant. Does not the whole paragraph, with Anm. 2, just preceding, belong in §15? P. 141, among the constructions with *uelim* the subjv. should be named, as on p. 142. To the short bibliography on the imperf., p. 145, Wheeler's article (A. J. P. XXIV 2 (94) pp. 163–191) may now be added. To take up a small point of my own, I understand Blase in Wölfflin's Archiv, XI, 286, to recognize the subjv. after *uelim* as optative, though he regards

uelim itself as potential. If this is correct, ***uelim*** should be named in §16 and ***uellem*** on p. 154 f. with the other signs of a wish. On p. 97, 3d line from bottom, Bennet should have another t and on p. 139, last line, Hale's title is interrogative and should have a question mark after the word Potential. P. 188, ***erit*** has apparently fallen out from Cic. pro Rosc. com. 3. P. 234, in the bibliography, the reference to Hübner should be 26, not 62. On P. 265, middle, it should, I think, read "So steht ***possim***," not ***possis***, with reference to the last word of Pseud. 236 rather than to ***fac possis***. On p. 102, next to the last line, ***omme*** should read ***omne*** and the reference should be to Amm. 16, 10, 6. The treatment of the present indic. would be improved by a section on the Annalistic Present, making use of the accurate distinction outlined in Lane, §§1590–1.

This is not the place to attempt a discussion of controversial points or even of the larger questions of doctrine. The just expectation of Latin scholars in regard to the new grammar is that it shall be a fair summary of present knowledge, not representative of some single school or an expression of the peculiar views of any one scholar. This expectation Blase's work abundantly meets. It is candid, sane, impersonal, lucid. It is a most useful revision of Draeger and a most stimulating expansion of Schmalz and on its own merits it supersedes both. I hope that the volumes to follow may maintain an equally high standard.

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1. Laterculi Vocum Latinarum, Voces Latinas et a fronte et a tergo ordinandas curavit OTTO GRADENWITZ, Antecessor Regimontanus. Leipzig, Hirzel, 1904. 8vo, 545 pp.
2. De Sermone Amatorio apud Latinos Elegiarum Scriptores, thesim proponebat facultati litterarum in Universitate Parisiensi, RENÉ PICHON, Scholae Normalis olim alumnus. Paris, Hachette, 1902. 8vo, 276 pp.
3. Die Metamorphosen des P. Ovidius Naso, Erster Band, Buch I–VII, erklärt von MORIZ HAUPT, nach den Bearbeitungen von O. Korn und H. J. MÜLLER in achter Auflage herausgegeben von R. EHWALD. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1903.

1. The Laterculi Vocum Latinarum is one more excellent illustration of the influence exerted upon classical studies by this age of practical inventions and labor-saving devices. As suggested by the second half of the title, the book consists of two indices arranged on the principle of Grassmann's Vedic Concordance. Each index contains all the words of the Latin language in strictly alphabetical order, the former, in the ordinary way, according to the first letter, the latter, a tergo, i. e.,

according to the last letter, somewhat after the fashion of a rhyming dictionary. Indeed, this second 'Conträr-Index' would have been frequently consulted by those nameless rhymsters of the Carmina Burana. But the work is intended for the most modern of modern philologians, and, in fact, is much more useful to him than, perhaps, might appear at first sight, inasmuch as, by means of it, we get, for the first time, a complete view of the language from a side which, hitherto, has been more or less concealed. It is obvious, for example, that this arrangement of material forces the suffixes to assemble in groups containing, so to speak, all the names of those with whom they have associated at any time during the history of the language. For textual criticism, also, and, especially, for the treatment of certain small but troublesome lacunae, the abiding usefulness of these indices is assured by the fact that, through them, the area within which guessing is profitable or even possible may be reduced, at once, to a minimum. For this particular purpose, the companion volume, Laterculi Vocum Graecarum, already projected, will be especially valuable to students of the papyri, since these manuscripts, as a class, are disposed to suffer severely from the lacunae. Given a ragged edge of text on either or both sides, together with about the number of letters missing, and not a few such wounds can be speedily healed by the Gradenwitz process and so thoroughly as not to leave a scar. Some interesting cases of this sort are reported by Gradenwitz himself in his Einführung in die Papyruskunde, p. IX, ff.

2. It is no slight matter at this distance of time to recover a clear and adequate conception of what the Roman critics understood by an elegy. The line, for example, between elegy and elegiac epigram is certainly hazy enough now and then to furnish one food for thought. What shall we do, for example, with Catullus LXXVI? So, too, not to mention the question of the New Comedy which, as yet, is scarcely more than propounded, the connections of Roman Elegy with the old Ionian type, even, with the Alexandrian type, are by no means settled. In fact, the Roman Elegy is one of our most striking illustrations of the great principle that in order to understand ancient literature we must investigate it thoroughly, not alone by authors and periods but also by departments. From this point of view especial interest attaches to René Pichon's dissertation, De Sermone Amatorio apud Latinos Elegiarum Scriptores. The subject was important and the book is a solid contribution to our knowledge. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and the distichs of Ovid were examined exhaustively. For many reasons one wishes that the same had also been done for Maximianus and even for the various waifs and strays who now find a home with the Poetae Latini Minores. The importance of the epigram as furnishing the best background to bring out some salient points of his subject is clearly recognized by Pichon and, for



that reason, the shorter poems of Catullus and, above all, the Priapea were included in his investigation.

The main result of the work is that, though light and graceful, sometimes, even frivolous—as, indeed, it was intended to be, rather than earnest or passionate in the lyric sense—the Elegy always uses the language of poetry and avoids actual vulgarity of expression. The distinction, of course, is, by no means, a recent discovery; one may derive it, for example, from Priapea, III. Pichon, however, supports it by a complete survey of the material and also adds several other important observations. It is interesting, for example, to find that, so far as the Elegy is concerned, the ancient and conventional association of love and war is prominent only in Ovid. Perhaps we have here a trace of that rhetorical training which, as we know, exerted a strong influence upon him. But one of the best reasons for the frequency of this comparison throughout the works of Ovid is the fact that the famous 'Militat omnis amans', itself a piece of rhetorical pyrotechnic on this very subject, was composed by the 'imitator sui' in his early youth.

Another interesting point is Pichon's conclusion that so far as the Elegy is concerned, the stylistic detective can do little towards establishing the parentage of foundlings. But, after all, the most important part of Pichon's book is the complete index verborum amatoriorum which it contains. Every commentator on the erotic poetry of Rome will do well to have this valuable collection within reach.

3. Moriz Haupt's well-known edition of the Metamorphoses, which, thanks to Korn and H. J. Müller, has already occupied the position of a standard work for more than a generation, gains much by its recent revision (vol. II, 1898, vol. I, 1903) at the hands of such a distinguished Ovidian scholar and critic as R. Ehwald. An increase of nearly a hundred pages in the first volume alone is, in itself, one outward and visible sign of the marked progress of investigation in this author during the eighteen years which have elapsed since H. J. Müller's previous revision of the volume in 1885. The introduction, except for two or three slight revisions of statement, still remains as it was left by Haupt thirty years ago. The book was then in its fifth edition. The commentary is distinctly improved and enriched, both by revision and by the addition of new material furnished by recent studies, more especially by those which have been concerned with the sources and details of Ovid's narrative. A survey of the appendix, which is responsible for two-thirds of the increased bulk of the volume, shows how much the text itself of the Metamorphoses has been improved by one whose wise conservatism and scientific study of the manuscript tradition had already done so much for Merkel's text edition of the poet's complete works.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, LXI (N. F. Bd. XV), 1902.

I, pp. 1–25. A. v. Domaszewski: Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften. The inscriptions are grouped to illustrate Silvanus' functions and attributes, as god of the woods, boundaries, and herds, and as protector of the familia Caesaris. The reception of the cult in the provinces took place with some local restrictions but shows how superficially the Roman culture influenced the national type of the provinces. The history of the cult of Silvanus throws light on the origin, growth and decay of Roman life.

II, pp. 26–31. R. Wünsch: Eine antike Rachegruppe. Illustrations of a figurine with arms and feet tied, explained as a puppet used in incantations to bring similar punishment on enemies.

III, pp. 32–41. A. Leinveber: Die Legion des Livius. An attempt by a military expert to explain the much discussed Livy VIII 8 without resorting to interpolation or torturing the text.

IV, pp. 42–70. W. Sternkopf: Noch einmal die Correctio der lex Clodia de exilio Ciceronis. The purpose of the *correctio* was, by a prohibition, which threatened with the severest penalty any who sheltered Cicero, to make impossible his sojourn within a certain radius of Rome.

V, pp. 71–76. C. Hentze: Der sociative Dativ mit αὐτός in den homerischen Gedichten. Ten examples of the type αὐτοῖς ἵπποισι are discussed. The original meaning of αὐτός with this dative was to denote a usually passing association of an object with a person or another object as continuing unchanged.

VI, pp. 77–132. P. Egenolff: Zu Lentz' Herodian II. (s. Philol., LIX [N. F. XIII], 2 S. 238 ff.)

VII, pp. 133–159. P. Koetschau: Zu Seneca's Tragoedien. Critical notes.

Miscellen.—1, p. 160. A. Müller: Ein Schauspieler Choregos. On a Delian inscr. of B. C. 270 (B. C. H. VII, p. 104 ff.—insc. V. vs. 32 ffg.; Hauvette-Besnault) the name of a comic actor, Choregos, is read in place of the appellative χορηγός.

VIII, pp. 161–192. W. Crönert: Die Adverbialen Comparativformen auf -ω. E. g. πλείω. Conclusions p. 187 f.: The form in -ω, instead of -ων, -ον, etc., is older than the Hellenistic time, and everything points to the usage as having originated in the New Ionic. From here it seems to have passed into the Koine. Most of the traces in the popular speech are naturally to be found in Egyptian documents. The usage practically disappears after the time of Diocletian. In the written language the form is more common in the expounders of Aristotle, while some cases can be explained palaeographically. The form was avoided by those who disliked hiatus.

IX, pp. 193–200. F. Skutsch: Zu Favorinus Eulogius und Chalcidius. Holder's new edition of Favorinus' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis would have been better, 1) if the rhythmical clausulae had been used as a tool in the text-criticism; 2) if Chalcidius' Commentary on the Timaeus followed by Fav. had been used in the text criticism; 3) if note had been taken of the errors which have arisen from an incorrect resolution of the numeral signs in the MSS.

X, pp. 201–244. A. Mommsen: Neuere Schriften über die attische Zeitrechnung. Review of several books with a résumé of the chief results on pp. 242–4.

XI, pp. 245–251. O. Hoffmann: Zur thessalischen Sotairos-Inschrift. The first line of the inscr. (in Athen. Mitt. 1896. tab. VII) is really a continuation of the last line—a phenomenon occurring on other inscriptions.

XII, pp. 252–265. A. Deissmann: Die Rachgebete von Rheneia. These inscriptions of Jewish origin, from the end of the second to the beginning of the first cent. B. C., constitute an important original document for the existence and use of the Septuagint in ancient times. They are only a few years later than the celebrated testimony of the prologue of Sirach.

XIII, pp. 266–270. Karl Praechter: Ein verkanntes Fragment des angeblichen Pythagoreers Okellos. Stob. flor. 9. 51 H (9. 54 M) is ascribed to Okellos not "Ekpolos."

XIV, pp. 271–291. R. Helm: Vergils zehnte Ecloge. A reply to the views of Fr. Skutsch: "Aus Vergils Frühzeit", (Leipzig, 1901.) s. 2 ff. According to Skutsch, there are numerous contradictions in the poem, which he says is full of disconnected thought, which can only find explanation on the supposition that Vergil took over motives and verses from the elegies of Cornelius or from his hitherto unknown Bucolics. One might be tempted following Sk. to try to discover the fragments of such poems. Acc. to Sk. the eclogue lacks 'historical progression and a psychological development' and is a sort of catalogue, a mere

enumeration of incidents, persons and things of a like kind—Helm shows that there is the progression and development denied by Sk. and finally avows his opinion that Ecl. X is the best of all!

XV, pp. 292–310. A. Klotz: Ad Statii Achilleida symbolae criticae establishes by new examples the authority of Cod. Puteanus (Paris. 8051) which he had discussed in more detail in the preface to his recent edition of the Achilleis.

Miscellen.—2, pp. 311–2. E. Nestle: Zu Philo. de Somniis II 44.

3, pp. 312–3. A. Müller: Goethe und Epicharm. Compares in one of the poems grouped under 'Epigrammatisch' 'Hand wird nur von Hand gewaschen' etc., with Epicharm. fr. 118 Ahr. *ἁ δὲ χεὶρ τὴν χεῖρα νίζει· δός τι καὶ λάβοις τί κα.*

4, pp. 313–317. G. Ries: Zu Propertius V. 1. 1. Reads quo in vs. 9. 2. In vs. 31 reads with Cod. Neap. Soloni for coloni.

5, pp. 317–320. M. Manitius: Scholien zu Lucan aus einer Dresdener Handschrift (cod. Dresd. Dc 148 saec. XII).

XVI, pp. 321–355. C. Hentze: Die Formen der Begrüssung in den homerischen Gedichten. Deals chiefly with the gestures. 1. List of verbs meaning 'to welcome' 'to greet' with an inquiry as to whether the fundamental meaning is some movement of the body, which signifies a greeting, or whether this verb has acquired the meaning through certain modifiers. 2. Examination of the actions used as forms of greeting: grasping the right hand, pressing the right hand with a powerful clutch, stroking with the hand, kiss and embrace. The first and last were the commonest.

XVII, pp. 356–373. O. Schroeder: Pindarica, (cont'd from Vol. LVI (1897) 78 ffg.) IV Pindar und Hieron. Dates Hieron's illness in 474 B. C., and Pyth. II, III, I in 475? 474? 470 respectively.

XVIII, pp. 374–440. J. Fürst: Untersuchungen zur Ephemeris des Diktys von Kreta. Continuation VII. Die Personalbeschreibungen im Diktysberichte. Collects from the whole Greek and Roman literatures, examples of similar catalogue-like descriptions of personal appearances. Thinks they must have been influenced somewhat, but not exclusively by the terminology of medicine and art-criticism.

XIX, pp. 441–446. A. Milchhöfer: Nachträgliche Betrachtungen über die drei Athenaheiligthümer auf der Akropolis von Athen. 'Opisthodomos' must refer to a separate building behind the old Athena temple, i. e. west of the Erechtheion.

XX, pp. 447–454. K. Zacher: Herwerdens Aristophanescollationen. They are inadequate and cannot be relied on.



XXI, pp. 455–472. M. Manitius: Zu römischen Schriftstellern im Mittelalter. Supplemental to his essays on 'Das Fortleben römischer Dichter und Prosaiker im Mittelalter' based on the edd. in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, of epistolary and controversial literature of ecclesiastical and political contents. Notes on Terence, Caesar, Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Justin, Persius, Elder Pliny, Lucan, Juvenal, 'Homerus Latinus', Solinus, Lactantius, Younger Pliny.

Miscellen.—6, pp. 473–476. W. Osiander: Zur Chronologie des Hannibalzugs. Brief justification of his views crit. by Luterbacher in Philol., 1901, 307 ffg. on the five months' march from New Carthage to the Po valley. II. The fifteen days' march through the Alps.

7, pp. 476–478. A. Becker: Julius Firmicus Maternus und Pseudo-Quintilian. Parallels show that F. used Ps.-Q. We get a new testimony to the age of the Declamations: 337 A. D. is a new *terminus ante quem* for the time of the production of the greater Ps.-Quint. declamations.

8, pp. 478–479. A. Frederking: Zu Tacitus Germania. In c. 11 auctoritas suadendi=Vollmacht, Befugnis zum Raten, cf. Cic. in Verr. II, 49, 121. In 17 advocates *superiorem* for *superioris*. In 22 takes *ratio* in an objective sense=Art, Beschaffenheit, Natur.

9, pp. 479–480. P. D. Ch. Hennings: Zu Caesar de bello Gallico VIII, 43, 5 reads tantamque id attulit.

XXII, pp. 481–502. C. Mutzbauer: Die Entwicklung des sogenannten Irrealis bei Homer. Summary on pp. 500–2. The language of Homer was nowhere able to give a forcible expression to the idea of "irreality" and the later Greek had succeeded no better.

XXIII, pp. 503–512. C. Fries: Symbola metrica. The similarities of the eleven syllable Sapphic and the Trishtubh of the Vedas and the so-called later classical literature of India, and the eleven syllable verse in the Gâthas of the older Avesta might lead one to suppose that the popular rhythms, which the Lesbians took up and perfected were of Asiatic origin. Further light yet may be shed on classical metric by the results of special studies in the verse of Anam, China, and Japan, just as H. Zimmern recently showed that the Babylonians used a verse with four arses.

XXIV, pp. 513–527. W. H. Roscher: Gehörte das E zu den delphischen Sprüchen? Against C. Robert (Hermes XXXVI, 1891, p. 490) Roscher maintains that if his own evidence and conclusions are not impaired, we are driven to believe the E a genuine Δελφικὸν γρἀμμα, which stands for a significant word, εἶ.

XXV, pp. 528–539. E. Weber: Ueber den Homerus Latinus. The variations from the original show that Italicus changed his method during his work from translation to full excerpts. He seems also to have intentionally made additions to Homer.

XXVI, pp. 540–576. P. Egenolff: Zu Lenz' Herodian II (v. supra pp. 77 ffg.)

XXVII, pp. 577–592. R. Asmus: Julians Brief an Oreibasios. The first part of this letter (Br. 17 p. 495, 19 ff. Hertl.) contains a dream based on Herod. I. 108 from whom he borrows elsewhere. The contents of the second part become clearer if after οἷός τε ἦν p. 496, 18, the text is made to refer to two different persons, the eunuch, Eusebius, and Florentius, praefectus praetorio of Gaul.

XXVIII, pp. 593–622. J. Fürst: Untersuchungen zur Ephemeris des Diktys von Kreta, (Continuation). Dares was in no case the source for the pen-portraits in Malalas, which came to the Byzantine chronographer rather from the same source as the other tales of Troy, and represent a passage from the Greek book of Diktys of Crete, which has been preserved relatively intact. Appendix I presents Greek documents in chronological order containing portraitures. II. Some special portrait-groups in the Byz. literature (Portraits of Christ, Mary and the emperors).

XXIX, pp. 623–626. P. V. Winterfeld: Der Satzschluss bei Favorinus Eulogius. Continues Skutsch Philol. LXI, 193 ffg. Corrigenda to edition given in revised form. Favorinus used the rhythmical clausula of the sort common after 400 A. D. although the vestiges of quantity appear.

XXX, pp. 627–630. M. Manitius: Zu römischen Schriftstellern im Mittelalter. (Cont'd.) Treats of the citations from Catonis Disticha, Optatianus Porfyrius, and Avianus.

Miscellen.—10, pp. 631–633. S. Eitrem: Varia. 1. Pap. Oxyrh. CCXIV. 2. Hymn. Hom. in Cererem vv. 13, 20, 38, 44, 64, 138, 365.

11, pp. 633–635. W. Schmid: Die Ilias des Apellikon. "Appellikon" owes his existence to an emendation of Nauck's;—read instead ἀφ' Ἑλικῶνος. The copy of the Iliad was in the Heliconian shrine of the muses.

12, pp. 635–6. R. Peppmüller: Zu Ψ 48.

13, pp. 636. W. Weinberger: Philostrati minoris Imagines XIV, 4.

P. 636. Supplem. to p. 365: 12.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, LVIII.

Pp. 1–47, 161–208, 321–361. Dreiheit. H. Usener. This long article illustrates in detail the widespread tendency of early man to think of his gods in groups of three. Many of these groups came to be regarded as single gods: even the Christian dogma of the Trinity was developed under the influence of this general tendency. Many of the beings represented in ancient art as three-headed were originally conceived of as three-bodied. Many of the ancient groups of three gods had taken the places of still earlier pairs. Indeed, the number three asserts itself everywhere. For example, the month, with its two natural opposites of the crescent and the waning moon, was divided by the Greeks and Romans into three parts; the year, with its two natural opposites of summer and winter, was divided by the earlier Greeks, as by the early Germans, into three seasons, winter, spring and summer. Certain expressions in which 'three' means 'many' point back to a distant time when our ancestors had developed no conception of number beyond three.

Pp. 48–55. Die Aratea des Germanicus. Paul v. Winterfeld. The Phaenomena was written during the lifetime of Augustus, and dedicated to Augustus. The Prognostica was first published after the Emperor's death—see the account of the zodiac, 558 ff.—and combined with a new edition of the Phaenomena. The dedication of the first edition was retained in the second.

Pp. 56–66. Bruchstücke einer neuen Hippokratesvita. H. Schöne. Published from a Brussels MS of Theodorus Priscianus.

Pp. 67–114. Aus Themisons Werk über die acuten und chronischen Krankheiten. R. Fuchs. A physician's handbook for private use, *ἰατροσόφιον*, published, with critical apparatus, from a Paris MS.

Pp. 115–25. De M. Varrone a Favonio Eulogio expresso. C. Fries.

Pp. 126–37. Strabobruchstücke bei Eustathius und Stephanus Byzantius. R. Kunze.

Pp. 138–51. Novae observationes ad tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta. H. van Herwerden. Notes on Aeschylus, fragm. 210 ed. Nauck², 310, 338, 359; Sophocles, fr. 19, 41, 76, 101, 139, 159, 165, 210, 324, 458, 518, 526, 600, 621, 777; Euripides, fr. 21, 52, 78, 96, 153, 166, 216, 219, 294, 322, 362, 510, 522, 572, 573, 579, 603, 610, 620, 668, 773, 866, 919, 953, 1029, 1044, 1058, 1063, 1066, 1109; Adespota, fr. 91, 127, 138, 208, 288, 357.

Miscellen.—P. 152. C. Knaack. Ein falsches Diodorfragment. The quotation in Eustathius, Hom. Il. T. 400, p. 1190, 50 R, is not from Diodorus the historian, but from some other Diodorus

who wrote a μυθικὴ ἱστορία.—Pp. 153–4. Ed. Goebel. Ad Gellium. Notes on XVII, 2, §§14, 23; XIX, 8, §§12, 18.—P. 154. P. Wolters. Plangon. This is the name of a woman.—Pp. 154–6. P. Wolters. Finanznöthe und Kunstwerke in Knidos und anderwärts. Discussion of the inscription published by Newton (Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae, II, p. 689).—Pp. 157–9. Fr. Adami. Wormser Verfluchungstafeln. Notes on six leaden tablets found at Kreuznach in 1885.—Pp. 159–60. N. Wecklein. Ueber τοῖος und τοιοῦτος. Denies that τοιοῦτος ever has an absolute meaning (such as Radermacher claimed for τοσοῦτος, Vol. LV 482 f.), except perhaps in Aesch. Pers. 239, καὶ στρατὸς τοιοῦτος ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά. Τοῖον may have such a meaning in Aesch. Sept. 567, ἦ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές, or Supp. 405, εἴ πού τι μὴ τοῖον τύχοι.

Pp. 209–17. Hermogenes-Handschriften. H. Rabe. In preparing a critical edition of Hermogenes one should not set too high a value on Monac. 327.

Pp. 218–30. Untersuchungen zür römischen Kaisergeschichte (continued from Vol. LVII 516). A. v. Domaszewski. III. Die Inschriften des Timesitheus. Notes on the office of Praetorian Prefect in the third century, as illustrated by the career of Timesitheus, the chief minister of Gordian III.

Pp. 231–45. Die Erdmessung des Eratosthenes. H. Nissen. An estimate of Eratosthenes' attempt to measure the dimensions of the earth. Like many other first attempts, it was not free from error, but it provided a sound basis for later calculations.

Pp. 246–69. Der Timaiostext des Proklos. E. Diehl. Textual study of the commentary of Proklos, and its importance for the textual study of Plato.

Pp. 270–93. Zur Positionsdehnung vor muta cum liquida bei den attischen Dichtern. A. v. Mess. An historical survey of the treatment of short vowels before a mute followed by a liquid —from the regular lengthening in Homer down to the prevailing 'correptio Attica' of the tragedians.

Pp. 294–307. Zur griechischen Anthologie. K. Radinger. I. Leonidas von Alexandrien. The poems to which a date can be assigned refer to the time of Claudius and Nero. Stadtmüller has wrongly ascribed to Leonidas of Alexandria a number of poems which have come down to us under the simple name of Leonidas: VI 200, 262; VII 19, 173, 190, 656, 660; IX 337. These should be credited to Leonidas of Tarentum. II. Zum Marcianus 481, dem Autographon des Planudes.

Pp. 308–14. De Palaephati codice Harrisiano. W. Crönert.



Miscellen.—Pp. 315–6. L. Radermacher. *Φόβος.* Proposes to read in Plutarch de Alexandri Magni fort. aut virt. 343 E, *φάσμα Φόβου, φλογοειδέσιν ὅπλοις περιλαμπόμενον.*—P. 316. L. Radermacher. Taciti hist. I 40. The passage "non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est," is imitated from Xenophon, Ages. II. 12, *κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρῆν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγή, φωνὴ δέ τις ἦν τοιαύτη οἵαν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ' ἄν.*—Pp. 316–17. A. Zimmerman. Zur Etymologie von Mavors. Perhaps we may see in Mavors a reduplicated form of Mars. The reduplicated form Mamers may have been pronounced, first as Mámrs, then as Mafors. For the change of *mr* to *for* see Solmsen, K. Z. 34, 18. Mafors may have become Mavors, as f and v are frequently interchanged in the Italic dialects.—Pp. 317–20. F. Buecheler. Artisten-Wörter. In the inscription, Corpus, v. 2787, the 'lusor' Magurius was an equilibrist, like the *κοντοπαίκτης* described in one of the homilies of Johannes Chrysostomos (19 p. 247 Duc.). With the words 'dicavit euras VIII et pertic. uncinorum XII' compare Martial, V 12, 1, 'nutantia fronte perticata gestat pondera'. What 'eurae' were is uncertain.

Pp. 363–70. Die Handschriften des Eugippius und der rhythmische Satzschluss. P. v. Winterfeld. A study of sundry passages in which it was thought that the rhythmical close of the sentence might indicate the relative value of the two classes of MSS. The result of the study is purely negative.

Pp. 371–81. Wie soll man die metrischen Klauseln studiren? H. Bornecque. The modern study of metrical clauses in prose authors is to be an aid to the study of the inner structure of the Latin sentence, and, most important of all, is to provide the textual critic with a new 'Arbeitsinstrument'. Meanwhile, there seems to be much difference of opinion as to what constitutes a 'metrical clause'. One school (Wuest, Havet, etc.) find metrical prose when the metrical form of the penultimate word is determined by the metrical form of the final word. According to another school (E. Norden, Skutsch, J. Wolff) there is a certain number of forms whose presence or absence determines the presence or absence of metrical clauses in a particular author. M. Bornecque maintains that some of the clauses given in their list are not metrical; and that their list omits some clauses which are metrical. His own general verdict seems to be, that the clauses of a writer in a particular work are metrical when before the closing words which present the same metrical form he employs such words or word-groups as form particular feet, and, almost without exception, excludes all others.

Pp. 382–90. Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte (continued from p. 230). IV. Die Piraterie im Mittelmeere unter Severus Alexander. A. v. Domaszewski. A study of certain inscriptions of the time of Alexander Severus which illustrate the

complete demoralization of the Roman fleet and the activity of the Mediterranean pirates.

Pp. 391–426. Die Quellen und Muster des ersten Buchs der Georgica Vergils (bis Vers 350), und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Dichter. P. Jahn. An attempt to illustrate in detail Virgil's indebtedness to his various sources and models (Hesiod, Varro, Lucretius, etc.). The writer insists on finding earlier 'literary' parallels for the substance and the form of most of the Roman poet's precepts. He suggests that the language of line 48, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit, may be due to Theophrastus, C. P. III 4, 1, *ὅπως ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡλιωθῇ καὶ χειμασθῇ καθ' ἑκατέραν τὴν ὥραν.* Virgil has taken *χειμασθῇ* as expressing merely the opposite of "to be exposed to the sunshine"; in 'frigora', as opposed to 'sol', he may have been thinking of the night or of storms. In that case his meaning would be, that the clods must be exposed by the plough to the change of temperature, to variation under warmth and cold; they must lie free on the surface, and they must lie on the surface twice. In any case, he means merely to paraphrase the precept of Varro, R. R. I 27, 2, neque eam minus binis arandum. Four ploughings must have extended almost over two years, and must have been very exceptional treatment of the soil. Moreover—and this is very important—Virgil's predecessors do not mention such a practice. [The writer has overlooked the expression in Theocritus, XXV, 26, *νειοῖσι τετραπόλοισιν*, which Heyne quoted on this passage long ago.] Again, in line 304, puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas, it is suggested that the turn of the phrase is somehow determined by Aratus, 345, *οἷά κεν αὐταὶ νῆες ἐπιστρέψωσι κορώνην ὅρμον ἐσερχόμεναι* Here Virgil read, or mis-read, *ἐπιστέψωσι κορώνην*, which may have meant to him puppi coronam imponere. Whether he actually translated *κορώνη* by corona, or was deliberately playing upon the two words, is left undecided.

Pp. 427–35. Eustathios. Aug. Heisenberg. The twelfth century Byzantine romance of Hysmine and Hysminias, by Eustathios Makrembolites, is probably an early work of the commentator Eustathios, who was made Bishop of Thessalonike in the year 1175.

Pp. 436–52. Grundgedanke und Disposition von Hor. Sat. I 1. F. Teichmüller. The subject of this satire is not avarice, but the discontent of men with their lot and their envy of that of others. This gives rise to two evils: some men are avaricious (23–107); many miss the happiness of life (108–17). The persons mentioned in 28–29 are not accused of avarice; they are rather a good example to the miser. The 'inde fit' of 117 is not the answer to the 'Qui fit' of the first line; it refers only to the second evil (107–17), which is not identical with the phenomenon described in the opening lines, but rather an indirect result thereof.



The opening question is not answered anywhere; it is merely a rhetorical question, and Horace might have begun, Nonne mirum est, Maecenas, quod nemo . . . vivit, laudat . . . ? In line 108 we should read nemo ut sibi carus or quia nemo ut avarus (ut = sicut.)

Pp. 453–58. Ueber Alkiphron. F. Buecheler. Notes on Ep. I 9, 3; I 15 [I 12], 3; IV 15 [II 3].

Miscellen.—Pp. 459–61. F. Jacoby. Sosiphanes. We may recognize two tragic poets named Sosiphanes. The elder was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and lived, perhaps at Athens, 357–313/2. The younger brought out his plays in Alexandria. He was born 306/5; he lived under Philadelphos, and was commonly reckoned as one of the Pleiad.—Pp. 461–2. F. Jacoby. Die Beisetzungen Alexanders des Grossen. The body of Alexander was buried in Memphis by Ptolemaios I; it was afterwards removed to Alexandria by Ptolemaios II.—Pp. 462–7. W. Heraeus. Sprachliches aus den Pseudoacronischen Horazscholien. Notes on the words hocannivus (vulgar for hornus, hornotinus; cp. Ital. uguanno, etc.), titilli, trimorfa, maulistria, viripotens, pergiras, etc.—Pp. 467–71. K. Lohmeyer. Eine Ueberlieferung der Briefe des jüngeren Plinius in Verona.—Pp. 471–5. V. Szelinski. Zu den Sprichwörtern der Römer. The first instalment of a collection of Latin proverbs supplementing Otto's collection.—Pp. 476–80. E. Ritterling. Zur Geschichte der leg. II Traiana unter Traian.

Pp. 481–99. Zu den Persern des Timotheos. S. Sudhaus. Textual notes.

Pp. 500–10. Eine Rathsversammlung auf einem italischen Relief. W. Helbig. Interpretation of a frieze of the sixth century B. C. found at Velletri in 1784. It probably represents an officer of the arquites reporting to the king and his counsellors on the movements of the enemy.

Pp. 511–28. Zur altgriechischen Tracht. J. H. Holwerda. In the earliest period of Greek history, both men and women wore the same simple garment, the Homeric φᾶρος. This was afterwards known as the Doric costume, to distinguish it from the finer Ionian dress. The men wore it as a χλαῖνα, the women as a πέπλος. After the Athenian women had received their Ionian costume (Herod. V. 88), some of the richer men began to wear the female "overtunic"; but about the beginning of the fifth century they resumed the earlier garb, which the common people had retained all along. Even the women gradually gave up their new Ionian costume, and the ἐπενδύτης of the fifth century was in time displaced by the old Doric ἱμάτιον.

Pp. 529–37. Zu der Rede des L. Marcius Philippus aus Sallusts Historien. J. Steup. Textual notes on §§ 3, 10, 16, 17.

Pp. 538–45. Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte (continued from p. 390). A. v. Domaszewski. V. Denkmäler aus der Zeit des Maximinus Thrax.

Pp. 546–51. Euripides als litterarischer Kritiker. L. Radermacher. The passage in the Electra, 538–44, is an interpolation.

Pp. 552–97. Studien über Ciceros Schrift de oratore. W. Kroll. A long study of Cicero's indebtedness to Antiochos of Askalon, with special reference to the excursus in De Orat. III, 54–143.

Pp. 598–623. Thessaliotis und Pelasgiotis. F. Solmsen. The Sotairos inscription (Athen. Mittheil. 21, 110, 248 ff.) is studied for the light it throws upon the language and history of northern Greece.

Miscellen.—Pp. 624–26. F. Buecheler. Eine Verbesserung Petrons. In Petron. XXXV, we may read "super sagittarium *oclopectam*." This word occurs in a leaden tablet (Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux hist., 1902, p. 418). It is to be connected with πῆξαι (= ὀφθαλμοπήκτης). In Petronius it perhaps means a kind of fish.—Pp. 627–33. S. Krauss. Neue Aufschlüsse über Timesitheus und die Perserkriege.—Pp. 633–35. E. Ritterling. Caparcotna = Leğğûn in Galilaea.—Pp. 636–37. L. Radermacher. Die Zeit der Asinaria. The writer finds in line 124, me hunc scipionem contui, a play on the name of a Scipio who was in the theatre when the comedy was first produced. Possibly this was P. Cornelius Scipio, curule aedile in 212 B. C.—Pp. 638–40. H. Wegehaupt and A. Brinkmann. Zum Orakel von Tralles.—P. 640. Mittheilung des K. D. Archäologischen Instituts. Obituary notice of Hans von Prott.

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Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Bd. V. Hefte 1–2, herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1903.[1]

The first part of this volume of the Beiträge consists of a long treatise by Bruno Meissner of Assyriological fame, entitled "Modern Arabic Tales from Iraq" (pp. I.–LVIII. and 1–148). After mentioning and discussing his sources (pp. I.–VI.), the author gives a most interesting grammatical sketch of the Iraq idiom. I note a number of correspondences with the modern

[1] For the report on the last Heft of the Beiträge, Vol. IV, see A. J. P. XXIV 96-100.

southern Egyptian dialect of Arabic. Thus, the *Qaf Nuqtetên* is pronounced with the value of hard *g* and the *ǰim* is sometimes pronounced *dyim*, both of which phenomena appear in the Arabic of Assouân, Egypt. The penult is usually accented, as *ektibau* (p. XIV.) "they wrote", which is, of course, a common Bedouin peculiarity. The 1 p. pl. is *eḥna*, instead of *naḥn* (p. XV.). The 3 p. prefix of the imperfect of the verb is *ti* and not simple *i* as in parts of Syria and in Mosûli. On the other hand, I observe that there are peculiarities which smack of the Bedouin Arabic of Syria. Thus *Kâf* is palatalized into *č*, which never occurs in Egyptian Arabic. The negative is generally *mâ* and not *muš*, as in vulgar Syrian and Egyptian and the final negative *-š* is not seen in the verbs; cf. Egyptian *mâ yedrubbûš* "he will not strike him" (also Syrian). The use of *fâred* as a sort of indefinite article is peculiarly striking, as in *fâred wâḥid* "a certain one". Meissner gives fifty-five of the stories in transliteration and translation (pp. 1–101) and closes his book—for it is really a complete book—with a few *Exkurse* (pp. 102–111) and a very useful glossary of the Iraq dialect (pp. 112–148.).

The second Heft is a treatise by R. Vollers on the Mutalammis poems (pp. 149–231), a work which the author began as long ago as 1896 in Cairo. After discussing his sources (pp. 149–231), he gives the Arabic text with textual notes of seventeen of the poems and follows it up with the text and translation of twenty-four fragments (pp. 204–211). The German translation of the longer poems is given pp. 212–223. Vollers supplements his work by a register of metres and rhymes. Most of the metres are *Ṭawîl*. He gives also a list of personal, place and star-names, as well as the Assyrian and Hebrew words and Biblical passages which he has cited (pp. 224–227). The Heft closes with an appendix giving the life of one Hibatallâh Ibn Aš-Šagari (pp. 228–229) and *Nachträge*, pp. 230–231.

As an Assyriologist I must express my regret that the supply of Assyriological matter appears to have run dry in these numbers of the Beiträge, but the loss will no doubt be made up in due time. Both the Arabic articles just mentioned are highly useful productions, the first for the account of a prominent modern dialect and the second from the point of view of pure literature. One cannot help thinking, however, that they would have appeared to better advantage in some Beiträge zur allgemeinen semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Quite apart from any theoretical questions, the practical handling of the prepositions in any given language is a matter of exceeding complexity. Read the elaborate articles on prepositions in English that have appeared from time to time in the 'Englische Studien.' Watch the run of prepositions in England, if you are an American; in America, if you are an Englishman. 'At' and 'in', 'in' and 'on' are as troublesome as *ἐπί* c. gen. and *ἐπί* c. dat. And yet the prepositions are inevitable, the mastery of them a gnomon of one's familiarity with the language, and since the appearance of Mommsen's memorable book, since the founding of Wölfflin's Archiv, the literature of the prepositions in Greek and Latin has become enormously swollen, and it is almost impossible to keep pace with the tide of doctoral dissertations that agitate the subject. In most of those that I have examined the work does not seem to have involved much brain-fag. The categories are taken from the ordinary manuals and all that is needed is care in counting—a homely virtue. But so is cleanliness a homely virtue, and the variations in statistics suffice to show that behind the most seductive array of decimals there may lurk a gross error. I have known an investigator, of whom I had reason to expect better things, to strike an average from the page number of the second volume, oblivious of the fact that there was a first. I have known another of greater note to get his columns interchanged. I have known—but if I go on, I may expose my own shortcomings in the simple matter of numeration and those who are curious in such matters can find my confessions elsewhere. But even if the figures are unassailable, even if the averages are so high as to make any possible error a negligible quantity, one asks: What is the result? What can be the result of statistical work with prepositions? Occasionally the usage of an author as determined by the statistics may help in a question of textual criticism, nay, even in a question of genuineness, but when it comes to prepositional usage as an index of style, the problem taxes the resources of the grammarian, of the rhetorician. Whose senses are so keen as to notice a variation of even ten per cent. in the total use of prepositions? One goes through the whole mass of statistics—and little abides except what any attentive reader might have observed without the statistics. And yet I welcome the statistics, especially those that deal with entire ranges of literature such as Lutz's work on the orators, such as the latest addition to the *Schanz Beiträge*, *Die Präpositionen bei Herodot u. andern Historikern, von* Dr. ROBERT HELBING (Würzburg, Stuber).

Genetically, it is true, the consecrated formula Epic, Lyric, Drama will not hold, nor its prose counterpart, History, Philosophy and Oratory; and Usener has recently protested against the Hegelian triad, which still dominates the history of literature, has protested against the doctrine that Epic, Lyric and Drama present the natural order of development and succession (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft VII 26). Compare also A. J. P. XXIV 231. But genesis is one thing, crystallization another. For me the definition of literature is written art; and as the technique of the great spheres of art is calculable, it may well fall under the rubric of statistics. And so without attempting to do for HELBING what I did for Weber (A. J. P. IV 416–444, VI 53–73), for Sturm (A. J. P. IV 89–92) and lately for Fuchs (A. J. P. XXIV 388–407), I will allow myself to touch on some points that may or may not be of interest to the average Hellenist.

In the General Part, HELBING gives a statement as to the frequency of the prepositions in Herodotos, and the first page of this part is significant enough to any one that has a decent knowledge of Greek. We are in another world from that of the orators, another domain from that of standard Greek prose. The statistics of *σύν* (73), *ἀνά* (64) and *ἀμφί* (34) alone suffice to show that. *σύν*, *ἀνά* and *ἀμφί* are remnants of the epic shell out of which the historian has emerged. You may write a dissertation, a dissertation has been written—not guiltless of Ebeling—on *ἀνά* in Homer. Your chapter on *ἀνά* in Thukydides must needs be brief. *σύν* has a short shrift in Isokrates. *ἀμφί* clings with both hands and both feet to poetry. Like the dual it is picturesque. Like the dual it is doomed. Debbert, De praepositionum *περί* et *ἀμφί* usu Thucydideo (p. 29), has not much to say about the two Thukydidean examples of *ἀμφί*. Fortunately or unfortunately all this has been common property for a generation.

But if the first page lacks novelty, the very next is disillusioning. That there is in language a regular and natural trend towards an increasing use of the prepositions is an article of faith. And Bréal in his 'Sémantique' has some interesting remarks on the subject. But the frequency in the use of prepositions in the different historians as measured by the Teubner page does not bear out this assumption and HELBING emphasizes the fact that the order is not Herodotos, Thukydides, Xenophon, but Xenophon, Herodotos, Thukydides.—Xenophon the latest of the three, being in the Anabasis actually scant in the employment of prepositions. Polybios, it is true, abounds in prepositions and Krebs has been at the pains to tell us why. To me the analysis of the

style of Polybios, of which we have had so much of late, is very much like counting all the dirty little tricks that make a man disagreeable in refined society, and I cannot help sympathizing with Dionysios in his distaste for the great pragmatic historian. If Polybios succeeds in preventing a solution of continuity in the vesture of his language, if he succeeds in keeping himself well buttoned up so that no hiatus appears, little does he care. ὅτι, διότι, καθότι, ὡς are all one to him (4, 25), so long as there is no χασμωδία. οἷοι is dangerous. The termination is exposed. Use οἷοί τ' instead. And so the choice of prepositions is regulated by the same principle, and πρός in composition and out of composition is a prime favourite because it keeps off the σύγκρουσις φωνηέντων, which Polybios dreads as much as the average German does a draught.

As for oligoprothesy and polyprothesy, the variation in most authors is, as I have just said, so slight that it may escape the most attentive reader. And even if one could carry the figures in one's head and train one's powers of observation, I am not certain of the profit. Pindar is said to be oligoprothetic. What does that mean? Less narrative, more lyric swing? The narrative of the Fourth Pythian does not seem to lack prepositions, and after all, the prepositions are to be weighed, not counted merely, and the impact of the Pindaric preposition makes itself felt. Orators and philosophers, they tell us, are oligoprothetic. Have these statistical heroes taken the trouble to sort narrative and argument? The behavior of the articular infinitive which haunts the argument, of the participle, which haunts the narrative might have taught the importance of the distinction. Not having time for such things, I turn languidly to the story of Er in the Republic. There are prepositions enough to satisfy anybody, enough to demand a recount. In fact, vivid narrative, narrative that plants the details before your eyes must have prepositions. They give a plasticity, a drasticity, that the simple cases do not possess. Some of the later writers, it seems, are oligoprothetic, affectedly oligoprothetic, says HELBING. Eusebios, for instance, falls below Xenophon's Anabasis, as Xenophon's Anabasis falls below his Hellenika, which comes nearer, though it does not reach, the standard of Thukydides. The fact gives me no more concern than the local use of the cases in later Greek where standard prose employs prepositions. Doubtless, if challenged, these Hellenistic worthies would have appealed to the authority of the tragic poets, who consciously hyperepicized. A genitive as a whence-case, a dative as a where-case would not stir me in a later author any more than πρίν with the subjunctive after a positive sentence.

Every one that has read Mommsen will recall the chapter on the pet prepositions 'die sogenannten Lieblingspräpositionen', as HELBING calls them. Taking the historians as a whole, εἰς, ἐν, ἐπί lead. These are the prepositions one uses largely in describing campaigns; and ancient history is chiefly a history of war. Perhaps that is the reason why Herodotos, who takes a more modern view of history, has fewer prepositions than Thukydides. That κατά stands in the first place with Polybios, in the second with Diodoros proves nothing but the deadening of the local feeling of κατά c. accus. In Polybios πρός comes second, εἰς third. That is due to the avoidance of hiatus, as we have just seen. πρός is the favorite preposition with Isokrates; πρός is the favorite preposition of Xenophon in the Memorabilia. As the test of hiatus does not apply to Xenophon, I have been in the habit of attributing the predominance of πρός in this treatise to the personal character of the preposition (A. J. P. XII 385, XXI 354), but some of these days a more subtle analyst will nose out local influences and reprimand me for not calling attention to the important fact that Xenophon and Isokrates were from the same Attic deme.

In the next section we are told that in the historians the accusative leads, the genitive follows, the dative is in the third place. In the orators the genitive is decidedly preferred, but in the philosophers the accusative has somewhat the better of the genitive. In the poets, especially in those of the earlier time, the dative has the upper hand, for which see Mommsen. Here again the large use of εἰς in the historians, the military character of history itself may determine the predominance; and I might have something to say on the inliness of the dative in the poets, but I forbear. For my part I see no gain in all this for the aesthetics of the study, and can only repeat my own words on the subject. 'With the shifting exigencies of the world about us, with the great variety of the prepositions that we encounter, it is hardly possible to hear any dominant note, and if one begins to hear one note more than another, it is often at the expense of the whole symphony'. (A. J. P. XXIII 27). An author that forces a note as Polybios does, is no artist. The student of Greek cannot help observing his ἐπί c. gen., as he cannot help noticing his vile προειρημένος. It seems to mean with him a strategic halting-place, but it is hardly worth while to formulate. He who appreciates the music of style must pay the penalty when he has to deal with the disharmonies of bad writers, and may be excused for not taking down every *couac*, every break.

In the fourth section of this first part, HELBING takes up the individual prepositions and tells us how often they occur on every hundred pages of the different authors. Herodotos, f. i., uses ἐς 383 times, Xenophon uses εἰς only 157 times. Appian's figure is 610 and Eusebios' 103. In Attic the diminution of εἰς may be accounted for as HELBING accounts for it by the intrusion of πρός. But Appian is not a norm. Neither is Eusebios. One Latinizes, the other is affected. And so we go through all the prepositions and HELBING tries to give not only the fact but the cause. The leadership of ἐν in Pausanias is due to the fact that he describes localities so much, says HELBING, but the varying proportions of ἐπί keep him guessing. The picturesqueness of ἐπί with the dative, the phraseological use of ἐπί with the genitive (A. J. P. XVIII 119), the differences of ἐπί and πρός are ignored. There is a higher average of ἐκ in Herodotos than in Attic, because Herodotos uses ἐκ with the passive. Polybios follows close on Herodotos, Dionysios outdoes him and so does Pausanias—a straw that shows how the Herodotean wind blows over the steppes of later Greek literature. πρός with the genitive is familiar in Ionic prose, rare in Attic, exceedingly rare in Polybios. The Herodotean breeze seems to have died out, but Arrian outdoes Herodotos by far, and we take courage. We take courage but not courage enough to go through the whole list, and record the elbowing out of preposition by preposition, of case by case. The increase of κατά with the genitive in the sense of hostility is charged to the orators, and well it may, for κατά and πρός are technical terms with the orators. But when HELBING accounts for the large proportion of διά with the accusative in Thukydides by the employment of διὰ τό with the infinitive and by the frequent use of διά with the accusative for the agent, he fails to notice that διὰ τό with the infinitive is extremely common in Xenophon (A. J. P. VIII 330); and the frequent use of διά with the accusative for the agent is a pure fancy. He himself cites only eight passages (p. 138). I am not fooled by 'z. B.' any more than I am fooled by 'passim' and in all these I 41, II 59, III 64, 67; VI 29, 80, VIII 50, 76 διά c. accus. is normal. See A. J. P. X 124, XI 371, XXIV 104. Of σύν the readers of the Journal have probably had enough (A. J. P. VIII 218), and it is not necessary to dwell on the 'buntscheckige Reminiscenzengräcität des 2. Jahrhunderts.'—In the special part (Besonderer Teil), HELBING takes up the several prepositions in detail, but I have already outrun the limits prescribed by *Brief Mention*. In fine, HELBING'S book is a valuable repertory of facts, a valuable summary of the work that has been done in this domain. That my interpretation of the facts does not coincide with HELBING'S and that I miss points that I have been accustomed to make will not surprise any one who has studied the Greek prepositions for himself.

In line with my remarks on a previous page touching the untrustworthiness of statistics, Professor WILLIS H. BOCOCK, of the University of Georgia, calls my attention to the following lapses in FUCHS's book, reviewed in the last number of the Journal XXIV 388 foll. 'Blass's text of Demosthenes has 15 examples of *τέως* = *ἕως*, and as these are all recorded in Preuss's Index, FUCHS should have looked them up, even if he did not follow Blass's text and declined to mention the variants. In consequence of this neglect, he has missed XIV 36, XX 91, XXIII 108, XXIV 80 and 81, [LVI] 14, and Pro. XXI 4. He also fails to mention for *ἔστε* with present optative, Xen. An. 3, 3, 5 cited in L. & S., and misses one of the most interesting passages that he does cite, *μέχρι τοῦ* with infinitive, Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 38 by quoting the two aorist infinitives and leaving off the following present infinitive. The shift is different from that of Hiero 6, 2. Another important omission, p. 88, is the relative sentence in Thukydides 2, 65, 5 with the notable complexive aorist: *ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προὔστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν.*'[1]

Since 1883, the date of Hübner's Grundriss, syntactical monographs have been multiplied out of measure but, as I plaintively remarked in the last number of the Journal, XXIV 482, there is no 'Jahresbericht' to control the output. To be sure, the contributions to the syntax of individual authors are reported after a fashion, but those who represent the special authors are often anything but specialists in Greek Syntax. The same straw is threshed over and over again, the same phenomena rediscovered, the same categories garnished with the same examples. There, for instance, is a book by LA ROCHE, a veteran like myself, whose *Beiträge zur griechischen Grammatik* bears date 1893. I turn over the leaves listlessly and find a good deal of valuable material huddled together in a very unsatisfactory way, and only a sense of gratitude to the old scholar whose Iliad was of great service to me in the early seventies keeps me from an exclamation of impatience. Under the head of *εἰ* with the future indicative, he has a list of 14 examples. In my article on *εἰ* with the future

[1] As I am going to press, Professor BAIN, of South Carolina College, calls my attention to some further omissions of Fuchs who does not seem to be a model of accuracy. P. 96 he fails to mention under *μέχρι τοῦ* c. inf. Dem. 19, 13 and 37, 15. *ἄχρι τοῦ* c. inf. occurs also Ep. 3, 7, b (see Preuss). P. 97 he does not record under *ἕως* 'until', Dem. 25, 70, and while he does record 35, 25, he fails (p. 98) to put it among the optatives, where Preuss has put it; and p. 100 *ὃν χρόνον* (52, 15), is not entered among the relative sentences = *ἕως*. Under Plato p. 104 he has overlooked Phaedo 101 D: *ἕως ἂν σκέψαιο*, though it is duly provided for in A. J. P. IV 418. While on the subject I would beg leave to point out a curious error of the types, A. J. P. XXIV 404, l. 25. It is a mere matter of punctuation but troublesome for all that. Put a period after 1, 7 and read "*τέως* has its innings, 1, 7. *ἕως* 'until', etc."

indicative published in 1876, there are 130 odd from the tragic poets alone. Sobolewski discussed the Aristophanic examples in 1891 and in 1892 I gave Lodge's list of 39 in Herodotos and Hogue's list of 103 from Thukydides (A. J. P. XIII 124). The subject is well worn now and there is a general consensus as to the 'minatory or monitory' tone of this form of the conditional sentence. But of the tone nothing is said by LA ROCHE.

Then many pages are covered by an alphabetic list of verbs that take the predicative participle. Of course, LA ROCHE knows perfectly well that these participles belong to different categories but he leaves the sorting to others and fails to discuss the tenses of the participle, not so simple a matter as he seems to think. He has, for instance, a good many examples of περιορῶ with the aorist participle, not one of ἐφορῶ. Under ἀνέχομαι, the examples given at length are all with the present participle. In A. J. P. I 242 I challenged the aorist participle with ἀνέχομαι. So. Antig. 467 does not count, but there is one example in X. Cyr. 6, 2, 18 and there may be others. Unfortunately, LA ROCHE, while he cites the Xenophontean passage, does not call attention to the exceptional tense, due doubtless to the negative. Cf. Dem. 21, 170: οὐδ' ἂν ἠνέσχεσθε, εἰ προσέγραψέ τις, which might be turned into προσγράψαντά τινα. On p. 189 we read: Auch wenn das Dativobject des Activs zum Subject wird, kann das Accusativobject beim Passiv unverändert stehen bleiben: οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, X. An. II 6, 1 with many other examples. True, this is Krüger's explanation (§ 52, 4, 2) and it is Goodwin's explanation (§§ 1058 and 1239), and so convinced is our American syntactician of the importance of distinguishing between κάμνω τὴν κεφαλήν and ἐκκόπτομαι τὸν ὀφθαλμόν that he dwells on it in § 67 of his Demosthenes de Corona, which is an admirable *repetitorium* of the author's Greek Grammar and his Moods and Tenses. Against this view which is not shared by Kühner-Gerth (§ 378, 8), I have quietly protested in my S. C. G. § 175, 'The verb must take the dative without an intervening outer object.' In Greek parts of the body regularly take the genitive (A. J. P. XXIII 232). The dative is only occasional and Krüger and the rest have been misled by the German idiom, which has infected so many of our Greek Grammars intended for English and American consumption. In 'Bind him hand and foot', do we feel 'him' as a dative? Under 'der irreale Finalsatz' I shall be pardoned for not recognizing the novelty of LA ROCHE'S doctrine when he says (p. 199): 'Der irreale Finalsatz ist immer und kann auch seiner Natur nach nichts anderes sein als ein integrierender Bestandtheil eines anderen irrealen Satzes, entweder eines Bedingungsatzes oder eines Wunschsatzes.' 'Dieses

Gesetz von dem in unseren Grammatiken nichts zu finden ist, ergibt sich aus der Zusammenstellung der vorhandenen Beispiele von selbst.' Railing accusations have often been made by eminent scholars against the grammars, accusations which the eminent scholars have found it expedient to withdraw (A. J. P. XIX 463, XX 352; cf. Kr. § 50, 11, 3). But the bulk of every scholar's knowledge comes from the grammars. What the individual contributes is comparatively little; and as the rule that I gave A. J. P. IV 434 (1883) has been familiar to me for many, many years, I am doubtless indebted for it to some earlier grammarian. 'The true explanation is that the dependent clause is really the main clause. The wish for the means is really a wish for the end.' Comp. A. J. P. VI 69.

LA ROCHE's chapter on the accusative absolute is fuller than what one finds in Blaydes's Lysistrata v. 13 or in Spieker's Genitive Absolute (A. J. P. VI 136), but it does not compare in fulness with the dissertation of F. LELL, *Der absolute Accusativ im Griechischen bis zu Aristoteles*, Würzburg, 1892, who has given us 60 pp. whereas LA ROCHE has given us only five. Of course, we expect doctoral dissertations to be spun out, but LELL really presents us with much more than LA ROCHE. According to LA ROCHE 'seine Bedeutung ist eine temporale bisweilen mit concessiver Beimischung.' Of course, 'temporale Bedeutung' is perfectly safe, but 'bisweilen' says too little. Personally I am in the habit of distinguishing between 'concessive' and 'adversative', 'conceded point' and 'opposing fact' (καὶ εἰ and εἰ καί), and as the participle is the dominant form for the adversative and the accusative is largely used for the objectionable, we should expect *a priori* a predominance of the adversative relation in the accusative participle and in accordance with this old observation of mine, LELL recognizes a predominance of the 'obwohl' element in many of the more familiar verbs. An interesting parallel has been adduced by Professor Bolling in the adversative use of the Sanskrit genitive absolute (A. J. P. XX 112).

When Thackeray made one of his characters ask the question, 'What is the gender of cottage in French?' the novelist could hardly have appreciated the importance of the linguistic problem that he was propounding so lightly. As soon as a genderless language like the English invades the sphere of languages that have gender, the question of gender becomes intensely practical. Think of Pennsylvania German and Canadian French, shot through with English words, to say nothing of the many English words that are taken up into the French of France itself and the German of Germany itself. But the theory is not so simple and the reach is very wide. 'Die Rellrott' is easily explained on

the analogy of 'die Eisenbahn' but 'die Farm' and 'der Schtor' —Heyse says 'das Store',—are not so evident. 'Der Strike' (Streik) follows the gender of the walking delegate or of the cognate 'Streich' but 'die Tramway' takes to the remoter 'Bahn' rather than to the nearer 'Weg'. All exotic words give trouble. It is still, I believe, 'der, die, das Kalewala' and some time ago the French had a hot dispute about the gender of 'automobile'. Is the red devil 'he' or 'she'? Of course, in learning a three-gender language like the German, the grammatical gender is a great stumblingblock to the foreigner and the coquettish behavior of a termination like -niss causes one to cry out with Abraham a Sancta Clara 'Ein harte Nuss ist die Ergernuss'. But after the outcry, we stop to ask: 'What is this? A deliberate perversion for the sake of a pun or a dialectic difference?' Since Brugmann's famous tractate on 'Grammatical Gender' there has been a recrudescence of the discussion and the gendering of gender, so to speak, has received of late new light from the study of languages that are palpable. There is an elaborate article by WILSON on 'The Grammatical Gender of English Words in German, *Americana Germanica*, 1899, and this has been followed by another on 'The Gender of English Loan-Nouns in Norse Dialects' in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, September, 1903, by Professor GEORGE T. FLOM. Now a man's attitude toward grammatical gender as toward the ungrammatical sex is determined very largely by his temperament; and I must confess that I hate to see Grimm cast forth into the sea, fancies and all, and that I am thankful to President WHEELER for throwing out a sex-preserver in the shape of pronominal gender. Apart from questions of origin, with which I meddle as little as possible, even in genderless English the feminine personification comes out distinctly in the personal pronouns, as we see in numberless popular locutions, such as 'let her go', 'let her slide', 'let her rip', often with distinct reference to a wayward, obstinate, unmanageable force. In political slang the neuter 'It' has of late years become something demoniacal like the ES in Schiller's 'Taucher', an unsexed, absolute, absorbent Being; and a Southern humorist remarks that in the language of the Georgia 'cracker', 'It' is always used of imbeciles.

Much remains to be done in this line, but at the same time, it must be acknowledged that the old way of seeking sexual characteristics in non-sexual things has led to all kinds of absurdities, and I shudder as I remember wading through Bindseil forty years ago and coming out of the morass more muddled than when I went in. Now it is just such careful studies as those just cited, studies in the domain of modern languages, languages that we can feel, that we can 'palpate', from which we may

hope for a reconciliation between fancy and fashion, between imagination and analogy, between personifying instinct and ovine sequence. When the ovine sequence is established, there is nothing more to be said. Still the genders have their reserved rights. Πενία becomes a real 'she' and Πόρος a real 'he' and the editor is often in doubt whether he shall glorify an abstract by a capital or not. Indeed, any departure from an established termination evokes the sex. If beauty is to be a goddess, Καλλονή (Plato, Symp. 206 D) comes easier than Κάλλος, just as Βία in Hesiod and Aischylos does not grate as Κράτος does. When an author of strong individuality deliberately changes the neuter τὸ παράλογον into ὁ παράλογος, it is hard not to see a certain personification, a certain deification in the use of the masculine. Ὁ Παράλογος is a kinsman of the Master of Misrule. He is the Master of Miscalculation and the two, Παράλογος and Τύχη, king it and queen it over the world which only the later Greeks called κόσμος.

When THEODOR MOMMSEN died, November 1, 1903, there came into my mind the familiar words of Pliny, the Younger, 'plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, exemplar aevi prioris'. That 'aevum prius' seems to be my own. When I was a student at Bonn in 1852, the young Latinists were all studying with enthusiasm 'Die unteritalischen Dialekte'. In 1856 I read the 'Römische Geschichte' with intense avidity as it came hot from the press, and in 1861 when the stress of the civil war forced on me the work of the Latin chair at the University of Virginia, I made an abridgment of the great work as a part of my preparation for teaching Roman history. Reproduction of this sort brings the student into close contact with the mind of the author; and, if I have ever gained any insight into the workings of genius, it has been by the synthetic rather than by the analytic process. And so it was a manner of return of youth when I gave in 1885 (A. J. P. VI 483) some account of the fifth volume of the Roman History at the time of its appearance. Mommsen himself I saw but once, a day or two after the fire that had destroyed his library. It was not the time one would have chosen for a visit; for while there was no lack of fortitude to remember, there was a strong impression of the acute sensitiveness that quivers along every line of his best photographs. My range of studies is not wide enough—whose is?—to measure such a man, but there is one point on which I venture to pause for a moment, a point that has been made by more than one biographer of the great scholar and genius, who has passed into history—the sharp anguish that he felt at the intellectual and spiritual severance of France and Germany in consequence of the Franco-Prussian War. To those who sympathize with both the great nationalities, the world has never been the same since then;

and to the German patriot who was bound by ties of friendship and community of scholarly interests to men beyond the Rhine, the grief at the break was poignant, and that grief found expression in various ways. In his 'Worte der Erinnerung' GOMPERZ says: 'Das deutsche Volk hatte seinen mächtigen Angreifer, den Erben des verhassten Napoleonischen Namens, niedergerungen; lauter Jubel erscholl in allen Gauen. Mommsen frohlockte nicht; ihm fiel ein Wermutstropfen in den schäumenden Freudenkelch. Er blickte beklommen in die Zukunft. Es bangte ihm vor der dauernden Entfremdung zweier grosser Kulturnationen und dieses ihn beherrschende Gefühl hat er sogleich nach dem Empfang der Botschaft von Sedan in Versen ausgeströmt, die seinen damaligen Vertrauten bekannt geworden sind'. This feeling does him all honor. Yet after all, only the vulgar exult. Victory keeps the right-minded victor forever apologizing to the vanquished and to himself. Happy are we Americans that we can at least read French and German without a pang.

H. L. W.: The attempt to trace to their source the differences which separate one Romance language from another has for a long time occupied the attention of both Latin and Romance scholars, and the great importance of Latin inscriptions from this point of view has become more and more apparent. Sittl, Hoffmann, Kübler, Neumann, Pirson, and others have gathered and classified epigraphic material in the effort to set forth clearly the character of various dialects spoken in different parts of the Roman world. The first discussion of the Latin of Spain on the basis of the inscriptions was *Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions par* A. CARNOY (Louvain, 1902, pp. 119). This first part, which treated only of the vowels, is now followed by a study of the consonants (1903, pp. 121–227). The author is scholarly in his method and point of view, taking into account the date, provenience, and other important details of the inscriptions cited, though one misses here and there the clear note in the treatment of phenomena of the earlier period. The whole is furnished with a good index and provides new and valuable data for the student of the vexed questions involved in the phonetics and morphology of the Vulgar Latin of the provinces.



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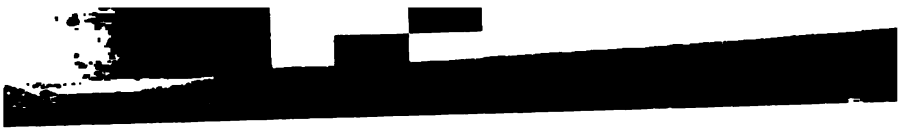
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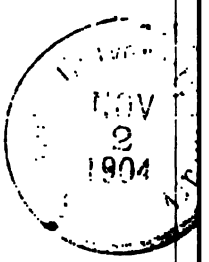
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VOL. XXV, 2 WHOLE NO. 98



THE

AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE

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BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.

PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING LEIPSIC: F. A. BROCKHAUS

APRIL, MAY, JUNE

1904

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Postoffice.

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AMERICAN

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VOL. XXV, 2. WHOLE NO. 98.

I.—THE PERIPATETIC MEAN OF STYLE AND THE THREE STYLISTIC CHARACTERS.

Concerning the origin of the ancient division of style into three types or characters, there seems to be at the present time general unanimity in attributing it to Theophrastus. It was first assigned to him, so far as I am aware, by Westermann,[1] but the more recent discussions of the matter award to Dr. H. Rabe[2] (of Hannover) the credit of having demonstrated the origin of the classification and its place in Theophrastus' rhetorical system.[3] In criticising this conclusion I am less concerned to attack the name of Theophrastus than I am to correct a misconception of the stylistic theory of the Peripatetic school which follows upon the acceptance of the evidence which has yielded this result. For in fact a *true* account of the origin of the three styles will attribute to Theophrastus the formulation of the ideas which gave rise at a subsequent time to this division, but it will approach the matter from a wholly different point of view, and will employ other evidence than that which has hitherto been used. It is therefore to define some aspects of the Peripatetic conception of rhetorical style, as formulated by the two first masters of the school, that

[1] Griech. Beredsamkeit I, p. 170 and n. 8. But see Vossius Com. Rhet. II (1630), p. 464. Cf. Blass, Griech. Beredsamkeit von Alex. bis Aug., p. 81, and Jebb, Attic Orators, Vol. II, p. 397.

[2] De Theophrasti libris περὶ λέξεως, Diss. Bonn, 1890.

[3] Cf. Norden, Antike Kunstprosa I, p. 70, note (extr.): "Dass die im Text behandelte Scheidung der χαρακτῆρες λέξεως mit ihren benachbarten Fehlern auf Theophrastus zurückgeht . . . weist H. Rabe überzeugend nach." Radermacher, Rh. Mus. Vol. 54 (1899), p. 361. Wilamowitz, Hermes Vol. 35 (1900), p. 27, and note 1.

the following study is undertaken, with the further purpose of clearing the ground for a truer account (as I venture to hope) of the origin and meaning of this stylistic analysis.

The evidence, which has seemed to furnish proof for the prevailing view, is found in a passage of Dionysius de Dem. ch. 3. It will be cited later in its true connection, but here let it suffice to summarize briefly the argument from the beginning of the treatise to this point: Gorgias and Thucydides are named and characterized as representatives of the grand style (λέξις περιττὴ καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος and again χαρακτὴρ ὑψηλός); the plain style, culminating in Lysias, then follows; finally, on the authority of Theophrastus, Thrasymachus is designated as the author of a mixed style or a mean (μικτὴ λέξις or μεσότης), which was further cultivated by Plato and Isocrates, and reached its highest development in Demosthenes. This evidence is used with much reserve by Westermann;[1] more confidently by Rabe, whose words I quote (l. c. p. 7): "Quia de tertio, mixto ex prioribus, Theophrasti iudicium affert, aperte tria illa genera eadem iam Theophrasto probata sunt." Again in recapitulation on p. 11 he attributes to the treatise περὶ λέξεως the three styles essentially as they stand in Dionysius, with the representatives of each as named by him. That in claiming all this for Theophrastus Rabe went too far has been generally recognized, especially in attributing to him the judgment of the pre-eminence of Demosthenes, which belongs to a later time.[2] Effective criticism may be made also against the probability of his naming Lysias as a representative of the plain style. In fact to conclude that Theophrastus conceived of the two other styles as Dionysius does, or named the same representatives of the different characters, or even that he made a classification of style in any such sense as Dionysius understands it, is to transcend the limits of legitimate inference from the data afforded. Theophrastus recognized Thrasymachus as the author of a μικτὴ λέξις or a

[1] Loc. cit.: "Im Ganzen scheint er, doch ohne sklavische Nachbeterei, auf dem von Aristoteles gelegten Grunde fortgebaut zu haben. Einzelne Theile erweiterte er, wie namentlich den Abschnitt über den rednerischen Ausdruck, wo er auch vielleicht zuerst die technische Scheidung der früher nur factisch bestehenden drei Arten des Stils begründete." And in note 8 ib. "Darauf führt Dionysius Hal. Lys. 6, Dem. 3."

[2] See Radermacher, Rh. Mus. 54, p. 379 extr. and Wilamowitz cited on p. 125. On the judgment of Demosthenes' rank as an orator see esp. Schmid, Rh. Mus. 49, p. 142, note 2.

μεσότης, and before proceeding to other inferences it must be our task to ascertain the meaning of this one piece of evidence. To anticipate a somewhat devious argument, which the meagreness of our record makes necessary, I shall endeavor to show: (1) that Theophrastus, following the teachings of his master, designated excellence of style as a mean (μεσότης) and named Thrasymachus as the first one to attain it; (2) that Dionysius with superficial apprehension of this conception has applied it to the doctrine, current in his time, of the three characters of style, identifying the Peripatetic mean with the so-called middle style; (3) that therefore, from this evidence at least, Theophrastus is not the source of this classification of styles, the true origin of which must be sought elsewhere.

For the proof of this we must turn first to Aristotle, since the singularly intimate relationship which existed between the two first Peripatetics affords a reasonable presumption that the position of the pupil will at least take its departure from the ideas of the master.

To define the attitude of Aristotle toward the artistic use of prose, has been a matter of some perplexity. On the one hand, we have the admiring judgments of his style from antiquity contrasting strikingly with the bald pragmatic language of most of his extant works. But in this respect the Constitution of Athens has served to prove what was suspected before, that the ancient judgments were not made with reference to the esoteric writings, but were rather based upon the dialogues and other works which addressed a general public. In the Rhetoric it is clear that Aristotle teaches with sympathetic appreciation a doctrine of style which corresponds essentially to the example set by Isocrates, from whom the largest number of illustrations are chosen. Even certain extremes of rhetorical ornament such as the Gorgianic figures, he still looks upon as legitimate resources of art.[1] But on the other hand the Rhetoric contains several utterances which betray a contempt for all stylistic embellishment in rhetorical practice, which might seem to point rather to such a theoretical position as Aristotle[2] has exemplified

[1] Rhet. III 9 1410 a 20 *ἡδεῖα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη λέξις ὅτι τἀναντία γνωριμώτατα καὶ παρ' ἄλληλα μᾶλλον γνώριμα.*

[2] Rhet. III 1 1404 a 8 *τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς λέξεως ὅμως ἔχει τι μικρὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν πάσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ· διαφέρει γάρ τι πρὸς τὸ δηλῶσαι ὧδὶ ἢ ὧδὶ εἰπεῖν, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα φαντασία ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν· διὸ οὐδεὶς οὕτω γεωμετρεῖν διδάσκει.*

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style. For why must it be clear and not mean, but appropriate? Because if, for example, it is prolix it will not be clear, nor again if it is too concise. But it is plain that the mean is the fitting thing (*ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι τὸ μέσον ἁρμόττει*). And the elements already named will render style pleasing and distinguished if they be wisely combined,[1] viz., the familiar and the strange, rhythm, and persuasiveness arising from the appropriate."

Although rhythm (ch. 8) and the period (ch. 9) are treated separately by Aristotle, yet this separation is apparently only in the interest of perspicuity. For that he conceives of the two as inseparably related appears from his whole treatment and especially from the demonstration of the advantages which both rhythm and the period contribute to style.[2]

Prose style must not become verse, nor, on the other hand, must it be wholly unrhythmical (*τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε ἄρρυθμον*, ch. 8 init.)—an injunction corresponding exactly to the law laid down in the definition of the virtue of style, *μήτε ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα μήτε ταπεινήν*. The wholly unrhythmical is the inartistic language of every-day life or of early prose literature; the excessively metrical is the early habit of artistic prose still in imitation of the poetry from which it took its rise. Thus between the extremes of *τὸ ἔμμετρον* and *τὸ ἄρρυθμον* there is the mean, viz., the use of rhythm, but rhythm not employed with the exactness of poetical metre (*ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς*). Again within the territory of rhythm itself one must choose the fitting movement. The heroic rhythm is too stately and deficient in conversational quality, the iambic is too colloquial, the trochaic is the rhythm of broad comedy. The paean remains, the use of which began with Thrasymachus, though he and his followers could not define its nature.[3] The paean comes third in order and is related to the forms that have been named; for it has the ratio of 3 to 2 (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —), that is 1½, while the others have that of one to one (— — or — ⏑ ⏑) and one to two (⏑ — or — ⏑)

[1] Rhet. III 1414 a 27 *ἂν εὖ μιχθῇ*. While conceivably the Aristotelian mean of style might be spoken of as a *μικτὴ λέξις*, it scarcely requires explanation that a mean would not result from a mixture of the two extremes. In this case each one of the elements which enters into the composition must also be a mean.

[2] Cf. Rhet. III 8 1408 b 27 (of the unrhythmical) *ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον*, and III 9 1409 a 31 (of the unperiodic) *ἔστι δὲ ἀηδὴς διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον*.

[3] Rhet. III 8 1409 a 2 *ᾧ ἐχρῶντο μὲν ἀπὸ Θρασυμάχου ἀρξάμενοι, οὐκ εἶχον δὲ λέγειν τίς ἦν*.

respectively; that is, one and one-half is connected with these ratios (1 and 2), or, as Cicero interprets in rendering this passage (Or. 193), it is a mean between them.

Here we have expressly affirmed and in concrete terms the same point of view which we found enunciated in regard to diction, viz., that the mean between the extremes named is the ideal at which to aim. The passage has for us, moreover, this further and conspicuous value, for the question which we are investigating, that it names Thrasymachus as the first to use this mean in rhythm. Aristotle's further statement that Thrasymachus and his followers, though they had hit upon the true rhythm, did not understand its nature, is very significant. For it implies not only that Thrasymachus did not recognize the reason for the superiority of the paean, but that subsequent rhetorical theorists had failed to grasp the nature of its excellence. In short, Aristotle claims for himself the merit of interpreting the paean as a mean between the other available forms, and of thus referring its excellence to a reasoned principle. It is, as will be seen, the point of departure for Theophrastus' designation of Thrasymachus as the source of the μεσότης of style in general.

In regard to the period, which is discussed in ch. 9, Aristotle does not expressly define the three elements of the triad which he names in regard to rhythm. There was first the merely continuous,[1] or "jointed" style (λέξις εἰρομένη), comparable to a straight line divided into sections at hap-hazard. As an example he names Herodotus, and cites the opening words of his history. It is displeasing for the same reason that the unrhythmical is disagreeable, as being infinite and undetermined.[2] The mind is afforded no natural halting places.[3] The period, on the other hand, completes the thought within the compass of a certain rhythm, and so facilitates attention to the thought and makes easy its retention. The extreme is not here named, but obviously it is the same as in rhythm, i. e. a periodic structure which contains an excess of rhythmic rounding, which ceases to escape observation, and is recognized like verse. The extremes and the mean in the essential sense of Aristotle's thought, and

[1] An admirable illustration (better than Aristotle's example from Herodotus) is afforded by a fragment of Hecataeus which Norden (I 37) cites.

[2] Cf. Cicero de Or. III 186: numerus autem in continuatione nullus est (probably from Theophrastus).

[3] Demetrius de Eloc. 47.

probably as defined and interpreted by Theophrastus, are given by Demetrius de Eloc. 15 *δοκιμάζω γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε μήτε περιόδοις ὅλον τὸν λόγον συνείρεσθαι, ὡς τοῦ Γοργίου, μήτε διαλελύσθαι ὅλον ὡς τὰ ἀρχαῖα, ἀλλὰ μεμῖχθαι μᾶλλον δι' ἀμφοτέρων.*[1] It is obvious that the correct form of period could only be attained by the use of the correct rhythm and that brings us again to Thrasymachus. It is from this point of view that the invention of the period is attributed to Thrasymachus in Suidas (s. v.), a passage which will be cited presently.

From this brief résumé of the most essential utterances of Aristotle concerning diction and rhythm, it is clear that the Aristotelian conception of excellence in style is based upon a doctrine of the mean (*μεσότης*) analogous to that which lies at the foundation of his political and ethical theories. It is put in most universal and philosophical connection with this thought in the definition of rhythm and the period (*τὸ πέρας* and *τὸ ἄπειρον* in ch. 9); it appears in a more empirical and popular form in the injunctions concerning diction. The whole thought is summarized in the definition of the virtue of style,[2] which as we have seen is clearness as a necessary presumption (but not clearness alone, which could best be attained by a style quite without distinction,[3]) and embellishment restrained from poetical extravagance by appropriateness (*τὸ πρέπον*). Indeed throughout the Rhetoric *τὸ μέσον, τὸ μέτριον, τὸ πρέπον*, are almost interchangeable terms.

It may not unreasonably be said that the use of such general expressions as these in no way warrants the assumption that Aristotle means to apply to style that doctrine of the mean which is so explicitly unfolded in the Ethics. But while it is true that the principle is nowhere expressly laid down, yet not only in the utterances already cited is it implied, but it is also contained in some of its more technical aspects in several passages of the

[1] For a similar formulation of the matter with indication of Theophrastus as its source, see Cicero de Or. III 184.

[2] Thus Cicero applies to Aristotle's approval of the paean the very words of the definition of the *ἀρετὴ λέξεως* (Or. 192): ita neque humilem et abiectam orationem nec nimis altam et exaggeratam probat (Aristoteles), plenam tamen eam volt esse gravitatis ut eos qui audient ad maiorem admirationem possit traducere.

[3] Cf. Poet. 22 init. *σαφεστάτη μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ ἐκ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων (λέξις), ἀλλὰ ταπεινή.*

Rhetoric which call for a little more detailed explanation.[1] In the first place, the ideal of style is *ἀρετή* like the ideal of conduct.[2] Furthermore as defined in the Ethics (II 5 init.) every *ἀρετή* has its corresponding *ἔργον*, and the *ἀρετή* is determined or defined as an efficient with reference to that which it has to effect (*ἔργον*). Thus the first element of the definition of style is *σαφῆ εἶναι*, which is thereupon justified by the parenthetical explanation, *σημεῖον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἐὰν μὴ δηλοῖ, οὐ ποιήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον.*

Ethical *ἀρετή* is a mean between two extremes. But the same is true of every *ἀρετή*, for the doctrine of the mean in ethics is derived from a universal principle and interpreted by Aristotle in its special application to ethics. It follows, therefore, that the universal elements of the doctrine are applicable to rhetoric as well. The general principle of the mean set forth in II 5 1106 a 26 ff., I paraphrase as follows: "Everything, whether it be conceived of as continuous or discrete, admits of the terms more, less and equal, either absolutely (*κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα*) or relatively to ourselves (*πρὸς ἡμᾶς*). Using the terms relatively, they are excess, deficiency, and the mean. Virtue, therefore, is such a mean; not an absolute mean, as when one says that 6 is a mean

[1] I should have considered it unnecessary to justify this position (further than has been done), were it not that Cope criticises Brandis 'for ascribing too much ethical philosophy to the Rhetoric' in affirming that reference 'to the famous doctrine of the mean' is found in the enumeration of virtues in I 9. (Cf. Cope, Int. to Arist. Rhet., p. 97 and note, and Brandis, Über Arist. Rhetorik in Philologus vol. IV (1849), p. 31, and n. 50). But, just as in this chapter of book I Aristotle, as I think, undoubtedly has in mind the triad of his ethical theory, and yet because of the more popular character of the Rhetoric refrains from setting forth its theoretical basis, so in the third book he uses the principle in an empirical and popular way without detailed explanation of its application to style. There are of course other considerations connected with the origin and character of book III which cannot here be discussed. It should be added that brief recognition of the doctrine of the mean in Aristotle's theory of style has been made by Chaignet, La Rhétorique et son Histoire, and by Roberts, Demetrius, p. 39. Cf. Zeller cited above, p. 129.

[2] In this connection emphasis should be laid on the fact that Aristotle does not speak of 'virtues' of style as is customary in later rhetoric, (for him its excellence is a unit—*ἡ ἀρετή*, and Cope (whom Welldon follows) is wholly in error in translating *ὡρίσθω ἀρετὴ λέξεως*: 'let it be regarded as settled once for all, that *one* virtue of style is to be perspicuous.' Cope was misled, I presume, by the absence of the article. But it is used in ch. 12 extr. 1414 a 23 and ch. 2 1404 b 37.

between 2 and 10, but a mean varying between two extremes in accordance with individual capacity or idiosyncrasy. Thus, if two pounds of food be too little for a man, and ten pounds too much, a trainer will not therefore prescribe six pounds. For the practised athlete this will be too little, for the beginner in athletic training, too much." This is a truth susceptible of the widest application, and from its recognition in regard to every other field of knowledge or skill (*πᾶσα ἐπιστήμη, οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τεχνῖται* 1106 b 8 and 13) its applicability to moral virtue is deduced.

As stated above, the doctrine of the mean, as applied to rhetoric, is seen in its most philosophical aspect in the treatment of rhythm, where, as we saw, the *ἄρρυθμον* is found unsuitable for style as being limitless (*ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον*, Rhet. III 8 init.). But limit or definition the mind requires for its satisfaction, and therefore in style such a limit is agreeable from its opposition to the undefined (*ἡδεῖα διὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν τῷ ἀπεράντῳ*, ch. 9, 1409 b 2). The general principle is derived from a piece of Pythagorean symbolism, which Aristotle cites in Ethics II 6, 1106 b 29: *τὸ κακὸν τοῦ ἀπείρου, ὡς οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι εἴκαζον, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ πεπερασμένου.* But prose differs from poetry in not being subject to absolute definition or law, which in language is *τὸ ἔμμετρον*. Therefore the ideal will be a relative mean between these extremes: *διὸ ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον . . . ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς.* Rhet. ch. 8 1408 b 30.

In conduct the chief practical question is the means of attaining the *μεσότης*. This is to be determined by right reason, *ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος* (VI 1, 1) and by this statement he means "that our action must correspond to the standard which exists in the rightly ordered mind. What is subjectively the *λόγος*, law or standard, that is objectively the *μεσότης* or balance."[1] The task of right conduct, therefore, for a rational man, consists in the employment of a constant series of checks and spurs, in relaxing (*ἀνιέναι*) and intensifying (*ἐπιτείνειν*) his activity to maintain his position within the narrow limits of the mean, as determined by his individuality and reason. (Cf. Eth. II 9, and esp. VI 1). In rhetoric and poetry (as perhaps in art generally) that which corresponds to the right reason is the subjective feeling of the appropriate, *τὸ πρέπον*, and this it is which is the guide to the attainment of the mean between the excess and the deficiency of form and elaboration in language. But in prose, as well as in

[1] Grant, Arist. Ethics Vol. I, p. 206.

verse, the sense of the appropriate constantly dictates expansion and contraction to meet the varying conditions which, in each given case, constitute the mean: *ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπισυστελλόμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον τὸ πρέπον* (III 2 1404 b 17). The language is brief and gives no more than a suggestion of that which is implicitly contained in it. But it will be observed that the appropriate is the result of the same principle of relaxation and restraint which 'right reason' imposes in the attainment of the ethical mean.[1] This essential identity in principle of the virtue of style with moral virtue is explained similarly, but with much greater clearness, in an Aristotelian fragment on brevity, preserved in the so-called Ars Cornuti (Spengel I[2] 2, p. 370): *εἰ γάρ ἐστι, φησίν, ἡ συντομία συμμετρία τις μήτε παραλείπουσά τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων μήτε πλεονάζουσα, ἀρετὴ γενήσεται. εἰ δέ ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἔνδειά τις ὑπερβαίνουσά τι τῶν χρησίμων, ἐν ταῖς κακίαις μᾶλλον ταχθήσεται.*[2] "If brevity be conceived of as a mean (*συμμετρία*) neither omitting anything that is necessary nor containing more than is necessary, let it be called a virtue. But if it is, so to say, a deficiency, passing over things that are serviceable, let it rather rank with faults." The fragment (from whatever source) interprets the well-known passage of the Rhetoric III 16 1416 b 30[3] on the same subject, but has for us the special value of applying in definite terms to style the doctrine of the deficiency, the extreme and the mean.

[1] The conception of the appropriate as consisting in a constant adaptation to "environment" (subjective and objective) and hence as pulsating, so to speak, within the legitimate limits of contraction and relaxation (*ἐπισυστελλόμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον τὸ πρέπον*) is widely diffused in post-Aristotelian literature of artistic theory. For the art of acting (declamation) see de Or. III 102 and cf. I 254. For music III 102: neque id actores prius viderunt quam ipsi poetae, quam denique illi etiam qui fecerunt modos, a quibus utrisque summittitur aliquid deinde augetur, extenuatur inflatur, variatur distinguitur. For literature (quid aptum sit) III 212: ornamentis eisdem uti fere licebit alias contentius, alias summissius. This is the true interpretation (though it has apparently not been recognized) of the well-known Horatian line, Serm. I 10, 13: interdum urbani, *parcentis* viribus atque ‖ *extenuantis* eas consulto.

It should be noted finally that the doctrine of the three styles is frequently brought under this point of view, though it has not its origin in it.

[2] Cf. Eth. II 6, 9 (1106 b 9): *ὅθεν εἰώθασιν ἐπιλέγειν τοῖς εὖ ἔχουσιν ἔργοις ὅτι οὔτε ἀφελεῖν ἔστιν οὔτε προσθεῖναι, ὡς τῆς μὲν ὑπερβολῆς καὶ τῆς ἐλλείψεως φθειρούσης τὸ εὖ, τῆς δὲ μεσότητος σῳζούσης.*

[3] III 16 1416 b 30: *νῦν δὲ γελοίως τὴν διήγησίν φασι δεῖν εἶναι ταχεῖαν κτλ. . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι τὸ εὖ ἢ τὸ ταχὺ ἢ τὸ συντόμως, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετρίως.*

It is clear that here was a principle of style based upon a general philosophical thought, and as definite in its formulation as the nature of the subject allowed. There is but one conception of good writing, as of right conduct, viz. the μεσότης. But it is in no sense a doctrine of uniformity. On the contrary, individualism is its dominant characteristic, as truly as in the case of moral virtue.[1] The differentiating, modifying element is τὸ πρέπον, which has many aspects; they are summarized in later rhetoric thus: πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον (Dionysius de Lysia ch. 9), and in this reference to the personality of the speaker, the character of the subject-matter and the nature of the audience provision was made for every style of oratory and every shade of individual idiosyncrasy within the bounds of the appropriate. This is shown very admirably by Dionysius, who, in explaining his three characters of composition, sets forth the σύνθεσις κοινή or μέση in terms which are drawn from the Aristotelian conception of style in general, and which were never meant to be applied to a particular type of style: οἵ τε χρησάμενοι αὐτῇ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ πάντες οὐδ' ὁμοίως ἐπετήδευσαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ταῦτα μᾶλλον, οἱ δ' ἐκεῖνα, ἐπέτεινάν τε καὶ ἀνῆκαν ἄλλως ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες ἐγένοντο λόγου ἄξιοι κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἰδέας τῶν λόγων (de Comp. ch. 24). It will be apparent, therefore, that the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean could never have tolerated the definition of types of style in the sense of the χαρακτῆρες λέξεως conceived of as types of individualism. For every character of style there was but a single and universal precept, σαφῆ εἶναι as an indispensable prerequisite, modified and corrected by the essential artistic consideration καὶ πρέπουσαν.

We have next to consider a question of much greater difficulty, viz., the relationship of Theophrastus to the theory of style which we have thus outlined as contained with more or less definiteness of implication in the Rhetoric of Aristotle. It may be assumed in general that the vital points of the Aristotelian theory would not suffer serious alteration at his hands. This relationship is formulated by Diels[2] on the basis of a number of very interesting examples in which a sharper and more precise definition of

[1] Cf. Zeller, Vol. II 2, p. 632: "Die Aufgabe unserer sittlichen Thätigkeit kann nur die sein, *im Verhältniss zur menschlichen Eigenthümlichkeit* die richtige Mitte zu treffen."

[2] Über das dritte Buch d. aristotelischen Rhetorik. Abh. d. Berl. Akademie 1886, p. 25 ff.

Aristotle's ideas is discernible. In the following I hope to add some further illustrations of the general relationship which shall show that Theophrastus acted as the interpreter of the extremely concise and esoteric language of his master. But especially I desire to make it plain by means of authentic fragments of Theophrastus that his conception of the 'virtue of style' was the same as that of Aristotle and therefore wholly alien to the division into *χαρακτῆρες* now commonly attributed to him.

One point which undoubtedly required fuller explanation than is accorded to it in Aristotle was exactly this conception of the ideal of style as being a mean between the total absence of ornament and the poetical excess of it, whether in regard to the choice of words or to rhythm and composition. And here it can be shown beyond question that Theophrastus defined for a larger audience the implications of the Aristotelian quasi-technical terminology.

We have already seen that Aristotle named Thrasymachus as the first to introduce the appropriate rhythm into prose, and furthermore that he defined the nature of the paean, and so gave a philosophical justification for its excellence. But the Aristotelian definition is abstract, not to say obscure (v. supra, p. 130), and much in need of practical interpretation. This was afforded by Theophrastus, as we learn from Demetrius de Eloc. 41: *διόπερ Θεόφραστος παράδειγμα ἐκτέθειται μεγαλοπρεπείας τὸ τοιοῦτον κῶλον . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐκ παιώνων ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλὰ παιωνικόν τί ἐστιν. παραλαβεῖν μέντοι τὸν παίωνα εἰς τοὺς λόγους, ἐπειδὴ μικτός τίς ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερος, τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς μὲν ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς λαμβάνων, τὸ λογικὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν βραχειῶν.* Here, then, are several things that call for comment; but let it be noted, first of all, that Theophrastus (in the words *ἐπειδὴ μικτός τίς ἐστι*) interprets in intelligible and practical terms the rigorously theoretical definition of his master.[1] In the second place, it appears that Theophrastus interpreted more freely Aristotle's demand that the paean be employed. He therefore enjoins that the rhythm shall not consist of strict paeans, but shall be paeonic.[2] The passage is cited by Demetrius in his treatment

[1] Cf. Diels (l. c.) p. 28, n. 1: "Den Paean selbst empfahl Theophrastus nicht aus den von Aristoteles empfohlenen Gründen, sondern weil er *μικτός τίς ἐστι κτλ.*" But the explanation of the excellence of the paean is the same in both cases; the one is a mathematical, the other a practical formulation of the same observation.

[2] A fuller record of Theophrastus' thought on this point is preserved by Cicero de Or. III 184 and 185.

of the χαρακτὴρ μεγαλοπρεπής, so that it has not unnaturally been thought of as contributing evidence to the belief that Theophrastus defined such a stylistic type, corresponding to the later χαρακτὴρ ἁδρός or ὑψηλός. Such an inference, however, is quite unwarranted: for, as we have seen, (1) the conception of the rhythm of μεγαλοπρέπεια which is here advanced corresponds exactly to the Aristotelian conception of the true nature of prose rhythm in general. Consequently, (2) if the rhythm here advocated were attached in Theophrastus to any one style, such as those defined at a later time, it could only be to a χαρακτὴρ μέσος, since the rhythm advocated possesses 'distinction from the long syllable and conversational quality (τὸ λογικόν) from the shorts.' (3) The truth is that the paean is defined and illustrated by Theophrastus as the appropriate rhythm for artistic prose style in general, and as we know from other sources[1] Theophrastus defined as a universal quality of artistic prose τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές, in spite of the fact that such a definition had been declared superfluous by Aristotle.

It was further noted above that although it was an easy inference from Aristotle's account to conclude that he would have named Thrasymachus as the first to attain the excellence of style arising from a correct periodic form, that nevertheless he does not do so. It remained for Theophrastus to state expressly what is apparently implied in Aristotle. For that he is the source of Suidas' attribution to Thrasymachus of the introduction of the period and colon has been conjectured (by Blass and others). It can, I think, be definitely proven. Suidas, s. v. *Thrasymachus:* πρῶτος περίοδον καὶ κῶλον κατέδειξε καὶ τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο. With this compare Dionysius de Lysia 6: ἀρετὴν εὑρίσκω παρὰ Λυσίᾳ πάνυ θαυμαστήν, ἣς Θεόφραστος μέν φησιν ἄρξαι Θρασύμαχον . . . ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξις.[2] This is generally interpreted and was understood by Dionysius as a specially compact and incisive form of periodic structure suited to forensic and agonistic oratory generally. But though this may have been true of the periods of Thrasymachus,

[1] Cic. Or. 79 affluens = μεγαλοπρεπές. Dionys. Isoc. ch. 3.

[2] Στρογγύλος is used of the new stylistic artifices of the sophistical rhetoric by Aristophanes, Acharn. 686 (στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν) and by Plato, Phaedr. 234 E. In later usage it is constantly used of periodic composition. Cf. Demetr. de Eloc. 20: τῆς δὲ ῥητορικῆς περιόδου συνεστραμμένον τὸ εἶδος καὶ κυκλικὸν καὶ δεόμενον στρογγύλου στόματος and v. Ernesti, Lex. Tech. s. v.

yet the description is equally that of the period in general, which as defined by Aristotle consists in the compression and completion of the thought within the rounding of the rhythm, from which characteristic the name period is derived.

But Theophrastus went further. He not only recognized Thrasymachus as the inaugurator of the mean in rhythm and originator of the period, but he credited to him the authorship of the mean in diction as well, thus according to him in all respects that position in the history of style which Aristotle had assigned to him in respect to rhythm alone. This inference must be drawn from Dionysius, de Dem. ch. 3, the passage from which our inquiry started: *τρίτη λέξεως <ἰδέα?> ἦν ἡ μικτή τε καὶ σύνθετος ἐκ τούτων τῶν δυεῖν, ἣν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἁρμοσάμενος καὶ καταστήσας εἰς τὸν νῦν ὑπάρχοντα κόσμον εἴτε Θρασύμαχος ὁ Καλχηδόνιος ἦν, ὡς οἴεται Θεόφραστος, εἴτε ἄλλος τις, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. . . . ἡ μὲν οὖν Θρασυμάχου λέξις, εἰ δὴ πηγή τις ἦν ὄντως τῆς μεσότητος κτλ.*[1]

But in this connection, where it is seen that Theophrastus is only moving further along the lines laid down by Aristotle, the *μεσότης*, which Thrasymachus was the first to attain, appears in a totally different light from the middle style of later theory, in connection with which Dionysius has preserved for us this precious bit of early Peripatetic teaching. In the later doctrine of the characters the *μέσος* is one of three general types of style, any one of which is admirable, and all of which have at different times found distinguished representatives.[2] But in Aristotle the mean is the only goal to aim at, a doctrine so essential and vital to the Peripatetic system that it will not appear probable a priori that Theophrastus should have introduced a modification of it. The attainment of the mean in style by Thrasymachus was the discovery of that which was right, and when once found it defined the lines along which good writing must move henceforth.[3] Thus

[1] In this passage *μικτὴ λέξις* represents Dionysius' conception of the middle style. Theophrastus' terms appear at the end: *εἰ δὴ πηγή τις ἦν ὄντως* (sc. as Theophrastus had said) *τῆς μεσότητος*.

[2] Cf. Varro (ap. Gell. VI 14, 4): His singulis orationis *virtutibus* (said of the three styles) vitia agnata sunt pari numero. In the Peripatetic conception the *μεσότης* only could be a *virtus*. Note also Cic. Or. 20: Tria sunt omnino genera dicendi, quibus in singulis quidam floruerunt, etc.

[3] Cf. Cic. Or. 208: Itaque posteaquam est nata haec vel circumscriptio vel comprehensio vel continuatio vel ambitus, si ita licet dicere, nemo qui aliquo esset in numero scripsit orationem generis eius quod esset ad delectationem comparatum . . . quin redigeret omnis fere in quadrum numerumque sententias.

Aristotle had said of the λέξις εἰρομένη, that it was the earlier prose style and all had formerly used it: νῦν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ χρῶνται— that is, with the discovery of the advantages of the periodic style and its correct rhythmical form, it had come to prevail. And so of the mean in general, its recognition by artistic writers was inevitable when once it was apprehended and exemplified. Therefore Theophrastus said in defining the merit of Thrasymachus that he had introduced τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον (Suidas, supra), and Dionysius, with a suggestion of the same phraseology: καταστήσας εἰς τὸν νῦν ὑπάρχοντα κόσμον. Manifestly the μεσότης was to Theophrastus not *a* style, but *the* style—the necessary goal, to which the art of prose writing had at length attained in his time (νῦν).

But though we have seen that Theophrastus named Thrasymachus as the first to attain the μεσότης of style, yet for a more satisfactory proof of our contention, that this testimony is to be interpreted in the sense of the Peripatetic mean, some further evidence may be adduced. In Aristotle's definition of the excellence of style, as we have seen, the conception of the mean is contained in the idea of appropriateness. This appropriateness of language is elsewhere designated as ἡ οἰκεία λέξις (III 7 1408 a 20). Violation of the appropriate in the direction of excess (ὑπερβολή) constitutes tastelessness or frigidity (τὰ ψυχρά). To be sure Aristotle nowhere in his treatment of frigidity (ch. 3) defines the error expressly as an excess, but this conception is implicit in his whole discussion of the subject and is made clear especially in his treatment of epithets. "Some are wholly unsuited to prose and the frequent employment of others exposes the art of the composition, and makes it plain that it is poetry: nevertheless such embellishment must be used as giving variety to the language of everyday life, and investing it with strangeness and dignity:" the passage concludes with the warning—ἀλλὰ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ μετρίου. (III 3 1406 a 10 ff.).

Theophrastus, interpreting the implications of his master's teaching, supplies the missing definition: ὁρίζεται δὲ τὸ ψυχρὸν

See also Brut. 30 and 66 (the simpler style of Thucydides and Lysias was suppressed by the more elaborate language of Theopompus and Demosthenes). The attitude of Aristotle toward rhythmic prose, which was the accepted type of artistic composition in his time, as the necessary and logical development of style finds an analogue in his remark concerning the developed type of tragedy: καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία ἐπαύσατο ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν αὑτῆς φύσιν (Poet. ch. 5 ad fin.).

Θεόφραστος οὕτως· ψυχρόν ἐστι τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαγγελίαν (Demetr. de Eloc. 114). The fragment is brief, but it contains not a little for the reconstruction of Theophrastus' point of view, apart from the designation of the error as an excess (ὑπερβολή). In Demetrius who quotes the passage frigidity is the παρέκβασις or error of the χαρακτὴρ μεγαλοπρεπής, and to each of his other three styles he assigns a corresponding form of error or excess. From this point of view it is but one source of error to which a single style is prone. But in Aristotle it represents deviation from the appropriate (on the side of excess) in the most general sense: and so in Theophrastus—ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαγγελίαν. Therefore Theophrastus defined but one excess of style, ψυχρότης,[1] transcending the just mean. It is probable that Theophrastus placed under the heading of frigidity deviations from the appropriate on the side of excess of all kinds, and classified them in accordance with his general division into ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων, σύνθεσις and σχήματα. Undoubtedly most of the matter which is common to Demetrius and Aristotle on this subject represents the formulation of Theophrastus.[2]

The obvious analogies between the Peripatetic conception of stylistic and ethical ἀρετή, to which attention was called above, must have always made illustration of the former by the latter a very natural thing for a Peripatetic teacher, especially since the doctrine of the mean in all its implications had been most fully illustrated by the master in his Ethics. Now we find in Demetrius that the definition of "frigidity" which we have just considered, is prefaced by some analogous examples of the ethical mean and extreme: ὥσπερ δὲ παράκειται φαῦλά τινα ἀστείοις τισίν, οἷον θάρρει μὲν τὸ θράσος, ἡ δὲ αἰσχύνη τῇ αἰδοῖ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν παράκεινται διημαρτημένοι τινές (114). That is, as the moral virtues have their related faults or excesses, as for instance, rashness in relation to courage, so also the characters of style stand related to certain faulty types. While it may not be urged that this explanation must go back to Theophrastus, yet it is clear that unless stylistic virtue had been conceived of as a mean, the illustration by examples from the ethical triad would be entirely pointless. The ethical traits which

[1] Interesting confirmation of this conclusion is found in the fact that practically all that Demetrius has to say of his other παρεκβάσεις is contained in his treatment of ψυχρότης.

[2] Note for example what is said in Demetrius 117 and 118.

are cited are only given to illustrate the relations of mean and extreme, not as being in themselves in any way analogous to stylistic virtue and its excess. But a little further on the illustration is developed by the selection of an ethical extreme more closely analogous in its nature to the rhetorical excess in question: καὶ καθόλου ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν ἡ ἀλαζονεία, τοιοῦτον καὶ ἡ ψυχρότης (119) —a comparison which is then carried out with some fulness of treatment.

The evidence now adduced should suffice, I think, to show that Theophrastus accepted from his master the doctrine of the ἀρετή of style as a mean, defined the conception explicitly, and illustrated it perhaps by the analogy of the ethical mean and extreme. It should also be clear that such a theory did not admit of the definition of types of style, just as it has been shown that the correct interpretation of the data concerning Theophrastus does not in fact point to the existence of any such division. All good writing observes a balance or mean. Faulty writing errs chiefly on the side of excess. The deficiency (ἔλλειψις) of mere colloquialism is less censurable (see Rhet. III 3 1406 a 16); but undoubtedly Theophrastus would have condemned it with Aristotle as ταπεινή.

Now it is obvious that in this we have something entirely different from the doctrine of the three characters of style which we find in Gellius (Varro), the author ad Herennium, Cicero, Dionysius, etc. To reconcile with this analysis the Peripatetic theory it would be necessary to assume that, while originally the χαρακτὴρ μέσος was the only good style, and the ἰσχνός and ἁδρός were respectively the ἔλλειψις and ὑπερβολή, yet in time these latter had come to be recognized as worthy types of style—*virtutes* as Gellius (Varro) calls them, and not erroneous deviations from the ἀρετή. This would be a conceivable development, under the influence of certain changes in the attitude of literary taste toward the older monuments of Greek prose, between the time of Theophrastus and the beginning of the first century B. C.; but unfortunately this hypothesis does not account for the most characteristic features of the descriptions of the three styles. For in the first place if the Peripatetic theory had become transformed in this way, we must at least have looked for the consistent survival of its vital principle of the superiority of the middle style. But Demetrius, who as is generally agreed made most immediate use of the Peripatetic sources, has no middle

style at all, but gives the essential features of the Peripatetic μεσότης of style in his χαρακτὴρ μεγαλοπρεπής. Again Cicero and Quintilian, while deprecating the exclusive use of any one style, designate the *genus grande* as without question the most admirable.[1] To the writer "On the Sublime," also, elevation (ὕψος, χαρακτὴρ ὑψηλός in Dionysius) is the decisive criterion in determining oratorical excellence.

Of all our sources Dionysius is the only one in whom the χαρακτὴρ μέσος appears as the most admirable of the styles. But on closer examination it will be found that his conception bears only a crude external resemblance to the Peripatetic idea of the mean. For him there are but two fundamental styles, the simple and the grand, and the excellence of the μέσος consists in the fact that by combining the two the range of style is increased. In Dionysius' conception the representative of the middle style is thought of rather as having two independent styles at his command, than as the user of one. This is seen very clearly in the characterization of Plato (de Dem. ch. 5). In fact the two styles stand over against each other in diametrical (or 'diapasonal') opposition, and so far as the one approaches the other it loses something of its complete perfection (δεινοὶ μὲν ἐν τοῖς αὑτῶν ἔργοις ἀμφότεροι [sc. Lysias and Thucydides], καθ' ὃ δὲ ἴσοι ἀλλήλων ἦσαν, ἀτελεῖς. Dem. 2 extr.).[2] But the Peripatetic conception is something wholly different; for in the sliding scale of the relative mean a theory existed which conceived of style, whether it found expression in simple language of presentation or in more elevated tones of emotion, as a unit, not always alike but always consistent and appropriate.

Thus every good style (so only it avoided excess) observed the mean. This doctrine passed into later rhetoric not as a χαρακτὴρ μέσος, but as the obvious principle of appropriateness,[3] the *aurea mediocritas*, applicable to all good writing whether simple or elaborate, argumentative or emotional. Let an illustration make the matter clear. In the Brutus (146) Cicero

[1] Cf. Cicero, Or. 99: at vero hic noster quem principem ponimus. Quint. XII 10, 63–65.

[2] The same point of view appears in Demetrius 36: μόνος δὲ ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τῷ ἰσχνῷ οὐ μίγνυται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀνθέστατον καὶ ἀντίκεισθον ἐναντιωτάτῳ. διὸ δὴ καὶ μόνους δύο χαρακτῆράς τινες ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι τούτους κτλ.; it is refuted by Hermogenes II 316, 31 (Spg.).

[3] Cf. Cicero Or. 73: in omnibus rebus videndum est quatenus: etsi enim suus cuique modus est, tamen magis offendit nimium quam parum.

contrasts the orator Crassus with the jurisconsult Scaevola. Scaevola was a model of clear argumentative style: fuit nobis orator in hoc interpretandi explanandi edisserendi genere mirabilis, sic ut simile nihil viderim; but he was deficient in those rhetorical qualities, in which the strength of Crassus lay: in augendo, in ornando, etc. The two men represent the two extremes of oratorical habit which Cicero constantly uses in his characterizations. But he concludes thus (149): cum omnis virtus sit, ut vestra, Brute, vetus Academia dixit, mediocritas, uterque horum medium quiddam volebat sequi. To the same point of view belongs the discussion near the beginning of the third book de Oratore (25–37), in which is set forth with much admirable illustration the theory of individual excellence with absence of uniformity. Development of individuality and not conformity to an external standard is the goal toward which the teacher must direct his pupils' effort (35). For all he will set the standard of a personal mean, checking excess here, spurring on a deficiency there, as Isocrates did with Theopompus and Ephorus—neque eos similis effecit inter se, sed tantum alteri adfinxit, de altero limavit, ut id conformaret in utroque quod utriusque natura pateretur (36). It is from this standpoint that Quintilian repudiates the significance of the division into styles for the training of his orator, cum omnis species quae modo recta est, habeat usum, atque id ipsum non sit oratoris, quod vulgo genus dicendi vocant (XII 10, 69). For his style will vary with the thousand varying conditions of each occasion: dicet idem graviter severe, acriter vehementer, concitate copiose, amare comiter, remisse subtiliter, blande leniter, breviter urbane, non ubique similis, sed *ubique par sibi* (ib. 71)—that is, amidst all variety there must be preserved the unity of individual character and temperament which for each person is the mean.

All good writing is thus a μεσότης[1] and so in fact Demetrius conceived of each of the four styles which he postulates, as is

[1] This general principle of the mean in style may be illustrated by a few representative examples. In the introduction to the discussion of ornatus in de Or. III 97 we have the complete triad in the warning against *nimia suavitas*: ne exilis, ne inculta sit vestra oratio (ἐλλειψις); (98) quae maxime sensus nostros impellunt voluptate et specie prima acerrime commovent, ab eis celerrime fastidio quodam et satietate abalienemur (ὑπερβολή). The μεσότης is delectare sine satietate (97) and allusion to it is made especially in the illustrations in 99 unguentis *moderatis*, in ipso tactu esse *modum*. The fluctuating variety of (ἐπιτείνειν, ἀνιέναι) perfect art is touched on in 100 and 102.

shown by his comparison of them to types of the ethical mean (see above p. 141). Similarly in Gellius (Varro) the *tria probabilia genera dicendi* are *virtutes* and this is the consistent attitude toward them which is found in all our sources, even including Dionysius. Concerning Dionysius it is to be said that his unique interpretation of the χαρακτὴρ μέσος is merely an effort to apply to the current formula of the plain, the middle and the grand style the Peripatetic doctrine of the excellence of the mean. The application was necessarily very superficial, because the tradition of the three styles, as we have seen, did not admit of the classification of either the grand or the plain style as erroneous forms. The true reason for his interpretation lay in a desire to give a quasi-philosophical explanation for the pre-eminence of Demosthenes. The writer "On the Sublime" (ch. 34, 2) denies to Demosthenes that Protean versatility which other ancient criticism accords to him almost without dissent, and finds in his flashes of sublimity the source of his acknowledged pre-eminence; Cicero holds that Demosthenes stands above the three styles and commands them all; Dionysius with slight variation of this conception—since he recognizes but two independent oratorical styles—attained the same end by attributing to Demosthenes the complete development of the style which was blended of the plain and the grand.

That this explanation of the pre-eminence of Demosthenes is but one of many interpretations which were offered, may be seen from the fact that Dionysius himself in the first part of the treatise De antiquis oratoribus explains the origin of Demosthenes' style in a wholly different and more rational way. It was Isaeus, he points out, the master of Demosthenes, whose skilful technique of argumentation and style afforded the starting-point (τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς) for the resourcefulness (δεινότης) of Demosthenes,[1] and for this reason Dionyius included Isaeus in his treatment

For rhythm see also Or. 178. The chapter of Quintilian on the genera dicendi (XII 10) concludes with similar warning against excess: sic erunt magna, non nimia, sublimia non abrupta, etc. . . . similis in ceteris ratio est ac tutissima fere per medium via, quia utriusque ultimum vitium est (80). In the scholastic rhetoric of late antiquity we find this point of view comprehended in the following formula: bonus modus est in loquendo tamquam in ambulando, clementer ire sine curriculo sine cunctatione (Marius Victorinus, de sermocinatione, p. 447 Halm)—a passage which is amplified with some amusing pedantry by Albinus, ib. 547, 34 ff.

[1] Dionys., Isaeus 20 extr. Cf. 3: ἡ δὲ Ἰσαίου (λέξις) τεχνικωτέρα . . . καὶ πηγή τις ὄντως ἐστὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους δυνάμεως.

(along with Lysias and Isocrates)[1]. At the end of the treatise on Isaeus the early orators are classified into two groups, *οἱ ποιητικοί* (of whom Isocrates is the representative), and *οἱ ἀκριβεῖς* (Lysias), with no mention of a middle class, while Thrasymachus is placed among the *ἀκριβεῖς*. Indeed throughout the first part of the work De antiquis oratoribus (Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus) I have not observed a single allusion to the doctrine of the three styles. On the other hand the true Peripatetic conception of style as a relative mean, subject to the requirements of appropriateness, is expressed in characterization of Lysias ch. 9 (*πρός τε τὸν ἀκροατὴν συμμετρεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα οἰκείως*, κτλ.), and in the description of the *σύνθεσις κοινή* in the de Compositione (cited above p. 136).

To conclude therefore: (1) The doctrine of the different styles, whether as presented by Dionysius, or in the more typical formulation of other sources, cannot be referred to Theophrastus on the evidence that he named Thrasymachus as the author of a mixed style, or more accurately, as the source of the mean (Dionysius Dem. 3). (2) Again it is not an historical development from the Peripatetic triad of the extreme, the deficiency and the mean. (3) The conception of excellence of style of whatever kind as a mean is fundamental to Aristotle's theory and was defined more accurately and illustrated by Theophrastus. From them it passed into the common teaching of ancient rhetoric and finds expression in many forms, especially as the doctrine of *τὸ πρέπον*, and in the definition of a good and a faulty form of each style.

At another time I shall endeavor to indicate the true origin of the threefold classification of style and to interpret its significance.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

[1] The wide difference in the point of view from which the style of Demosthenes is treated in the two works appears strikingly from the fact that in the essay on Demosthenes (ch. 8 init.) Isaeus is named and passed over (with Antiphon, Theodorus, Polycrates, Zoilus, Anaximenes and others of the same time) as having contributed nothing new nor conspicuous to the styles which Thucydides and Lysias, Isocrates and Plato had developed.

II.—ON THE RECESSION OF THE LATIN ACCENT IN CONNECTION WITH MONOSYLLABIC WORDS AND THE TRADITIONAL WORD-ORDER.[1]

PART I.

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM.

The present study was originally undertaken with a view to determining the probable cause of the frequent syllable-shortening which occurs in early Latin verse in connection with short monosyllables, i. e. *sed illum*[2], *sed aŭtem;* in its present form, however, it will be found devoted chiefly to the preliminary task of determining the place of the grammatical accent in the word-groups ∪, ∪ ⏑̲; —, ∪ ⏑̲; and ∪, ∪ ∪ ⏑̲. For it is evident that, after determining the place of the grammatical accent in the flexible tribrach groups *sed ea, sed eni(m)*, etc., we shall be in a much better position to determine how far the accents *sĕd illum, sĕd aŭtem* and the like are due to their analogy.

[1] This paper is an extension of a preliminary study on the same subject, an abstract of which appears in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, Vol. XXIII. A study of the accent of the trisyllabic word-groups occurring in Terence has been published by the writer in Transactions Am. Philolog. Assoc. XXXIV (1903), pp. 60-103.

[2] The scansion of *ille, immo, quidquid, nēquis, hocin*, etc., in some other cases as words of two morae, constitutes a wholly distinct problem. Upon this question the general principles laid down by Skutsch must be accepted as final; at the same time Skutsch's conclusions appear to me to call for certain modifications. Thus metrical theory does not require us to assume that a weak final short syllable which is neglected in iambic verse, i. e. *illĭc*, or a weak medial short syllable which is neglected in anapaestic verse, i. e. *perdĭdi*, suffers absolute 'apocope' or 'syncope'; it is sufficient to assume that such a syllable was greatly weakened in pronunciation. In general the colloquial iambic poets avail themselves of this license with a definite purpose, viz., in order to preserve unbroken the traditional word-orders, which exist in connection with the sentence-introducing pronouns and conjunctions, i. e. *ille mĕ, unde tŭ*, etc. A study of the question from this point of view will be published elsewhere, and it will be sufficient to point out here that, *just as the existence of nĕmpe is disproved by the non-occurrence of nĕmp(e) with elision, so the existence of ĕcquis, etc., is disproved by the non-occurrence of ĕcqu(a), siqu(em), etc.*

The question of the recession[1] of the accent upon monosyllabic words which are closely connected both in sense and in pronunciation with some following word, is not a new one. Thus Ritschl in the sixteenth chapter of the Prolegomena, the chapter entitled 'de Accentu Logico', gives the rule (p. CCLVIII f.) that, so far as regards the accent, an iambic or pyrrhic dissyllable may coalesce with a preceding short monosyllable to form a trisyllabic word, i. e. *prŏ equo, ĕt erus, quid agam.* While Ritschl speaks prevailingly in this discussion of metrical coalescence, due to the fact that two short syllables are closely connected in forming a resolved arsis, there can be no doubt, I think, that he means to imply also a real coalescence in ordinary pronunciation. Valuable, however, as is Ritschl's study of this whole question, his treatment must appear to a critical student of the Latin accent at the present day as wanting at times in definiteness and precision. For the critical student must not only consider the question primarily from the view-point of actual coalescence, but must apply the necessary tests to determine the law of the accent in whole series of word-complexes and groups. Ritschl does not attempt to apply such tests, and it is doubtful whether he recognized the operation of a definite law in these processes. True, he not only holds, as has been already noted, that *prŏ equo, ĕt erus, quid agam*, etc., are accented as trisyllabic groups, but he correctly declares (Proleg., p. CCLXI) that the accent of *dĕ illo, ĕt iste*, etc., is determined by the same principle, yet upon turning to p. CCLIII of the same chapter of the Proleg., we are perplexed to find a supposed example *set ĕa* (Trin. prol. 10: *set ĕă* quid hŭc) quoted in illustration of the thesis that monosyllabic particles of trite use and little weight are rightly placed *extra arsim.* If this view were correct, it would appear that the dramatists had known two forms of accentuation in the trisyllabic word-groups in question, viz. *sĕt eă* and *set ĕă*, which is far from being the case. For, with a single exception, which is only apparent (Cap. 329: *ut ĕa-quae*), the 27 cases[2] occurring in the drama-

[1] For the sake of convenience the term 'recession' is here employed in general of the initial accentuation, ◡, ◡ ◡; ⏑, ◡ ◡, although it is not in all cases strictly applicable, see below p. 161.

[2] Viz., Ba. 203; 472; Cap. 970; 942; Ci. 742; Ep. 265; 532; Men. 186; Mi. 346; 686; Mo. 160; Poe. 1015; 1265; Ps. 277; 1087; Ru. 1081; Tri. 330; 1168; An. 337; 837; He. 191; 334; Eu. 926; Ph. 480; 1015; cf. 1046; Titin. com. fr. 98; cf. Att. tr. fr. 432. Cf. also Seyffert's observation, Stud. Plaut., p. 27 n.,

tists in which *eă, id ĕt, eam ĭn* etc., are preceded by a short monosyllable, all show the recessive accentuation *sĕt ea*, etc., and the reading *set ĕă* quid hŭc quoted by Ritschl from Trin. prol. 10 is only an unfortunate conjecture of Bothe's for the MS reading *set ea hŭc* quid fntroferit, just as Fleckeisen makes a similar inadmissible conjecture *sed ĕa* servíbat, Phorm. 83, for the MS reading ea sérviébat.[1] The remarkable uniformity which appears to exist in the accentuation of *sĕt ea* and similar groups suggests an inquiry into the general tendencies of the republican accent.

The Republican Accent.

There are two periods of the Latin language, the accent-laws of which admit of being reconstructed even in minute detail. The first of these is the republican period, the accents of which are preserved in the dialogue verse of the dramatists; the second is the period of vulgar Latin which gave birth to the Romance languages and has left its accents embedded in the Romance forms. These two periods are separated at their furthest limits by an interval of nearly a thousand years, and the accentual changes which took place within this long period of time are numerous and in some cases far-reaching, yet so slowly is each single change of accentuation effected in the speech of a people[2] that it seems possible to trace with some precision the history of almost all the important changes in the Latin accent which occurred subsequent to the time of Plautus. According to the views which are held by most accentual scholars the Latin accent rested upon the initial syllable of words and groups until a time shortly before the beginning of the literary period (see the references given by Stolz in Müller's Handbuch II 2, p. 101 ff., 3 Aufl.). Thus in the time of Plautus the initial accent law was already superseded, but its effects were still very distinctly felt;

that the common formula "*qŭis-hic* (*hăĕc*)-*est?*" is never accented on the second syllable.

[1] Not admissible then are the accents marked by Hauler in his edition of the Phormio: prol. 8 et ĕăm; v. 284 ita ĕŭm, 605 si ab ĕŏ.

[2] Thus in our own language in the case of many words derived from the Latin like *confiscate, contemplate, demonstrate*, etc., the contest between the Latin accent and the English recessive tendency has been going on since Shakspere's time and is not yet fully at an end, although in other words of this class, i. e. *obdúrate, oppórtune, contrdry, sepúlchre*, etc., (Abbott, Shakespearian Grammar, §490) the Latin accent has long disappeared.

we shall best describe the republican accent then as strongly recessive in its nature and as seeking every opportunity of recession within the limits of the three-syllable law. The extreme recession of the accent is shown in three classes of words: I. In the inseparable *composita* which were usually written by the Romans as single words, i. e., *éxplicat*, *rénigat*, *cómpater*, *désuper*, etc. II. In the separable *composita*.[1] Under this head I include first the recession in those separable *composita* which were not infrequently[2] written by the Romans as single words, or whose parts were sometimes joined together by the ὑφέν, i. e., *cale facit*, *inter esse* (*intér erit*), *circum vénit*, *propter eos*, *in foro*, *quamdiu*, *intereá loci*, *anté volans*, *anté tulit* (the last two written with the ὑφέν by Donatus, Keil, IV 372, 2 ff.=Schöll, De acc., p. 92; Diomedes, I 434, 36 ff.=Schöll, l. l., p. 95; Max. Vict., VI 193, 28=Schöll, l. l., p. 98); and secondly the recession in those combinations which were only occasionally written together by the Romans, and which can only be called *composita* in the broadest, that is, in the ancient sense of the term; these latter include all the common phrases of the spoken language and also, to a large extent, as we shall see later on, the traditional Latin word-orders, i. e. *sédenim* (Priscian, Keil, III 93, 11f.), *cúrita*, *quídego*, *quídea*, *nétime*, *nón potest*, *haúscio*, *certó scio*, etc. III. In the regular accentuation of quadrisyllabic words beginning with three shorts (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, proceleusmatic and fourth paeon words) upon the initial syllable, i. e. *fácilius* (cf. Stolz in Müller's Handbuch II 2, p. 101).

[1] For a definition of *composita*, see the *locus classicus* in Priscian, Keil, II 177, 15 ff., and for a discussion of the separable *composita* see Priscian, II 183, 12; III 113, 6; ib. 413, 14. The ancients included all prepositional phrases among the *composita*, as is evident from Charisius I 17, 3; Diom. I 436, 15; Dositheus VII 389, 4; ib. 409, 27, etc.

[2] This and subsequent references to the Roman system of word-division as extremely fluctuating and uncertain (see, e. g., CIL. I *index*, p. 609 f.) are intentionally made. The practical necessity of adopting—often arbitrarily—a fairly uniform word-division in modern texts of Latin authors obscures for most readers the whole subject of the Latin word-division and of the Latin separable *composita*, and is often misleading even to the critical student. The subject calls for a fuller exposition, but I can only refer here to my brief discussion of the Latin word-division in Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. xxxiv 97–100, and to Eyssenhardt's reproduction, to some extent, of the variable word-division of the MSS in his edition of Martianus Capella (Leipzig, 1866), viz. *et enim* and *etenim*, *praeter eā* and *praetereā*, etc.

In the Romance languages we find the Latin *composita*, both separable and inseparable, preserved in great abundance, and we observe further that many of the *composita*, which were separable in old Latin appear only as inseparable *composita* in Romance, i. e. Span. *tambien*=Lat. *tam bene* (*tambene*), Span. *tampoco*= Lat. *tam paucum* (*tampaucum*,) Span. *ninguno*=Lat. *nec unus* (*necunus*); cf. Corssen, Ausspr. II², p. 890. The coalescence in pronunciation of the more common monosyllables with the following word is regularly indicated also by the writing in literary Italian and by the doubling of the initial consonant of the second word, i. e. *ellui*=*etlui*, *ebbene*=*etbene*, *checcosa*=*quidcausa*, etc. (Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. roman. Sprach. I, p. 508). But at this point all similarity ceases; for, as regards the form and accent of the *composita*, the Romance languages, as is well known, proceed from a period of thorough-going 're-composition' ('de-composition'); cf. G. Paris, Rôle de l'accent Lat. dans la langue française, p. 83; Meyer-Lübke, l. l., I, p. 495; Seelmann, Aussprache des Latein, p. 58 ff.; Lindsay, Lat. Lang., p. 199 f.; Stolz, Hist. Gramm. d. lat. Sprache I, p. 188. It is of course not to be denied that single cases of recomposition occur in the oldest literature; thus Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I, p. 187, quotes *expars* Turpilius, cited by Nonius II 138, 29 Müll.; *requaereres* Plaut. Merc. 633; *conquaesivei* CIL. I 551; *conquaesiverit* CIL. I 198, 38 etc., as well as late Latin inscriptional forms like *reddedi* CIL. VI 3, 20029; *condederunt* ib. 18850; but it was only at a very late period and only after a long conflict that these processes of disintegration and recomposition finally prevailed over the earlier tendencies towards composition and recession. Since, then, the Romance forms belong to a period of thorough-going recomposition, they commonly show the fall of the accent in the three classes of words just enumerated: I. In all inseparable *composita* in which the original composition was still felt,[1] i. e., Late Lat. *explicat*, Fr. esploie; *renégat*, Ital. riniega, O. Fr. renie; *compáter*, Fr. compère, Span. compádre; *desúper*, Fr. desure; **ad própe* (in old Latin regularly **ád prope*, like the compound adverbs and prepositions: *dé super*, *in super*, *dé foris*, *á foris*, *ád foras*, *póst modo;* compare, for the last, Servius ad Ecl. I 30), Ital. apruovo, O. Fr. a pruef; **in fóris*, Ital. infuori;

[1] Only in cases where the original composition was no longer felt, was the recessive accent upon the prefix retained, i. e. *cóllocat*, Fr. couche, etc.; cf. G. Paris, l. l., p. 83.

*assátis, Ital. assái, Fr. asséz; *de nóvo (in old Latin only *dénuo*), Fr. de nouveau. II. In almost all the separable *composita*, i. e. Late Lat. *adpédem* (*appédem*,) Ital. *appie; iamdiu*, Fr. jadis; *insínu*, Ital. insino; *et béne*, Ital. ebbene; *si béne*, Ital. *sebbene; tam béne*, Span. tambien, etc. III. In the case of words like *facilius* the change from the pro-antepenultimate accent was completed as early as the middle of the second century A. D.[1] In spite of this thorough-going 're-composition,' traces of the old Latin recessive accent have been retained in the Romance languages in the case of a few separable *composita*. Thus the Romance forms derived from the cardinal numerals *viginti*, *triginta*, etc., presuppose a Latin accent upon the antepenult, and are consequently derived, according to d'Ovidio, Ztschr. f. roman. Philol. VIII 82 ff. and Skutsch, Forsch., p. 160 ff., from Latin *composita* like *viginti-minae, triginta-dies*, etc.[2] More direct in its bearing upon the present study is the retention of the recessive accent in the prepositional *composita cúm-illa, dé illa*, as shown by the Italian *colla, della*,[3] cf. Corssen, Ausspr. II[2], p. 889 and Skutsch, Forsch., p. 158; it is noteworthy that this accentuation of *cúm-illa* agrees also with those statements of the grammarians (Schöll, De acc., p. 192 f.; Seelmann, Ausspr., p. 41), which show that *déinde, périnde*, etc.,

[1] A study of this accentuation which I have made complete for the poets of the empire shows that, after the middle of the second century, the iambic poets completely banished the accent *fácilius* from all parts of the verse except the difficult verse-close.

[2] Here the traditional word-order, in accordance with which the cardinals are usually prefixed to their nouns (v. Delbrück, Syntakt. Forsch. III 35, and Schmalz, in Müller's Handbuch II[2] 2, p. 464) has caused recession of the the accent even upon polysyllabic words, i. e., the accent *trígintá* arises *whenever* the qualified noun is an iambic word, that is, equally in *all* combinations of numeral and iambic noun, and in the rare *trígintá-manus* as well as in the frequent *trígintá-minas*. In consequence of the extreme frequency of some of these combinations, the accent *tríginta* alone is represented in the Romance derivatives.

[3] By the side of these forms, as Dr. J. E. Shaw has kindly suggested to me, may be placed *alla* and *dalla*, both older combinations than *colla* and *della*. The question is still open with Romance scholars as regards such a derivation as this, or that proposed by d'Ovidio, A. G. It. IX 71, n. (cf. Meyer-Lübke, Z. R. Ph. XXI 328 f.). On the other hand, the fact that so large a part of the total use of *ego* in the colloquial language consists of its occurrence in word-orders like *ét ego* may possibly have something to do with the numerous Romance atonic forms like Span. yo, Fr. je.

were the common colloquial pronunciations of their time; similarly we find *id ílli*, Büch. CLE. 130, 2 in a poetical inscription as late as the year 50 A. D. (v. Bücheler's note), pointing probably to the persistence of the grammatical accent *íd- ílli*, *ét- ílli*, etc. Again the sentence-introducing conjunction *et* became tonic in old Latin in such sequences (traditional word-orders) as *ét-ego*, *ét-ea*, *ét-mihi*, etc. At the present day, to be sure, the Romance languages preserve in general only the atonic forms of *et*, but I owe to the kindness of Prof. C. C. Marden the information that old Spanish has preserved also the tonic forms *ye*, *ie*.[1] Similarly the interrogative, relative and indefinite monosyllabic pronouns, which are usually atonic became tonic in classical Latin in a vast number of sequences, i. e. *quíd agis*, *quód agis*, *siquíd agis*,[2] etc.; here the Romance languages have preserved both forms, i. e. tonic

[1] See also R. Menéndez Pidal, Manual elem. de gram. histórica españ., Madrid, 1904, p. 212.

[2] The verse of the dramatists affords the strongest possible evidence of the tonic character of the relative and the indefinite as well as of the interrogative pronouns in these and all similar word-orders. Hence I follow Schöll, De acc., p. 67 (cf. Neue-Wagener, Formenl. II³, p. 430) in rejecting absolutely the teaching by which the Latin grammarians attempt, in imitation of the Greek accentual system, to distinguish sharply between the accent of the interrogative and the relative pronouns, attributing the acute invariably to the interrogative and the grave to the relative. As is well-known, the grammarians are not thoroughly consistent here; for while they imitate the Greek distinctions in their statements about the interrogative and relative pronouns, they are by no means agreed in their accounts of the accent of the indefinite pronoun, since Priscian, XIII 3, 13 f., states that the interrogative and the indefinite (!) *qui* have the acute accent, the relative *qui* the grave. While the interrogative pronoun no doubt naturally receives the accent somewhat more frequently than the relative or the indefinite pronoun, a thorough-going distinction in the accent of the several classes cannot reasonably be maintained; see the excellent remarks of Schöll on this question (l. l., p. 67): "Pronuntiatio autem non solum pronominum, sed omnium fere vocabulorum quodam modo immutatur acriusque intenditur in interrogationibus, ut naturae non sit consentaneum hac re propriam quandam pronominum speciem insignire". Cf. also Corssen, Ausspr. II², p. 810, on the Latin imitation of the Greek distinctions seen in ποῖος, πόσος and ποιός, ποσός, etc. Lindsay, Class. Review V (1891), p. 402, also speaks somewhat doubtfully of the distinction inculcated by the grammarians. The very acute observations of Weil, Order of Words³, Engl. tr., p. 88, have not convinced me that Schöll's argument is inapplicable to the classical languages. The grammarians' ordinary rule is also refuted by Donatus ad Ter. Hec. V 4, 25: *Núm quid díxti meó patrí?*] *Num aliquid:* acuendum ergo *quíd*.

Lat. *quém*, Span. quien; atonic *quem*, Span. que (cf. Seelmann, Ausspr. d. lat., p. 57); tonic Lat. *quid*, Fr. quoi; atonic *quid*, Fr. que (cf. Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. roman. Sprach. I 506). It may be confidently expected that when the problem presented by the numerous double forms of the pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions in Romance (Meyer-Lübke, l. l., p. 504 ff.) has been more fully solved than is the case at present, still other cases will be noted of the preservation of the old Latin accent. Yet no large number of such examples can be looked for in the Romance languages, and, according to the view which I have sought to present here, the Romance forms, which have arisen a thousand years later, cannot constitute, as is commonly assumed, a source of the first importance for our knowledge of the republican accent or of republican word-forms; far more important here, in my judgment, is a study of those laws of the traditional Latin word-order, which at once determine the accent of word-groups and justify a free metrical treatment of word-forms.

Extent of Recession. 'Enclisis'.

The present study of the recession of the Latin accent is limited to the case of monosyllabic words; only the dissyllabic prepositions will be included in the discussion. The reason for this restriction lies in the fact that monosyllables are more closely connected in pronunciation with the following word than is commonly the case with longer words; further, certain well-known metrical phenomena point in advance to a coalescence of the monosyllables in pronunciation and the almost total absence of a word-end, viz., formations of the iambic anapaest like *quod amas*, Phorm. 504; *pol eis*, Hec. 788 (cf. Ritschl, Proleg., p. CCXXXVII; Klotz, Grundz., p. 307 f.), and the free occurrence of resolved arses such as *ád ĕum* venit, Phaedr. I 21, 5; cf. Havet, ed. Phaedr., p. 160; B. Schmidt, De Senecae tragg. rationibus metricis, p. 46 f.; L. Müller, Res Metr.², p. 169.

In general, it is to be noted that a recession of the accent cannot occur apart from some usual word-order. The latter may, however, either be the order of some frequent single phrase, such as *huiŭs-modi*, *intereá-loci*, etc., or it may conceivably be the grammatical or traditional word-order which is observed by all the words belonging to one part of speech in relation to the words belonging to some other part of speech, i. e., 'die tra-

ditionelle Wortstellung' of Delbrück (Syntakt. Forsch. III, 13 ff.; IV, 148 ff.). It is conceivable also that the analogy of phrases and traditional word-orders should in some cases favor a recession of the accent. Wholly exceptional, however, is the peculiar Greek usage which is seen, for example, in the recessive accent of a casual combination like *ἄνθρωπόν τινες*, and which, no doubt, is an extension, through some long-continued process of development, of the original construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, which is seen in the case of *ἄνθρωπόν τινα*. I assume for Latin that the accent of iambic words would readily recede whenever these were pronounced in connection with proclitic words, such as the Latin monosyllables can be shown to have been in very large measure, and that under certain conditions iambic words became practically enclitic in Latin. The question may perhaps be asked whether there are not also some formal enclitics in Latin, and whether there are not some cases of recession of the accent due to these. The number, however, of formal enclitics in Latin, i. e., enclitics which, entirely apart from a frequent word-order, throw back an accent upon the preceding word, as may be seen in the Greek *ἄνθρωπόν τινες* and in a hypothetical Latin **regés enim*, is extremely small, and includes only *que*, *ve*, *ne* and a few similar words;[1] no student of the Latin accent recognizes the existence of many such particles. The term 'enclitic' is, however, properly and frequently applied by Latin scholars to unaccented and weakly accented words. It has long been recognized that many such 'enclitics' occur in the Latin sentence, but the important researches of Wackernagel have made it possible for the first time to determine these words directly from the Latin sentence. Since the word-order which the enclitics observe has a direct bearing upon the problem discussed in this paper, I shall state Wackernagel's conclusions briefly. Delbrück, Syntakt. Forsch. III, pp. 47, 59, 76, first pointed out

[1] Similarly *quidem* when attached to pronouns becomes practically a formal enclitic in consequence of the regular word-order, i. e., *égŏ-quidem*, *illéquidem*, etc.; see Luchs, Comment. Prosod. I and II. In general, however, the existence of formal enclitics in Latin is to be denied; after *monosyllables*, to be sure, *ego* has become formally enclitic in locutions like *séd ego*, *quís ego* in consequence of the traditional word-order, but no phenomenon of Plautine verse is known to me, which at present justifies the regularity of such enclisis as **régés ego*, **pŭĕrŏs ego*, **pătrés ego*, **ămém ego*, even when *ego* in these collocations occupies the second position in the sentence; hence in no sense is *ego* a formal enclitic in Latin except in association with monosyllables.

that enclitic, i. e. unaccented words are drawn in Sanskrit by the first word of the sentence, which is apparently the most strongly accented word, "wie von einem Magnet," and this is the case to such an extent that they are regularly found occupying the second position, even when they have no connection in sense with the introductory word. Wackernagel, Ueber ein Gesetz der indogerm. Wortstellung, Indogerm. Forsch., I 333 ff., has since greatly extended Delbrück's conclusions by showing with great completeness that the same position-law holds good for many I. E. languages, so that its existence in primitive I. E. is placed beyond all doubt. The Latin orthography, as is well-known, employs no external marks to indicate enclitic word-forms, and consequently no means of determining the Latin enclitic forms was formerly known except through a study of the atonic Romance derivatives, such as the reduction of unaccented *ille* to the Romance article and of the unaccented *me* to Fr. *me*, Ital. *mi*, etc., or through the observance of some special phenomena, such as the avoidance of *atque*[1] and *ille* in the tonic sixth foot of the hexameter (cf. L. Müller, Res Metr.[2], p. 277). Wackernagel's researches seem, however, to supply a direct means of determining the Latin atonics in the precise form in which they existed in the classical age; in any case, it can scarcely be doubted that the old association of the second place in the sentence with accentual weakness is retained to a very large extent in Latin, as has long been recognized in the case of *enim*, *autem*, *vero*, *igitur*, *quoque*, *quidem*, etc. (v. the references given by Wackernagel, l. l., p. 406). Similarly Wackernagel holds, that if the oblique case of a Latin personal or demonstrative pronoun shows precisely the same peculiarities of position as a Greek personal pronoun, whose enclisis is indicated in writing, viz. by gravitating regularly towards the second position, the weak accentual character of the personal or demonstrative pronoun should be considered as established for Latin also. These conclusions, which were reached through a study of the word-order alone, are very notably confirmed in certain cases, as will be shown in detail further on, by the verse-accents of the dramatists; for, if we examine at the beginning of the sentence the extremely sensitive tribrach groups in which the verse-accentuation must correspond to the grammatical accent, i. e. *sĕd ĕgŏ*, *sed ea*, *sed ita*, *sed*

[1] On the weak accentual character of the Latin conjunctions in general, see especially the testimony of Audax, Keil, VII, p. 360, 1 ff.

eni(m), *sed eris* etc., it appears at once that the initial accent alone was known in these groups to the republican dramatists, and that the second word is here unaccented, i. e. *séd ego*, *séd eris*, etc. The case of dactylic groups at the beginning of the sentence, such as *sed mihi*, *atque ita*, *non ita*, is somewhat different, since they are far less sensitive material for accentual investigation and do not admit here the same metrical test; yet it can scarcely be doubted that they were also accented similarly to a large extent in the spoken language. It should be pointed out, however, in conclusion that the only definite relation which the recessive accents *séd ego*, *séd ea*, *séd mihi* bear to Wackernagel's law, consists in the traditional I. E. word-order which the Latin has here preserved; the Latin accent, which results of course from the word-order, conforms in every case to the Latin system of accentuation, i. e. *id enim* (monosyllable), but more often *rẽges ènim* (dissyllable) in a non-rhythmical sequence.

Separable Composita.

It is not surprising to find that the separable character of many of the Latin *composita* and the consequent free use of tmesis-forms attracted the attention of grammarians even in ancient times and called forth conflicting definitions of 'composition' (Priscian, Keil, III, p. 113, 6; ib. 413, 14; II 183, 12 vs. Orthogr. Bern. II, Keil, Supplement., p. 296, 8; 295, 29). The view here adopted by Priscian, viz., that combinations like *respublica*, *nullomodo*, *nihilominus*, etc., are *composita*, in spite of the occasional separation of their component parts, is undoubtedly correct upon the whole, yet a real solution of the problem is given only by the use of the historical method and by a study of the various stages through which the word-group passes in the course of its development. In accordance with this method, Leo (Nachr. d. Göttinger Ges., phil.-hist. Kl., 1895, p. 415 ff.) has thoroughly examined a number of Plautine word-groups and clearly set forth the essential principles which regulate their use. The subject still admits of further investigation in matters of detail, but a brief summary, of a somewhat more general character than Leo's discussion, will alone be possible here. In the first place, it may be observed that the use of tmesis-forms was formerly very imperfectly understood, and that it is the especial merit of Wackernagel's investigations to have formulated

clearly one of the chief conditions under which they freely occur, viz., the weakly accented conjunctions, pronouns and particles, in their struggle to occupy the traditional second position, long retain the power of freely dividing the *composita* which have otherwise grown into a unity, e. g., Festus 309[6], 30 M. *sub vos placo;* Cic. Off. 3, 104 *ius igitur iurandum.* Secondly, although in our modern terminology we often find it convenient on practical grounds to distinguish more or less sharply between word-groups or phrases and genuine compounds, no clear line of distinction can be drawn between the two classes; see Lindsay, Lat. Lang., p. 361 ff.; Stolz, Hist. Gramm. d. lat. Sprach. I, p. 404 ff.; Paul, Principles of Language,[2] Engl. transl., p. 371 ff. The difficulty of distinguishing sharply between genuine and separable compounds may be said to reach its maximum in the verbs compounded with *ante, circum, contra, post, praeter, propter*(?), *subter* and *super*, which exhibit no clear mark of composition in vowel change and at the same time readily undergo tmesis; they are also especially variable in respect to punctuation in MSS and Inscrr., and it is evident that the grammarians were far from being agreed as to how they should be punctuated; see Marius Victorinus, Keil, VI 23, 7 ff., cf. also Quintil. I 5, 68. With respect to their accentuation, however, it is clear both from the statements of the grammarians and the verse of the iambic and dactylic poets that they were always treated as *composita*, i. e. *intĕr erit* (cf. *intĕr eos*), *supĕr erit, circum dedit*[1], *antĕ volans, antĕ venit* (for the use of the hyphen, see above, p. 150). Again, it is clearly impossible to draw sharp distinctions in this field, when we consider the case of those *composita*, which were often separated in early Latin—most frequently through the influence of toneless words[2]—, but at a later period lost either entirely or almost entirely the power of being thus freely treated. Among *composita* of this kind belong *consue facere, are facere, perferve facere*, etc. (examples in Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I, p. 435), *fabre facere, lucri facere, manu emittere, animum advertere, super esse* (always freely

[1] Thus hexameter closes like Verg. Aen. VIII 474. *circumsonat* armis, are frequent.

[2] Second only to the influence of toneless words in producing tmesis-forms must be placed the metrical necessity of finding always an iambus for the closing foot; see, e. g., Seyffert, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1883, p. 837; Nilsson, Quomodo pronomina ap. Pl. collocentur, Land. 1901, p. 9; Asmus, De appositionis ap. Pl. collocat., pp. 26–34.

separable), *male facere*, *bene facere*, etc., *palam facere*, *magnopere*, *sacro sanctus*, *ius iurandum*, *qua propter*, *propter ea* (for the reversed order *ea propter*, v. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre I 676), *tam quam*, *quo minus*, *nihilo minus*, *at tamen*, *at qui*, *nescioquis*, *quid ni*, or *quinni* (examples in Brix-Niemeyer, Mil. 1120), *quippe ni* (*quippini*), *quomodo*, *persaepe*, *quicumque*, etc.[1] E. g. Amph. 815 *qua* istaec *propter;* Curc. 85 *super* illi *fuerit;* Cas. prol. 21 *opere magno* (other examples in Neue-Wagener, Formenl. II 607 f.) Amph. prol. 84 quive alter *quo* placeret fecisset *minus;* Rud. 946 *at* pol *qui* audies; Aul. 71 *nescio* pol *quae* . . . intemperiae; Cas. 370 *per* pol *saepe* peccas; Pers. 210 *quoi* pol *quomque*, etc.

In conclusion I am far from denying that the modern distinction between proper and improper compounds is in some cases a valuable one, yet it is necessary to add that the number of improper compounds and word-groups in Latin is much greater and the number of proper compounds much smaller than is commonly supposed; it may even be doubted whether the latter class includes forms like *detorquet* and *peragit*, which even in the Augustan poets sometimes exhibit a species of tmesis, which is produced by the verse-caesura[2] and perceptible to the ear alone (L. Müller, Res Metr.[2], p. 458 ff.). Hence for the purposes of the present study, which freely employs the ancient terminology and has the accent chiefly in view, *sedenim* (Priscian, Keil, III 93, 11 f.), *inforo*, *quid ego*, *quid ea*, etc., are to be regarded as separable or improper *composita* in the same sense as *circum dare*, *are facere*, *huiuscĕ modi*, etc.; for it is undeniable that in actual use these phrases have often come to denote a single concept, as Priscian's definition requires (Keil, II 177, 15 ff.), i. e. *sed enim* = *sed*, *quid ego* = *quid*, while with *inforo* we may compare the English word-complexes *indoors*, *downstairs*, and the American *downtown;* see other examples in Paul, l. l., p. 367 ff. So far, however, as concerns purely scientific results, it is far better to discard entirely the conventional terminology, and to base the study of the accent not at all upon 'composition', but wholly upon the traditional word-order.

[1] For a detailed study of several of these combinations, see Leo, l. l., p. 417 ff.

[2] Upon this frequent 'caesura by tmesis', see also Plessis, Métrique § 29, 2°.

Accent of Monosyllables.

We learn from the repeated statements of the Latin grammarians that the prepositive monosyllables are as a rule (*fere*) atonic (Priscian, Keil, III 479, 20, etc.). In a former discussion of this question (Transactions Am. Phil. Assoc., XXXIV, p. 62 f.) I interpreted the rule of the grammarians to mean that the monosyllabic prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns and adverbs are atonic *per se*, that is, naturally or originally atonic, i. e. *quam bĕne, quo mĭnus*, and that they can acquire an accent only through recession, i. e. *quăm-bene, quŏ-minus*. It is quite unnecessary, however, as I now think, to assume in this way the truth of an abstract proposition, such as the necessary or original atonic character of the monosyllables. It seems simpler and more reasonable, as well as more thoroughly in accord with the usage of other languages, to proceed from the assumption that the monosyllabic particles, *quam, iam, et*, etc., like all other independent words, have originally an accent, as in fact the grammarians expressly declare; if they very frequently lose this accent, this happens simply because they are subordinated in sense to the other words of the sentence and, at the same time, in the majority of cases, cannot preserve their accent through the operation of the three-syllable law; for it is certain that combinations like *quam mágnus, quam máxime, et sĕntit* have as a rule only a single accent. Similarly it can scarcely be doubted that examples in which the second word is an iambus or a pyrrhic, i. e. *quam bene, ĕt magis*, cf. *neque potest, neque scio*, have commonly no place for two separate accents in the rapid legato pronunciation of common life, which does not especially aim at the painful spelling out of single words or the precise placing of theoretical stresses.[1] The question remains whether in the examples just cited the accent falls on the monosyllable or on the principal word; it will probably be correct to conclude here that both accents are equally correct and equally legitimate, that is, *quăm bene, ĕt magis*, cf. *nĕque potest*, are as normal as *quam bĕne, et măgis*, cf. *neque pŏtest*, and there seems no reason to suppose that in fugitive collocations such as these, which are not included under any of the traditional word-orders, either

[1] Compare the warning, for example, in Gramm. Lat., Suppl., p. 228, 33 H. (= Schöll, De acc., p. 128) against pronouncing *male sanus* with two accents, i. e. *măle sānus*, instead of *malesānus*.

accentuation ever prevailed to the complete exclusion of the other, except in the later period when the recessive tendency was lost and the disinclination to place the accent upon a prefix became fully established. In all other periods the choice between the two accentuations is doubtless dependent chiefly upon the general rhythm or melody of the sentence, i. e. upon the sentence-accent.[1] The existence of the initial accent, however, even in the case of casual combinations like *quám bene*, *ét magis*, is very clearly shown by their free admission in those feet of Latin verse which conventionally require a tonic syllable to be placed in the arsis, viz. the third foot of the trimeter, the fifth foot of the hexameter and the first foot of the Adonic, while Cicero's well-known story (De div. II 84) of *cáve n[e] eas*[2] pronounced nearly as *caúneas* points to the same conclusion. According to this view, in examples like those just cited, which show the accentuations *ét magis* and *et mágis* existing apparently side by side, we cannot admit, strictly speaking, that any 'recession' of the accent has occurred in the case of *ét magis*, but must consider the latter in every way an original accent; we can only say that the *recessive nature* of the Latin accent renders two accents, i. e. *ét mágis* (cf. *néque pótest*) quite unnecessary in such combinations. The term 'recession' in its proper sense is rather to be applied to the very numerous cases of phrases and word-orders, in which the initial accent has entirely superseded the medial and alone remains in use, i. e. *haúscio*, *id scio*, *ídagit*, etc.; since, however, 'recession' is the most convenient term to employ, on account of its brevity, I shall continue to use it of the former class of cases also, and content myself with pointing out that this use is in reality inexact.[3]

[1] English and Latin monosyllables have many points of similarity in respect to their variable accentuation. For while dissyllables and polysyllables always have a fixed accent in English, our monosyllables are treated in each case either as accented or unaccented according to the choice of the poet; cf. Dabney, Musical Basis of Verse, p. 32.

[2] According to Skutsch, Forsch., p. 58, = *cavé n[e] eas*.

[3] A collection of additional facts, bearing upon the coalescence of the Latin monosyllables in pronunciation and upon the Latin system of word-division, is omitted here from considerations of brevity. Besides the frequent writing of monosyllables together with the following word in Inscrr. (Corssen, Ausspr. II[2] 868 ff.) and MSS (Wattenbach, Lat. Palaeogr.[3], p. 76; Lindsay, Lat. Text. Emendation, p. 14), the approval of this custom by the grammarians (Marius Victor., Keil, VI, 23, 7 ff.) and its retention in the writing

of many phrases of modern Italian, which involve the prepositions and the sentence-introducing conjunctions (see above, p. 151), it will be sufficient here to refer to Bährens, praef. Poet. Lat. min., I, p. XII, and to L. Müller, Res Metr.², p. 579, for the treatment of '*in arca*' (v. 5), '*ut vere*' (11) '*ego sum*' (10: enclisis of the substantive verb) as single words of six letters each in the ingeniously constructed verses of the *carmina duodecim sapientium* (Bährens, IV, p. 120f.). Two monosyllables are often similarly treated, as *aes est* (ibid., v. 5); for *iamnunc* and *sivis* similarly counted as single words, v. L. Müller, l. l., p. 581. The effect of the traditional word-order, in causing the combination of monosyllabic conjunction and pronoun to be felt as a single word, is further seen in the following: Corp. Gloss. Lat. IV, 22, 4 *astilla* verum illa *femininum est;* ib. IV 480, 18. Similar is the statement of the grammarians that a conjunction, like *at* (*ad*), may be 'prefixed' to any case of a noun or to any verb, while a preposition, like *ad* (*at*), can commonly be 'prefixed' to one case of a noun only or to a verb through composition (Prisc., K. III 25, 24f.; Audax VII 351, 17f.; Suppl. LI). Thus we apparently have a play upon the two uses of the prefixed *ad* or *at* in Poe. 544:

Át trepidate sáltem: nam vos *dá*properare haud póstulo,

i. e., *at—saltem* (like *at—tamen*) and *adproperare*. The editors commonly correct to *attrepidate*, which seems unnecessary.—Again the close connection between the monosyllable and the following word in pronunciation is indicated by the complaint of Consentius (Keil, V 395, 7) that in the pronunciation of some *sic ludit* was indistinguishable from *si cludit*. As is well known (Lindsay, L. L., pp. 122, 215), the monosyllables **cord*, **terr*, **ess*, *med*, *ted*, *hisc(e)*, *hosc(e)*, etc., long retained their final consonant in early Latin before an initial vowel, while *haud* (Caper, K. VII 96, 4) and **hocc* (Velius Longus, K. VII 54, 6) never lost the final consonant in this position, e. g. '*hocc erat*, alma parens'; CIL. IX 60, 3 terminus *hicc est*. Cf. also Skutsch, Forsch., p. 60 f.

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III.—STUDIES IN ETYMOLOGY, II.

In KZ. 36, 103 Pedersen presents a brief and interesting discussion of the phenomenon of Greek *ζ-* = Skr. *y-* and Latin *j-*. In place of the usual transcription for the primitive Aryan speech of spirant *j-* and semivowel *i̯* (the latter for cases where the spiritus asper stands in Greek, e. g. in *ἦπαρ*: Skr. *yákṛt-*, Latin *jecur*) he favorably considers Havet's transcription by *i̯i̯* and *i̯*, respectively; and makes the suggestion, exempli causa, that *i̯i̯* is a reduction of *ĝ'i̯-*, noting that this initial group has not been found, though *k̂i̯* and *ĝhi̯-* are attested, the latter by Skr. *hyás*, Gr. *χθές* 'yesterday' (cf. Latin *heri*, without trace of the *i̯*). In the history of the Germanic dialects, on the other hand, *-yy-* gave rise variously to *-ddy-* (Gothic) and *-ggy-* (Old Norse). In this paper I shall use *y* for *i̯*, and the Old English guttural spirant ȝ for *j*.

The examples for the phenomenon under discussion, extracted from Brugmann's Griechische Grammatik § 115, are, so far as Latin is concerned, the following: *ζυγόν*, Skr. *yugám*, Lat. *jugum* 'yoke', with their verb systems; *ζύμη* 'leaven', Skr. *yūṣam* 'soup', Lat. *jūs*. True, objection to the latter cognation has been raised of late by Bally (Mém. Soc. Ling. 12, 314), on semantic grounds, viz.: that *ζύμη* 'leaven' was alien in signification to the other words, which mean 'soup', but this objection seems to me irrelevant as long as Latin *fermentum* 'leaven' comes from *fervet* 'boils', while French *bouillon* 'soup' similarly comes from *bouillir* 'to boil'.

The above examples show of course that *j-* in certain Latin words corresponds to *ζ-* in Greek[1] and to *y-* in Sanskrit, but they are valid only for the equation of Latin *ju-* = Greek *ζυ-* = Skr. *yu-*, and do not further prove that Latin *je-*, say, would be the normal correspondent for Gr. *ζε-* Skr. *ya-*.

[1] I cannot doubt but that this *ζ-* is in some cases the product of DY-, e. g., in *ζυγόν* 'yoke' and *ζωστός* 'belted', both ultimately cognate, I take it, with *δέει* binds, Skr. *dy-áti*, from a root DĒ(Y). With a Sanskrit pair *syáti* 'binds': *syū-ma* 'band', we might infer beside *dy-áti* 'binds', a * *dyū-ma*, cognate with Skr. *yáuti* 'binds', with lost initial *d-*. Projecting this conclusion back on the primitive period we get a base (D)YĒW-.

For all we know, primitive ǯe- may have had a different history in Latin from ǯu-, just as in Old English the normal representation of primitive ǯu- and *yu-* is *iu-*, but primitive ǯe- and *ye-* yield ǯe- (cf. Sievers-Cook, Old English Grammar, § 175).

These considerations lead me to propose the following etymologies, in which Gr. ζε- and Skr. *ya-* will correspond to Latin *ge-*.

(1) Lat. *gemini* 'twins', Skr. *yamás* 'coupled', Old Irish *emuin* 'gemini', from a Celtic stem **jemno-s*.

(2) Lat. *gestit* 'desires eagerly, burns' [cf. *fervet* 'boils, desires eagerly'; *furit* 'boils (Aeneid, i. 107), desires eagerly' (Horace, Carm. i. 15, 27)], Skr. *yásyati* 'becomes hot, (boils), exerts oneself, strives'. For the semantic chain, cf. also Old Bulg. *kypěti* 'to seethe', Skr. *kúpyati* 'is angry', Latin *cupit* 'desires'.

If these etymologies are to be rejected, and *gemini: yamás*, in spite of Weber's advocacy, has long been rejected, it will not be because the words in question show any incompatibility on the side of their signification.

If the proposition that Latin *ge-* represents primitive ǯe- should arouse in our minds the hostility of surprise, this hostility may perhaps be dispelled by noting, in addition to the Old English analogies mentioned above, that the reduction of *ĝye-* (I speak now in the terms of Pedersen's hypothesis) to Latin *ge-* may be compared with the equivalence of Latin *he-* (in heri) with Skr. *hya-* in *hyás* (cf. Gr. χθές: primitive **ĝhyes*, **ĝyhes*).

Difficulties still remain, however, for solution. Latin *aemulus* 'rival' and *imitatur* 'rivals, imitates' have been paired with Skr. *yamás; aemulus* being by some, e. g. Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert., s. v. *yamás* (cf. Hirt, Ablaut No. 654), explained from a base *ayem-:* while Thurneysen (KZ. 32, 566), who has meantime omitted his explanation from the Thesaurus, derived it from **ad-yemolos*. But the cognation of *aemulus* and *imitor* with Skr. *yamás* is so far from simple that there would be little room to hesitate about preferring the cognation I am defending between *gemini* and *yamás*, if this were all. On the other hand, *gemini* has been compared with Skr. *vi-jáman-* 'related, corresponding', *jámis* 'leiblich verschwistert', and Thurneysen (l. c., footnote) would find in *gemini* a contamination of both these derivations, that is, make it akin to both *yamás* and *jámis*. Inasmuch as English *kin* is so apt a translation for both *vi-jáman-* and *jámis* I cannot bring myself to separate this pair of words, *-já-man-* and *já-mis*

(with suffixal *m*), from the root *jan* and from Avestan *zāmi-*, 'posterity, children' (cf. German *kinder*, English *kin*, both cognates of this root). This consideration leaves the preference for Old Ir. *emuin* = Latin *gemini: yamás*, always provided that Latin *ge-* be proved the equivalent of Skr. *ya-*, Gr. ζε-. The second etymology suggested, viz. *gestit*, Skr. *yásyati*, Gr. ζέει ('boils, boils with passion'), though giving room for no valid objection on the semantic side, calls for an account on the morphological side why *-t-* has been added to *ges-*. In view of the narrow range of the *-te-* suffix in Latin verb inflexion (but cf. Feist's explanation of *sentire* in his Gotische Etym. No. 495; and now Brugmann in I. F., 15, 76), we should perhaps explain the *-t-* of *gestire* as left over from an iterative inflection, *gestare*, attracted to the flexional type of the synonymous verb *cupire;* cf. the double inflexion of the verb concretely synonymous with *gestire*, viz. *bullare*, *bullire*, 'to bubble, boil'.

(3) *gerit* 'raises, bears'. An obvious objection would be felt to the separation of *gestit* from *gerit*. But after all, does our explanation of *gestit* separate it from *gerit* any more than the two already lie apart in point of meaning? A satisfactory etymology of *gerit* still halts (not Osthoff's [*a*]*g-es-*, at any rate).

I cannot satisfy myself with the derivation of *gestit*,—which exhibits but two senses (1) 'desires, cupit' (2) 'is eager, fervet',—from the noun *gestus*,[1] with the signification of 'gesticulates'.[2] It is just as impossible, starting with *gestit* 'cupit, fervet' to account for *gerit* with the signification of 'bears, carries', etc. But it is open to us, by mediating between the two, to try and derive *gerit* and *gestit* from a common source.[3]

I take it that ζέει 'boils' exhibits, not a primary, but a secondary sense of the root *-ǯes-*. The Germanic cognates (most con-

[1] This difficulty touches the meaning, not the form, as *artire* 'to joint' stands beside *artus* 'a joint'. Otto (in I. F. 15, 25 sq.) supposes that derivatives in *-tire* and *-tāre* stood freely beside one another, setting up, e. g. a type **captire/captāre* [?contaminated in low Latin **captiare*, whence French *chasser*], for which he cites only *artire*, later *artāre*, as an actual authentication: a better pair were the coeval *gestire/gestare*, both kept alive because of their different meaning.

[2] Pace Sittl, die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer, p. 10. In a passage like Plautus, Bacch. 596, ita dentifrangibula haec meis manibus gestiunt, 'heaving' is an interpretation as apt as 'gesticulating'.

[3] Cf. the approximate semantic parallel in Lith. *grēbiù* 'rapio': Lett. *gribēt* 'velle'.

veniently examined in Kluge's Etym. Woert. s. v. gären) mean 'to ferment, foam'; among these are German *gischt*, English *yeast*, cf., for the signification, English 'leaven', colloquial 'rising', and German 'die hefen', all of which suggest that the bubbling of boiling and fermentation may have got its name from a verb meaning 'to raise' (trans.), 'rise' (intrans.). With a primary notion of heat in this verb we have nothing to do, any more than in Latin *bullit* 'bubbles'. Traces of the sense 'raises, lifts' are not altogether absent in derivatives of *gerit*, for instance in *agger* 'mound', *congestus* 'pile', *suggestus* 'platform'; perhaps also the ancient phrase re bene gesta (Persa, 754, and often) meant originally much the same thing as praedam tollere 'to lift plunder'. It is very easy, if we start with 'lifts' as the primary notion of *gerit*, to account for its subsequent development as a synonym of *fert* 'bears', for the perfect of *fert* is *tulit*, which means precisely 'lifts'.

It happens very appositely that the development of significations here assumed is of record in the Germanic languages in the history of the verb *heben*—,and here I will follow closely Paul's Deutsches Woerterbuch, s. v. *heben*—which seems originally to have signified 'to grasp, seize' but already in primitive Germanic exhibited the general sense of (1) 'lifts, raises'; specialized in (2) English *heaves*, used of 'the bubbling and boiling of the swollen sea'; and in (3) German *die Hefen*, a word for 'leaven, rising'. A corresponding classification of the progeny of primitive ǯes- yields (1) Lat. *gerit* 'lifts, raises, bears'; (2) Gr. ζέει 'heaves, boils, bubbles', corresponding, in little, to the usage cited for English *heaves*,—and so, in the figurative use only, does Lat. *gestit* 'fervet, cupit'; (3) English *yeast* 'die Hefen'. Old High German *jesan* 'to ferment, foam' and *yeasty* in the phrase "yeasty wave" show the close relation of (3) and (2), while *yeasty* in "yeasty spirit" suggests Latin *gestit*.[1]

(4) *gemma, germen*, 'bud, sprout, button (of a plant'); *gisma* 'annulus'. The derivation of this pair of words from primitive

[1] I permit myself a passing suggestion to the effect that the *g-* of *gären* and *gischt* may constitute for German also a record of a difference between the history of primitive ǯe- and *ye-*, if we might assume that the *j-* which is recorded in the older Germanic forms was an inexact orthography for a sound that was neither a guttural spirant (ǯ) nor a semivowel (*y*) precisely, but a tertium quid whose earlier orthography with *j-* was quasi rectified by another approximation with *g-*.

Italic *gesma* and **gesimen* is phonetically sound, and it seems plausible to derive them from the same root. If we are right in defining *gerit* by 'raises', then *gemma* and *germen* mean 'a rising, swelling'—or in the language of dictionaries—'a protuberance on a plant'. The same metaphor is seen in the phrase 'the buds swell'; and in French *bouton*, German *knopf*, *knospe*, 'bud, button' etc. Or the connection of sense might be made directly with the root ǯes- 'bubbles, boils', defining *gemma* by 'knob, stud, bulla' (: *bullat*, *bullit*).

Of course there are other explanations current for *gemma* (see Stolz, Lat. Gramm. p. 88) but a certain attest might seem of record for **gesma* in the glosses (see Goetz's Thesaurus, s. vv.) *anulus* 'gisma' and *gisma* 'angulus', *gemma* in the sense of 'signet-ring' being well known. The glosses have preserved *dusmum* also for *dumum*.

(5) *gerro: congerro* 'trifler, idle fellow'; 'a jolly companion, playfellow'; *gerrae* 'nonsense' (i. e. 'frothing'). Greek φλύει is rendered by 'boils over, bubbles up, chatters', and φλέει has much the same meanings. This makes me raise the query whether Latin *gerrae* is, after all, borrowed from the Greek, according to the engaging story reported by Festus, cited in our lexica and defended, with not altogether satisfactory semantic readjustment, by Sonny in Archiv, 10, 377. This entire Sicilian tale may be but a bit of ancient etymologizing, for ancient etymology was quite capable of combining GERrae with CRates, or with Greek γίρρον, and of inventing a tale to back up the etymology. The way seems open therefore to derive *gerrae* 'nonsense' from **geserae*, a formative type related to the root ǯes of ζέει 'boils' as Skr. *iṣirá-s* (cf. Gr. ἱερός, Doric ἱαρός) is related to the root *iṣ-*. The form *gerro* would be secondary to *gerrae*, just as that Plautine soul, Appuleius, fashioned a *nugo* to *nugae*, cf. the gloss of Placidus, *gerro* 'nugator dictus a gerris'. The alleged cognation of *gerro* with Hesychian γράσων· μωρά, ἀνούσατε presents difficulties, and γράσων (for *γαρσων) may well be cognate with Lat. *garrit* 'chatters'.

(6) *gemit* 'sighs, groans'.

I am not prepared to pronounce the cognation of *gemit* and Gr. γέμει 'is full of' entirely unsatisfactory on semantic grounds, but the problem of correlating the meaning of these words is difficult, I submit. It may accordingly be worth while to note our English idiom *heaves a sigh*, and German *Seufzer heben die*

Brust. In view of the obvious physical character of the sigh, which these locutions attest, the phrase *heaves a sigh* is very like the psychological phenomenon to which grammarians have given the name of figura etymologica; cf. also in French the locution *pousser des soupirs* (*gémissements*) 'to heave sighs (groans)'. In English *heave* is specialized as a noun in the sense of 'an impulse to vomit', and in veterinary medicine *heaves* is the 'panting respiration of a pursy horse'; in French such a horse is *un cheval poussif, qui pousse.* Accordingly we might define Latin *gemit* by 'heaves (sc. a sigh'), intransitive, as *heaves* 'has an impulse to vomit' is intransitive. This definition admits of our connecting *gemit* with Skr. *yámati* 'heaves, raises, holds.' Note Truc. 599, me intuetur gemens ('heaving'), | traxit ('having fetched') ex intumo uentre suspiritum.

In view of the secondary definition of Sanskrit $\sqrt{yam}$-, chiefly in the flexional type *yácchati*, by 'offers, presents, gives', it is interesting to note that Luther used *hebe* of an 'offering' to God (cf. English 'heave offering'), and *heben* for 'to offer'.

The cognation of *gemit* with Skr. *yámati* is not in conflict with the cognation, not certainly correct, of ζημία and *yámati* (cf. Prellwitz and Uhlenbeck in their lexica, s. vv.), since we may write *ǯmméti as the primitive form for *gemit* and *yámati*.

(7) *Gemoniae, gemiones, gemursa,* etc.

Executed criminals at Rome were dragged up-stairs from the Tullianum and exposed upon a place called *Gemoniae*, popularly interpreted as the 'sighing' place. Popular etymology may in this case be authentic, but our somewhat vague information lets us wonder if the *Gemoniae* was not an elevated framework, a sort of stocks or shambles, cognate with Skr. *yan-trám* 'Schranke'; or if *Gemoniae* is, more vaguely, a general place of insult and torture, we might compare *yan-trin-* 'torturer'; *yan-trám* and *yan-trin* both derive from *yámati*. The former definition, quasi 'barrier', seems to be borne out by the gloss *gemiones* 'mac(h)eriae' (= 'enclosures, walls').

The ancient word *gemursa* 'swelling, rising under the toe' might be regarded either as a cognate of Skr. *yámati* 'raises' or, if derived from *ge(m)múrsa*, of *gisma, gemma*, as explained above.

The glossic words *gemina* 'peristromata' ('coverings') and *geminiscus* 'καρπόδεσμος, ligatura brachiorum febrientibus' (= 'bandage'), though of possible primitive derivation from the

root of Skr. *yámati* 'binds', are liable to explanation as of secondary Latin origin: in connection with *gemina* we might think of our own phrase '*double* blankets', and *geminiscus* we might define by 'coupler'; besides, *geminiscus* is near enough like its Greek synonym λημνίσκος to owe its origin to a scribe's mistake.

To recapitulate: in order to reconcile Skr. *yamá-s* 'coupled', O. IR. *emuin* 'twins' (from Celtic **jemnos*) with Lat. *gemini* 'twins', we lay down the hypothesis that Lat. *ge-*, Skr. *ya-* (Gr. ζε-) derive from Aryan ǯe- (*ǯie-*, *ye-*). The evidence to confirm this is furnished, A. by Lat. *gemit* 'heaves (a sigh)': Skr. *yámati* 'heaves'; (possible cognates of the same root are *Gemoniae*, if meaning something like 'framework', and *gemiones* 'macheriae'); B. by sundry Latin cognates of the Aryan root ǯes- 'to heave' (Gr. ζέει 'fervet', Skr. *yásyati*, *yéṣati* 'fervet, furit'), to wit: (1) *gestit* 'fervet, cupit'; (2) *gerit* 'heaves'; (3) *gemma*, *germen* 'swelling, protuberance, bud' (cf. *gisma* = *gemma* 'signet ring'); (4?) *gerrae* (from **geserae*) 'froth, nonsense'.

To the equation in A. I attach no strong evidential value. The etymologies in B. seem to me of some cogency, though in varying degrees, certainly of a cogency strongly to confirm the cogent premiss, Latin *gemini* = O. Ir. *emuin* 'twins': Skr. *yamá-s* 'coupled'.

(8) *per-ierat* 'forswears': *iūrat* 'swears'.

The only positive appeal against the recognition of ǯes- in the Latin words cited under B. must come from those persons, if there are any, who accept the validity of Brugmann's attempt (I. F. 12, 396 fg.) to explain Lat. *per-ierat* 'swears falsely' as a cognate of Gr. ζέει 'boils' and Skr. *yásyati* 'ardet'.

On semantic grounds alone this explanation of *perierat* is entirely out of court, and the old explanation is capable of phonetic defence, a defence that has already been rendered in part. Warren (in Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., 32, 110 fg.) has noted that *iūrat* 'swears' (from **iovesat*) would suffer in compounds a phonetic development different to the history of the simplex. Starting from **per-iouesat*, he reduces it to *periuerat* (*periu̯erat*) and, relying on dialectic forms like Febrarius for Februarius (Febru̯arius?) justifies the loss of *u̯* in the heavy consonant group. This phonetic history appears to me possible, but not proved, inasmuch as *-riu̯-* is susceptible to other simplifications. Instead of reducing the *-ou-* of *-iouesat* to *u*

(*v*), it seems to me we should rather reduce its *-io-* to *i*. I can, to be sure, cite no other case of this precise reduction, which is scarcely to be wondered at in view of the small number of Latin words with initial *io-*. For suffixal *io/i* we might cite alius/alis, gratia/grates, but there is more than one plausible explanation for the shift *io/i* in suffixes. Resting, however, on the analogy of the compounding form of *iacit* (viz. *-icit*),[1] and on the evidence of *bigae* (from **bi-iugae*) we may safely suppose that **per-ioverat* would have been reduced to *periverat*. The *v* of *periverat* might optionally fall away as in all the perfect verb forms with *-ive-*, leaving *perierat* which, for all that the metres attest, may everywhere be read *pĕrī(v)erat* in Plautus. Not only so, but Plautus MSS show *periūrat* where the metre demands *perierat*, and if *peri(v)erat* be restored it enables us readily to account, on purely palaeographical grounds, for the unmetrical reading *periūrat*. On this we cannot insist, however, for *periūrat* as a 'recomposed' form might naturally slip into the place of *pĕrierat*. But *peri-(v)erat* may be read in every place where the metre demands *periūrat* as well as where it demands *periĕrat*, and it is not unlikely, however insusceptible to demonstration, that Plautus knew only *peri(v)erare*, not both *periĕrare* and *periūrare*. The subsequent reduction of *peri(v)erare* to *perjerare* proceeds on normal lines of sound change (cf. Brugmann, Gr. i,[2] § 251).

A pun between *perīrem* and *perĭeret* seems to lurk in the following passage, if we bear in mind how Plautus continually rings the changes on *perdere/perire* (e. g. in Bacch. 1015, si plus *perdundum* sit, *periisse* suaviust),

Bacch. 1028 ego ius iurandum verbis conceptis dedi,
daturum id me hodie mulieri ante vesperum,
priusquam a me abiret. nunc, pater, ne *perierem*
cura. * * *
1039 verum, ut ego opinor, si ego in istoc sim loco
dem potius aurum quam illum *corrumpi* sinam.
duae condiciones sunt: utram tu accipias vide:
vel ut aurum *perdas* vel ut amator *perieret*.

(9) *aemulatur* 'sequitur'.

The cognation of Lat. *gemini* 'twins' with Skr. *yamá-s* 'coupled', as maintained above, would seem little probable if the connection of *yamá-s* with Lat. *aemulatur*, defined, for etymological purposes, by 'sucht gleich zu kommen' (cf. Uhlenbeck, got.

[1] Metrifications like *cōnĭcit* are due to 'recomposition'.

Woert. s. v. *ibns*, and Hirt, Ablaut, No. 654) is right, both being derived from a dissyllabic root *ayem-*.[1] But if we get a satisfactory account of *yamás* by defining it 'coupled, paired, a brace' (*:yámati* 'binds') there is no very good ground for connecting it with Lat. *imago* 'picture', Goth. *ibns* (English *even*) whose primary meaning lies uncertain between 'level' and 'equal' (cf. the Oxford Dict. s. v. *even*).

If we record a verdict of non liquet against *aemulatur:* Skr. *yamás*, Goth. *ibns*, a positive explanation of *aemulatur*, from a different point of attack, would be in order. To this I now address myself. I would seek to establish for *aemulatur* (and *imitatur*), not the rendering 'sucht gleich zu kommen', as cited above, but 'sequitur, follows, pursues' (cf. Livy, 1.18.2 aemulantes studia "pursuing their studies"). The Latin glosses (see Goetz, l. c.) exhibit the lemmata *imitantur* 'secuntur' and *amitatores* (i. e. *aemitatores, emitatores*) 'adsectatores'. Conformably, Lewis and Short's lexicon renders *secuta sunt* (Caes. B. C. i. 2) by 'have followed, imitated'; and *sectatur* (Tac. Ann. i. 80) by 'seeks to imitate'; cf. also, *consequor*, I. B. 2, a. Further, Liddell and Scott define ἀκολουθεῖ by 'is like'. I would, in line with this definition, connect *aemulatur* with the Homeric nonce-word αἴμων (also once used as a proper name, Λ 296),[2] which occurs in the following context (E 49): . . . Σκαμάνδριον, αἴμονα θήρης Ἀτρείδης Μενέλαος ἕλ' ἔγχει ὀξυόεντι ἐσθλὸν θηρητῆρα . . . The ancient critics gave to αἴμων, here, a quasi etymological interpretation, defining it by *δαιμων for δαήμων 'sciens', but we need not take seriously this interpretation by a, perhaps purely imaginary, rhyme word. A satisfactory interpretation, so far as the context is concerned, for αἴμονα θήρης is 'follower, pursuer, taker of game (of the chase'), 'θηρητῆρα' in short. If the tautology of this

[1] It looks very plausible, we may admit, to derive Lat. *aemulatur*, Skr. *yamás* and Lat. *imitatur* from a common root with the grades *ayem-*, *yem-*, *im-*, respectively; but we might make as seductive a chain by deriving Lat. *aestus* 'boiling, undulating' (of water; cf. *aestas* 'summer'), Gr. ζεστός 'boiled', Skr. *iṣṭakā* ('terra) cotta' (cf. coquit 'cooks, boils') from a root *aǯes-*, *ǯes-*, *is-*, supposing intervocalic -ǯ- to be treated like *-y-* in Latin, as it seems to be in Skr. *yáṣate* (from **yaysate*), which belongs to this very root, *ǯes-* (cf. Pedersen, l. c., and Brugmann Grund.[2] i, 922). So long as examples of intervocalic -ǯ- have not been identified in any Aryan speech, we may not certainly pronounce that said -ǯ- (-i̯i̯-) behaved differently from *-y-*.

[2] Not, I take it a pet name for Εὐ-αίμων (Brugmann, Gr. Gram.[3] §165, 1), but rather of the type of Στράβων (ibid. §165, 2).

interpretation raise objection, that objection disappears before a passage like β 65, . . . περικτίονας ἀνθρώπους οἱ περιναιετάουσι . . . in which the relative clause merely paraphrases περικτίονας (cf. also α 1, γ 383, θ 551, ι 271, χ 136, ι 123).

We may, because of the rough breathing in αἴμων, derive it with some confidence from αιμλον-, *αισμον.[1] If αἴμων has been correctly defined by 'pursuer, taker' we may explain αἰμύλος 'flattering' as a development on the lines of English *taking* 'captivating', and define αἰμύλος in its bad sense of 'wily' by Latin 'captans'.

The root to which I refer *aemulatur*, αἴμων and αἰμύλος is *ais-*, for which Brugmann (Grund., i i, § 670) cites the derivatives Skr. *ichâti* 'seeks', Umbr. *eiscurent*[2] 'poposcerint, arcessierint', Armen. *aiç* 'undertaking' O. H. G. *eisca* 'demand', Lith.

[1] For the phonetic sequence whereby the rough breathing of αἴμων came to represent the lost -σ- of *αισμων I refer to Hirt's Griech. Gram. § 236, d. where, however, only one convincing illustration of the 'law' is cited, viz. ἧμαι 'I sit'. Even this illustration is not convincing till an examination of the Homeric usage reveals that forms of this verb with the sound sequence ἡμ- (for ἡσμ-) are, in a total of over 200 occurrences, more numerous than all the forms in ἧσ- (for normal ἡς-) etc. Thus we may be willing to concede that the spiritus asper spread from the 1st person and ptc. (ἥμενος) forms throughout the entire verbal flexion.

By this principle of sound change we may also account for the spiritus asper of εἵματα 'clothes', ἱμάτιον 'garment' whence, by analogy (note the frequent etymological figure of which εἵματα ἑσσάμενος, β 3, may be taken as a type), ἕννυμι 'I dress' which would in truth be entitled to a normal rough breathing in the perfect forms εἷμαι and εἱμένο- (2 and 15 times respectively in Homer); or did -σν-, like -σμ-, yield -νh- (cf. the Prākritic change of -*sm*-, -*sn*- to -*mh*-, -*ṇh*-)? As we may thus account for the origin of the spiritus asper in the Greek root Fεσ- 'to clothe', so we might charge the breathing of ἑστία 'hearth' and ἕσπερος 'Vesper' (root Fεσ- 'to burn') to the analogy of the (secondary) aspiration of ἕως (for *ἐhως) 'dawn' and εὕει (for *εὐhει) 'singes'; not forgetting, however, the possibility that ἑστία 'hearth' may have been affected by ἕζεται 'sits,' cf. especially the compound ἐφέστιος 'sitting on the hearth'.

Query: is the rough breathing of ἡμέρα 'day' also secondary—cf. Doric ἅμαρ (Homeric ἦμαρ) ἀμέρα (without intention, of course, to broach the problem of psilosis in the Homeric dialect, and of the correctness with which the aspiration was subsequently restored to the archaic portion of the Homeric vocabulary)—caught up from ἕως, ἕσπερος?

[2] Von Planta, Gram. § 66, in view of *é* being the normal sequent in Umbrian of primitive *ai*, adjusts the difficulty of *eis-curent*, which would otherwise be a solitary offender against the usual sequence, by a derivation from **eh-isc-* or primitive **is-sko-*. But primitive *ei* also yields *ē* (though there may have been a slight acoustic difference between the two *ē*'s) and here again *ei-* appears,

jëszkóti 'to seek' (see other cognates in Uhlenbeck's ai. Woert. s. v. *ṭṭṣ*).

A single basal definition of *ais-* is hard to give. In view of certain of its progeny, to be cited presently, it seems to enjoy a range from (1) 'capit, takes, seizes' to (2) 'captat, chases, (sequitur), covets, desires, entices'[1]; and it makes little difference, semantically, whether we call *capit* the completive (perfective) of *captat*, or *captat* the inceptive (desiderative) of *capit*; cf. also Skr. *āpnóti* 'acquires, obtains': *ípsati* 'seeks, covets'; and Latin *properat* 'procures' (trans.) but 'hastens' (intrans.).

The entire semantic range projected for *ais-* lies transparent to our scrutiny in the Greek denominative verb θηρᾶ, which means not only 'chases, pursues, seeks'='captat, consequitur' (2); but also 'captures, hits, attains'='capit, consequitur' (1).

One further meaning (3) that we may expect to find for *ais-* will be 'hastens' (intrans.), cf. *contendit* and *properat* in their intransitive signification.

In accordance with the semantic considerations advanced above I would derive *aemulatur* '(con)sequitur' from the root *ais-* 'follows'; cf. Gr. αἴμων (from *αισμων,) 'follower'.

(10) *imitatur, imago.*

The Latin glossists consistently define *aemulatur* by 'imitatur', and our modern lexica, with more or less hesitation, have recognized the words as cognate. No phonetic obstacle hinders us in fact from deriving *imago* from **ismágo* (*is-* in gradation with *ais-*), through the intermediate form *immágo*, actually of record in the glosses, and attested (?) by Italian *immagine:* whether this *-mm-* is genuinely early, or only a late gemination, my control of the sources will not permit me to conjecture. But whatever value we give to the spelling *immago*, it is in entire accord with Latin phonetics to derive *imago* from **immágo*, as we derive *omitto*

contra legem, in e i k v a s a t i s e i k v a s e s e, and e i t i p e s. As to the last, the notion of 'umlaut' from the syllable *-ti-* suggests itself; and it seems curious that the two former words agree with *eiscurent* in being followed by a group of similar phonetic constitution, *-k v-* and *-scu-*. In all these cases I take *ei* to be an opener sound than *ẽ* (cf. von Planta, l. c. § 71), and the Umbrian syllables -scu- -kv- and -ti-, themselves tolerably open, might well have "cast their shadow before."

[1] Lewis and Short define *captat* by I. 'strives to seize, lays hold of with zeal, longing, chases' (cf. French *chasser* from **captiare*), II. A 'strives after, desires earnestly;' II. B 'seeks to catch in a crafty manner, entices, allures.'

from **ommitto*; or we might eliminate the intermediate stage **immágo*, and proceed at once from **ismágo* to *imago*, cf. *Cámenae*, old Latin *Casmenae*. Other instances of the phenomenon under discussion are conveniently collected in Vendryes, Intensité Initiale § 72, with the omission, however, of the doublets *Cásmēnae/Cámēnae*, *cásmillus/cámillus* (cf. also the doublet *gemma/gisma*, as explained above, p. 166).

The derivation of *imitatur* from **i(m)mitatur*, **ismitatur* presents difficulties. It is conceivable, to be sure, (1) that a word beginning with a trochee (spondee) before its accented penult might have been reduced from $- \breve{} \acute{} \breve{}$ to $\breve{} \breve{} \acute{} \breve{}$, if the trochee owed its long syllable to a double consonant. I can adduce no other examples of such a phenomenon, though one might plead *bálistárius* (: *ballista*, but see Froehde, BB. 3, 286), or Catullus's *lāserpiciferis* (7. 4), neither of which will rouse conviction. Another possibility (2) would be to suppose that **i(m)mitátur* was brought into conformity with *i(m)mágo*: also not convincing.

It is not with *imitatur* that we must start, but with its primitive **imátur*, inferred from *imā-go*, cf. vorāgo: vorat; forā-go: forat; orī-go: orīri; prurī-go: prurit; scaturī-go: scaturit. The shortening of **imātur* from **ismātur* would entirely accord with the shortening of Cásmēnae/Camēnae.

A possible trace of *immitatur* might be claimed for Plautus, viz. Asin. 372, where, without emendation, the first half of the septenarius would be read

móx quom Saúream ímmitábor,

and one need not be an out-and-out hiatus-hater to deny the cogency of Leo's (palaeographical) defence of the hiatus here by comparing the hiatus with the same proper name in vs. 85,

dotálem servom Saúreām uxór tua,

for the coupling of the hiatus and syllaba anceps (in the 4th thesis of the senarius) constitutes an important difference (see my edition of the Mostellaria, Introd. § 14, 11; and cf. Cpt. 159, 362; Curc. 438; Men. 327, 506; Ps. 58, for cases of syllaba anceps without hiatus).[1]

[1] The Plautine usage (and there seems to be no other occurrence of *imitatur* in the pre-Vergilian poetry, save Livius Andronicus, Achilles, 1, 1, si malos imitabo, where malos is not clear in its reference) would seem to bear out the notion that *imitatur* originally meant 'follows'. At least it seems to me reasonable to suppose that a verb in the earlier stages of its restriction to a

(11) *ira* 'anger, Grimm'; *aerumna* 'anguish, Gram'; Avest. *aəẋma* 'fury'.

Brugmann (I. F. 12, 401), in explaining *aerumna* from **ad-jerumna* (: *ǯes-* 'to boil'), declares roundly that *aerumna* has nothing to do with *ira*. One may wonder why he is so confident. The words are not alien semantically, cf. Lat. *tristis* (1) 'sad', (2) 'angry'; and a convincing separation of *ira* from *aerumna* can be made only after proof rendered that the *-r-* of the one is primitive, but of the other a rhotacized *-s-*. In point of formation Avest. *aəẋma* 'fury' seems to bridge the way from *ira* to *aerumna*.

In view of Gr. ἵμερος 'longing', correctly derived in my opinion from **lσμερος* (: *ais-* 'to seek'), and not from **ϱμερος* (so Bally, Mém. Soc. Ling. 12, 321), it would seem probable that *aerumna* 'trouble, anguish' (from **aesumna*) is an intensified 'longing, desiderium'. Or if we are right in defining *ais-* by 'to take, seize' we might define *aerumna* by the English word 'a taking' (i. e. "a seizure, as of agitation, illness, pain or the like; hence a predicament; perplexity, trouble . . . a sickness, sore"; so the Standard Dictionary). Or if *ais-* means 'to haste' we might compare Gr. σπουδή 'zeal, pains, trouble': σπεύδει 'hastes'. From the same sense of 'to haste (after), to chase', I would derive *ira*, Avest. *aəẋma* 'anger', comparing English *hasty* 'choleric' and (Biblical) *haste* 'anger'. Note also σπέρχεται 'hastens', but metaphorically 'is angry with'. Further, if we recall the huntsman's epithet of αἴμων 'pursuer', we may get at the notion of *ira* 'anger' by comparing German *hetzen* 'jagen, to chase' probable cognates of which are *hass* 'hate' and *hast* 'haste'

somewhat technical sense should still admit of the application to it of the vanishing primary sense. This is eminently the case with *imitatur* in Plautus, so far as the examples under control by the Lemaire index allow one to speak finally, for it is combined with but a narrow range of objects, to wit: (1) fugitive slaves (Capt. 209, Cas. 397, 954); (2) a lizard (Cas. 443); (3) a caterpillar, "naughty beast" (Cist. 727); (4) a dog (Capt. 485); the two person objects are one Saurea 'Lizard' (Asin. 372) and Stratonicus (Rud. 932), in the following context:

> post animi causa mihi navem faciam atque imitabor Stratonicum:
> oppida circumvectabor.

With all these objects, it is submitted, the sense of 'sequitur' seems to peer out. [But cf. Cas. 657, imitatur malarum malam disciplinam.]

Note the persistence of the same connotation in Horace, A. P. 134, nec desilies imitator in artum.

(cf. Kluge, Etym. Woert. s. vv). Into this semantic group Skr. *iṣate* 'hastens' also fits.

(12) *aerumnula* 'carrying stick'.

The completive meaning found for *ais-* was 'capit, takes, seizes'. From this sense we can gain a definition of *aerumnula* (from **aesumnula*), the name of the 'stick with which porters carried their burdens'. If it be objected that 'to take' is not 'to carry' (it is in English), it is well to bear in mind that German *hebt* 'lifts' is cognate with Lat. *capit* 'takes'.

I here recapitulate the cognates so far pointed out of the root *ais-*, meaning (1) 'captat, chases, pursues, seeks'; (2) 'hastens'; (3) 'capit,—takes, seizes'; αἶμονα θήρης (E 49) 'sequentem feras': αἴμον-, from **aismon-*; αἰμύλος 'captans, taking' (a. 'captivating'; b. 'baleful, wily', cf. captio 'fraud, a sophism'); *aemulatur* 'sequitur', from **aesmulatur; imitatur* 'sequitur', frequentative to **i(m)mâtur*, **ismatur*, cf. *immâgo; ira* 'a taking, a fit of anger', from **ǝisā; aerumnula* 'a taking-stick', from **aesumnula; aerumna* ('pursuit, longing), cares'.

Perhaps, in view of Gr. αἰόλος 'swift' (: Skr. *é-vas*, so Prellwitz, s. v.), which seems to be identical in formation with *evâras* (a hapax in RV. 8, 45, 38), an epithet of Soma for which 'sparkling, gleaming' (= Gr. αἰόλος) is a pat rendering, we should ascribe to *ais-* a briefer form *ai-*.

Prellwitz has a long list of words with initial αἰ- or αἰσ- for which he gives either no etymological explanation at all or a very questionable one. Quite a number of these admit, both semantically and phonetically, of derivation from the root *ai-s-*, viz. αἰ-κάλλει 'flatters, captat'; αἰμασιά (from *αἰσμα-) 'enclosure, wall': cf. *capsus* 'pen'; αἶμος (from *αἰσμο-) 'thicket' [a chase, hunting grou d (?)]; αἰμωδία (from αἰσμο-) 'tooth-ache' [cf. aerumna 'pain' (?)]; αἴνιγμα 'captio, sophism, riddle'; αἴνυται 'capit'; αἰρεῖ (from *αἰσρο-) 'capit' [on this word Prellwitz makes the puzzling remark "αἱρέω hat aber die dunkeln Nebenformen aeol. ἀγρέω, thess. *ἀγγρε-": might one extract from these words the definition αἰρεῖ· ἀγρεύει 'captat, hunts, takes'?]; αἰσάλων (?*αἰσσαλων) 'hawk, accipiter'(?); αἰσθάνεται 'λαμβάνει, accipit, percipit, tenet, takes (with the mind), perceives'. [Till some proof of the lost *F* is found, this explanation of αἰσθάνεται is at least as satisfactory semantically, and more probable phonetically, than the current derivation from *ἀϝισ-θανεται. The older derivation of *au-dit* from **aus-dit* 'gives ear' (cf. Bréal, Sémantique,

p. 106) seems to me, in the light of *aus-cultat* 'lends ear' (see Brugmann, I. F. 11, 109), unexceptionable.[1]]

In casting this long list of Greek words possibly cognate with the root *ai-s-* (1) captat; (2) properat; (3) capit, it has been my purpose neither to criticize nor present, in any detail, other possible explanations of said words. Nothing could be more prejudicial to the real advance of semantics than prejudice and dogma about etymologies. Certainty in etymology is hard to reach. Explanations may be in entire accord with morphological patterns and phonetic laws, and semantically plausible also, without carrying a particle of positive evidence. Thanks to complicated morphological constructions which admit much loss of consonants; thanks to the variety of vowel color and the frequency of the entire suppression of the vowel which jump with our complicated schemes of vowel gradation; thanks to the ease with which our whole wealth of words may be grouped, according to plausible psychological principles, about a relatively, or even absolutely, small number of concepts; thanks to the fact that a group of two or three sounds (letters is as well justified a designation for languages known only in their literary monuments) carries the inner meaning of an enormous quantity of derivatives, while only a few syllables, speaking relatively, of two or three sounds each, are conveniently vocable in any one language; thanks to all these considerations, it is in the interest of good method to remain open-minded to every etymological possibility that conforms to reasonable semantics and the better known principles of sound change. As to the established principles of sound change, it must never be lost to sight that the phonetic laws which are drawn from etymologies are made in turn a test of further etymologizing. The inherent weakness of such reasoning in a circle ought to constitute a warning against dogmatism.

[1] In spite of the Roman feeling that *oboedit* was a compound of *ob* and *audit*, shown by the recomposite *obaudit*, I believe that we must define *oboedit* (i. e. obēdit, a misspelling, I take it, for **obaedit*) by 'accipit', noting the glosses *accipit* 'ἀκούει, admittit, audit'. If the root *ais-* be correctly defined by (1) sequitur, ἕπεται; (2) capit, then *oboedit* (for **obaedit*, from **ob-ais-dit*) may be properly defined either by 'ἐφέπεται', or 'ac-cipit'. This resolution leaves intact the cognation of *ob-edit* with αἰσθάνεται, though it separates *obedit* from *audit*. The abnormal treatment of obēdit (for **obidit*) may have proceeded from the simplex, *ēdit* being dialectic (? Umbrian, cf. von Planta, cited on p. 172); or else, when the *s* of **ais-dit* fell away, along with the compensatory lengthening, the quality of the diphthong was altered. [See postscript.]

For semantic studies it seems to me well to group provisionally about the 'roots' of any language all their possible progeny. We may subsequently learn from the minute correspondences of several kindred languages that our larger group contains more than one incorrect member, but we shall never acquire a feeling, a touch for semantic problems, save by studying numbers of large provisional groups in the individual languages.

(13) *carmen* 'song'; *casmillus* 'priest's apprentice'.

I have never been able thoroughly to give up the feeling that *carmen* belongs with *Carmenta*, the mother of Evander, who was 'fatiloqua' and 'veridica' (Livy, 1, 7, 8, 10), and with *Cásmēnae/ Cămēnae* 'Muses'.

One who connects *carmen* with *Carmenta* and *Casmenae*; with Skr. *çásman* 'song of praise'; and with Gothic *hasjan* 'to sing' (pace Uhlenbeck, got. Woert. s. v.) has, in fact, much more evidence to rest upon than one who connects *carmen* with Gr. κᾶρυξ 'herald', Skr. *kārú-s* 'singer'. We must then derive *hazjan* from a verb *ĥəsyéti* (to which Latin **casiti* would correspond), cf. *carmen* from **casimen*. The pair **casimen*: **casiti* is comparable with *specimen*: *specitur*. It is hardly open to question that the syncope after -r- in **car(i)men* might have taken place earlier than syncope after a mute, cf. the doublet *tegimen/tegmen*; comparable is the complete loss of *-e* from the impv. *fer*, though Plautus knew the doublets *face/fac* etc.

I further see no solid reason for separating Skr. *çáṁsati* 'sings' from *çásti* 'teaches, orders'. The vowel color of the *-a-* in çáṁsati—which I derive from *ĥənséti*, with Skr. *a* from *ə* under a secondary accent (see Wackernagel, ai. Gram. § 5, and his authorities as against Hirt, Ablaut § 15, and his authorities)—is inferred (see Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert. s. v.) from Albanian *θom* 'I say' (from **ĥénsmi*); and the vowel color of the *a* of *çásti* (ib. s. v.) from O. Ir. *cáin* 'law' (from **ĥázni*). I venture with great reluctance into the realm of la haute phonétique, but I see nothing to show that Alban. *θom* may not come instead from *ĥésmi*; and I make O. Ir. *cáin* a cognate of O. Ir. *cadhb* .i. *cáin* (see Stokes in Fick's Woert. ii³ p. 67), deriving the one from **kadvos*, and the other from **kádnis*, cf. Strachan, in BB. 20, who maintains that the phonetic sequence *atn* yields *ān* (p. 8); *etn*, *ēn* (10); *utno*, *ōn*, *úan* (16); *udno*, *ōn*, *ūan* (16). On the parallelism of *v(o)-* and *n*-stems cf. Pedersen in -KZ. 32, 253, § 17; and now Solmsen, ibid. 38, 438.

With this group I would place Lat. *canit* 'sings', from **kənéti*: the root *kĕn-*. I derive Skr. *çâsmi* 'I teach' and Alban. *θom* 'I say'—for their semantic correlation cf. Gr. δείκνυσι 'shows': Lat. *dicit* 'says, speaks, sings (as a poet)'—from **k̂ē(n)smi*, not with "unstable" *n*, but with an *n* lost in the heavy consonant group, and analogically lost in enough forms more—cf. the paradigm of εἰμὶ in Greek for the numerous forms in ἠτ-, for or beside forms in ἠσ-τ-, where the lost -σ- is due to the forms in ἠμ-—to yield a base *k̂ēs-*, *kəs-* (Gothic *hazjan*), established as a byform to **kēns-*, *kəns-* (Skr. *çáṁsati*, with accent secondarily shifted as in *gácchati*, *yácchati*), *k̄n̥s-* (Lat. *censet*). That a first person **k̂ē(n)smi* 'δείκνυμι, dico' (for this definition cf. not only Alban. *θom*, but also the O. Bulg. and O. Persian cognates cited by Brugmann, I. F. 1, 177, 9) was liable to very frequent usage needs no demonstration. We may illustrate the correlation of ideas in *çáṁsati* 'sings' and *çâsti* 'teaches, shows' by comparing Latin *doctus* 'poet'. The Greek poet also often functioned as a διδάσκαλος (teacher).

The priest's apprentice at Rome was similarly *cásmillus/ camillus* 'Lehrling, pupil', cf. Skr. *çiṣ-yas* 'pupil'.

(14) Skr. *hiṁsanti* 'they injure': *hánti* 'kills'.

In view of Lat. *necat* 'kills' and *nocet* 'injures' there seems no reason to call in question the cognation of *hiṁsanti* and *hánti*. Neither does it seem necessary to waste words about the loss of sharp desiderative force in *hiṁsanti*, for *hiṁsanti* is a synonym in the Rig Veda of *piṁsánti* 'they grind, damage' and, as a synonym, may be closely modelled on it in its acoustic constitution. We might assume a primitive form **ghensónti*, whose precise phonetic development in Sanskrit is not clear to me (cf. Hirt, Ablaut, pp. 17-18). Johannes Schmidt's present stem **ghi-(gh)n-só-* (Sonanten Theorie 57, sq.) seems to be quite fanciful, but before any one pronounces fanciful the notion that *hiṁsanti* and *piṁsánti* might, as synonyms, have been of effect, the one upon the inflexion of the other, he should note that φατός 'killed' (Skr. *hatás*: *hánti*: 'kills') has, in the Homeric compound μυλή-φατος 'ground-in-the mill' (β 355), the unmistakable sense of 'ground up'.

(15) *oportet* 'it behooves'.

There is no lack of attempts to explain *oportet* (see Vendryes, l. c. 305), all semantically possible, perhaps, but none convincing. In view of the accentual conditions alluded to

above (pp. 173–4), we need not hesitate to derive from **o(p)pórtet*. This lets us surmise a connection between *oportet* 'it befits' and *opportunus* 'fitting'. Wharton defines *opportunus* by 'conducive' and so derives it from *portare*; cf. Gr. συμφέρει 'it profits'. A curious confirmation of that explanation, on its semantic side, seems to be offered by an explanation of *oportet* in terms of 'it *behoves*'; *behoves* comes from the verb *heaves* 'lifts, bears', compounded with the prefix *be-*. Thus *me oportet* is quasi 'it rises before me' or 'it bears me on'.

In inflection *oportet* is of a piece with its approximate synonym *decet*.

Still another possibility is to connect *o(p)pórtet* with *pars* and *portio*, and *pars* and *portio* ultimately with Gr. πέπρωται ''tis fated'. Then *opportunus* (: the root *per-*) is to be compared in formation with *fortuna* (: root *bher-*). The semantic relation of *oportet* 'it is necessary', compared with *pars* and *portio*, may be paralleled by Gr. μέρος 'part' : μοῖρα 'fate'.

(16) *aperit* 'opens'.

As an illustration of the possibilities of etymology, as sketched above, p. 177, I take up the word *aperit* 'opens'. The great Thesaurus, with a regrettable lack of catholicity in a work intended and likely to impose authority on scholarship, reports Brugmann's derivation from **ap-verit*, to the exclusion of the older derivation from **a(p)-perit* (see Bréal et Bailly, Dict. Etym. s. v. *pario*, and especially Stowasser's Lat.-Deutsch. Schulwoerterbuch, Vorbegriffe, § 35, 5; also note the instructive semantic remarks in Lewis and Short's Dictionary, s. v. *comperio*). One must admit that the comparison of **ap-verit* with Lith. *àt-veriu* 'ich mache auf, oeffne' (cf. Skr. *ápa-vṛṇoti* 'uncovers') is perfectly apt semantically, and one may think it likely that if *-pv-* came together in Latin a reduction to *-pp-*, *-(p)p-* would follow (cf. Stolz, Lat. Gram.[3] p. 90). But why *ap-* (and *op-*) with **verit*, but *a-*, *ab-* (*ob-*), with all other compounds of verbs in *v-*? True, the lack of the simplex constitutes a difference in the case of **verit*; and yet, in view of the Oscan-Umbrian stem *vero-* 'door' (cf. also my derivation of *vestibulum* from **vero-stabulum* 'door-stead', Amer. Jour. Phil. 24, 62), one may wonder why the compound **ap-verit* (and **op-verit*) was absolved from the treatment usually accorded to *ab-* in composition with *v-*. Further, to allow that the phonetics of this explanation of *aperit* is correct, we must suppose the compound *apo-ver-* to have lived on into Latin

from the primitive Aryan speech. This is a somewhat different problem from noting that Latin preserves compounds the simplex of which is of record only in some other language, e. g. *dissipat* 'scatters'; Skr. *kṣipáti* 'flings' (if this is correct); for it leaves us to account for *apo-* dissociating itself in this one word from *apo-* in all other Latin words.

If we had of record **ap-verit* and **op-verit* [and here only is it necessary to suppose *op-* (:*ἐπί*) rather than *ob-* (:O. Bulg. *obi*), cf. Uhlenbeck ai. Woert. s. v. *abhi;* Delbrueck, Vergl. Gram., Syntax, iii, p. 681], no one would dream of calling in question the cognation with Skr. *ápavṛṇoti;* but as *aperit* fails to authenticate **ap-verit* past all suspicion, one must not pin his faith, past recall, to this construct form.

What obstacle blocks the derivation of *aperio* from **ab-pario* with the older etymologists? The verb *parit* 'produces, procures' belongs closely with *parat* 'makes'; a pretty complete rendering for both in their entire range of usage is German 'schafft' (macht). A verb of such general signification easily comes, in combination with prepositions (adverbs of direction), to signify 'to open, to close'. Examples are German *aufmacht, aufthut* 'opens', *zumacht, zuthut* 'closes'; English *undoes* 'opens' (cf. Plautine aperitin fores 'won't you undo the door?'); also cf. Homeric *ἀν-ίημι* 'opens' and Latin *obicit* (Livy, 1. 14, 11), *obducit* 'covers'. Such semantic developments are numerous enough to give us pause before we yield a final assent to the contention that *aperit* 'opens' comes more convincingly from **ap-verit* 'covers back', than from **a(p)-perit* 'makes, puts, sets back' (perhaps, with even more definiteness 'splits, cleaves back', cf. Gr. *πείρει* 'cleaves', Lat. *diffindit* 'cleaves apart, opens').

Not only does the old derivation of *aperit* from **a(p)-perit* seem to me phonetically impeccable[1] and semantically plausible, but a little ingenuity will supply other derivations not less plausible than the derivation from **ap-verit.* Thus, if hard put to it, we might derive *apértus* from **ab-portus* 'with the door off' (see Vendryes, l. c. § 301, for the reduction of "post-tonic" *-or-* to *-er-*), and deduce the whole verb system from this compound interpreted as a participle.

Going into Greek for cognates, who shall say, barring the difficulty with the -p- pointed out above, that *ap-erit* is not a

[1] The loss of *p* in *apério, apérimus* etc., *apériam* etc., *apérui* etc. *apértus* is normal; abnormal only in *áperis, áperit* and *aperiebam* etc.

compound in which *-er-* is a Latin cognate of Gr. *ἀραρίσκειν*, which occurs in Homer with the sense of 'to close' (act., β 353; ptc. = 'closed', common); cf. also Lat. *artus* 'close(d)'.

Or who shall definitively say that **a(p)-perit* does not mean, by etymological definition, 're-velat'? Thus we might connect it with Gr. *σπεῖρον* 'cloth, wrap', with *σπάρτον* 'rope', Lat. *sporta* 'plaited basket', all from a construct base *spera-* 'to plait' (so Prellwitz, s. v. *σπεῖρα*), with "unstable" *s-* (cf. the groups of cognates printed by Prellwitz, s. v. *σπαρτός*, and by Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert., s. v. *parṇám*, though, to be sure, the roots abstracted by these scholars have a very different definition, and accordingly different lists of cognates).

(17) Latin *parat* 'makes'.

So far as I know it has not been suggested that *parat* and *parit* are cognate with Gr. *πρα-κ-* in *πράσσει* 'does, makes' [see Prellwitz, s. v., and note the satisfactory treatment of the semantic relation between *πράσσω* and *περάω* (*πείρω*) in Liddell and Scott's lexicon; comparing also, for *πράσσει* and *πείρει*, Homer's *διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον* 'opening, cleaving a path', β 429, with his *πεῖρε κέλευθον*, β 434]. In Oscan we have a possible attest of the affix *-k-* of *πράσσει*, viz. in the words *comparascuster* (von Planta 17, 4) and kú]mparakineís (ib. 32). In the Tabula Bantina *comparascuster* is rendered by 'consulta erit', but a rendering of perfect etymological precision and well suited to the connection is 'comparata erit' (cf. Lewis and Short s. vv. 1 comparo, II. B; 2 comparo I. B). I shall not attempt to decide whether *comparascuster* is derived, in Latin transcription, from (1) **compara-scit* (*: comparat : : labascit : labat*) or (2) from **compara(c)-scit*. The latter reconstruction best accords with *kúmparakineis* (rather Latin **comparac-ionis* than **comparc-ionis*) 'consilii'. It is clear in its context that the council was a sort of 'finance board', a 'board of assessment', cf. Attic *πράκτωρ* 'tax-gatherer' (see also Liddell and Scott, s. v. *πράσσω* V. 2). To this special sense *comparascuster* will also conform, meaning, in its context, 'when the fine has been assessed'. The primitive Italic base *parā-c-* conforms better, in point of gradation (cf. Hirt, Ablaut, No. 187) with Gr. *πρᾱ-κ-* than a base *parc-* would conform.

Nothing decisive has been made out in my opinion for the contention that Oscan *comparascuster* is a cognate of Lat. *compescit* (see von Planta, § 296, 3 for the literature). In the examination of *compescit* too much account has been taken of

the consecutive entries in Festus (de Ponor, p. 42, lines 21–22) comperce pro compesce dixerunt antiqui, comparsit Terentius pro compescuit posuit. We are fortunately able to control the ipsissima verba on which these lemmata are based, viz., (1) Plautus Bacch. 463 caue malo et compesce in illum dicere iniuste, in contrast with Poen. 350 comperce me attrectare; (2) Terence, Phormio 43–44 quod ille unciatim vix de demenso suo | suum defrudans genium, comparsit miser. If now we observe that Plautus could say (Poen. 1035) maledicta hinc aufer, linguam compescas face 'away with this cursing and hold (shut up) thy tongue', we will hardly challenge his saying compesce in illum dicere iniuste 'hold (shut up) thy speaking ill of him'. It did not require a particularly ingenious grammarian to compare this use of *compesce* 'shut up' (= 'don't') with *comperce* in comperce me attrectare 'spare to (= don't) lay thy hand on me'; and, when he had made this identification, to contort into a further "Belegstelle" the Phormio citation, where de demenso suo . . . comparsit 'spared (saved) from his allowance' lent itself to the interpretation "pared (clipped, pruned) from his allowance". The proper philological comment on this interpretation of the form *comparsit* was made long ago in the Westerhov Terence, to wit: absurdum videtur.

The etymological interpretation of *compescit* seems to me most simple, along the semantic lines laid down in Lewis and Short. I derive it from **com-pag-scit* (*: pangit*) or **com-pac-scit* (*: paciscitur*) 'fastens, holds, keeps together'; its synonyms are *coercet, cohibet*, cf. Cato R. R. 139, coercere (with derived sense 'to clip, prune') sacrum (sc. lucum), with the entry from Festus, compescere lucum est lucum suis finibus cohibere. These passages show that in all three verbs the sense of 'dress, trim, clip, prune' had developed from a general sense of 'hold, keep together, arrange, dress'.

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IV.—NOTES ON THE DELIAN CHOREGIC INSCRIPTIONS.

In 1881 the French excavations at Delos brought to light a series of choregic inscriptions which, along with the agonistic inscriptions pertaining to the Soteria at Delphi and the dramatic records of the Dionysia and Lenaea at Athens, are of immense importance for the history of dramatic and musical exhibitions in Greece in the third century B. C. and the first half of the second. Seven of the Delian inscriptions, cut on the same small round column, and four others, cut on rectangular blocks, were first published by Hauvette-Besnault in the Bulletin de correspondance hellénique VII (1883), 103 ff.; a twelfth by Paris, ibid. IX (1885), 146 ff. They were republished after the French editors and discussed by Brinck, Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes, Diss. Halen. VII (1886), 187–206.[1] Von Schöffer also treats them briefly in his De Deli insulae rebus, Berl. Stud. IX, 138 ff. The most recent discussion is by Capps, Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. XXXI (1900), 112 ff. Many restorations and corrections of the published texts have been suggested by these scholars and by Wilhelm, Jahreshefte d. oesterreich. arch. Inst. III (1900), 49 ff., but so far as I know no careful examination of the stones themselves has been made since the publication in the Bulletin. Convinced that a reexamination of the originals would help to clear up many doubtful points in the text, at least by showing whether or not the proposed restorations and corrections were acceptable, I visited the museum at Myconos in February, 1903, with the intention of publishing a new text of the entire series, if the results of an examination of the stones should warrant it. But to my surprise I learned that the French authorities would not allow me to take squeezes or even to make notes in the presence of the stones, although published twenty years ago. Accordingly I was obliged to content myself with looking at a few lines of an inscription, going to the hotel and writing down my observations, then returning to the museum

[1] Michel, Recueil, Nos. 902–904, reproduces I, II, and V; Dittenberger Sylloge[2], No. 692, gives II.

and repeating the process. In this way I was able to gather a few notes on doubtful passages, which I here give to the public with some reluctance, fragmentary as they are. They are sufficient, however, abundantly to show the need of a careful republication of these and other Delian inscriptions, and it is to be hoped that the French, now that they have again turned their attention to Delos, will soon render this service to their colleagues of other countries.

My Roman numerals I–XI are identical with those of Hauvette-Besnault; the inscription published by Paris I refer to as XII, with Brinck. I follow Von Schöffer and Michel in giving the dates of Homolle; see Homolle, Archives de l' intendance sacrée, 58 ff. and appendices. Brinck, Dittenberger, and Capps keep the dates given by the first editors. The dates of Homolle are two years later except for XI and XII, and these one year later. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, and the writers in Pauly-Wissowa, also ignore the dates of Homolle. Brinck, followed by Capps, gives the year 280 to IV for some reason; Homolle's date is 279, Hauvette-Besnault's 281.

I, 284 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 104. In l. 13 after ΟΣ we expect the father's name, and on the stone the first two letters of it are clear, ΚΝ In l. 22, after *αὐληταί*, *Καφισίας Θηβαῖος*, seven or eight letters have been destroyed, then can be read ΟΣ, showing that there was more than one flute player and that the plural in the caption was not used carelessly, as has generally been assumed. This is the case with most errors of this kind attributed to the engraver. So in VIII, l. 24, where the caption is likewise *αὐληταί*, a second name has been obliterated after *Ὀνήσιππος* (H.-B. "vide"). In XII, l. 79, Wilhelm is undoubtedly right in reading *νευρο(σ)πάσ[ται]* for the French editor's *Νεῦρος, Παρ . . .*, so that only a single name stands after the caption *ὀρχηστής*. In I, l. 26, Capps (p. 120, n. 3) would take *ἑλληνοκράτης* as an epithet, not as a proper name, thus removing another such error. I doubt if this is the correct reading, but have nothing better to suggest. After *Ἀργεῖος* and before *ἑλληνοκράτης* there are two letters, which I take to be ΚΡ, though they are so mutilated that they cannot be read with certainty. In IV, however, l. 23 f., the singular heading *κιθαρῳδός* must stand before several names, unless, as Capps suggests, the stone cutter omitted by mistake a category after *Κλέων Σικυώνιος* as the following ethnicon *Ἀθηναῖος* without a preceding proper name

would seem to indicate. In III, l. 22 we shall see that the singular κιθαριστής stands before only one name.

II, 282 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 105. In l. 6 the first two letters of the name of the effaced choregus after Τυχάνδρου are Ἀφ. In l. 10 the stone actually reads ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΗΡΑΙΣΚΟΣ, confirming Dittenberger's correction (Syl.[2] 692, n. 5) of the reported Ἀντιγένη[ς] Δίσκος to Ἀντιγέν<ης> Ἡραΐσκος. The stone cutter's eye could easily pass over ΗΣ when ΗΡ followed. In l. 12 the reading is Ἀγλωνέας Ὀστάκου, for Ἀ. Οἰτάκου. This is clearly an error for Ἀγλωγένης Ὀστάκου, the name which occurs among the choregi in III, as Brinck (p. 193) surmised. In l. 19 the stone gives Θεμίστωνος Πάριος (H.-B. Θε . . . τωνος Π.). Wilhelm in Michel, Recueil, Add. et corrig. p. 949, proposed Θεμίστων Πάριος, and this is probably right. The engraver's mistake might easily have been caused by the -ΟΝΙΟΣ in the line just above.

III, 280 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 106. In l. 2 the editor's [παί]δων must stand. Traces of the παι can be made out on the stone. Brinck therefore is wrong when he says (p. 195) that παίδων was not used in these inscriptions for the choregi at the Apollonia until 259 B. C. (No. VIII), on the ground that such a caption was unnecessary, since only choruses of boys competed at this festival. His other ground for suspecting the French text, however, namely that only three choregi for the Apollonia are mentioned in this inscription, whereas in I, II, IV, V, VI, X and XII, i. e. in all the series where the names are preserved, four names are found, proves to be reasonable, though his solution was not right. The fourth choregus is in l. 5, omitted altogether by the first editor, and is fairly clear, Ἀλκίμαχος Προξένου. From here on the numbering of the French text must be changed. Alcimachus is already known as a Delian name; cf. Dittenberger, Syl.[2], No. 588, where an Alcimachus is mentioned as ἱεροποιός, ταμίας, and τριτύαρχος. Returning to l. 2, I read Δημοκράτης as the first choregus (H.-B. Δημ- -). In l. 17 (16) the stone gives Διόφαντος (H.-B. Διο- -), to be identified with Capps (p. 124) with Διόφ[αν]το[ς] Χῖος, also an aulete, in the Soteric list for 272 B. C. (Baunack, Collitz' Samml., II, 6, 2563). In l. 18 (17) after Τέλεσις Πάριος the name of a comic actor is omitted, the first two letters being Ἀφ, with space for seven more letters. In l. 21 (20) the French text is . ΣΑ . for the name of the second tragic actor. My reading is ΔΡΑ . ΩΝ, confirming the conjecture of Capps (p. 117), who proposed Δράκων, which Homolle (B. C. H. XIV, 1890, 502) had restored in IV, l.

18 for Hauvette-Besnault's *Ἀσαράκων*. Line 24 (23), which has aroused a good deal of discussion, is longer than the others and almost touches the inscription in the next column. The first editor reported "*Αὐτόνομος* (espace vide) (nom effacé)", and in the majuscule copy for the "nom effacé" gave ΣΟ . . ΑΙ. Brinck saw that a proper name is not wanted here, but rather a "novum artificum genus", and suggested *κιθαρωιδοί* or *ῥαψωιδοί*. Capps (pp. 122 f.), however, argued that the clew to the correct heading is to be supplied by the identification of the class of performers to which the three following names belong, Philemon, Nicostratus, and Ameinias. Now these names occur in close juxtaposition in the list of comic poets victorious at the Lenaea[1] at Athens, C. I. A. II, 977 *g*. Judging by the position of these names with reference to that of Menander, the date of whose first Lenaean victory can be inferred within narrow limits, we learn that the first Lenaean victories of Nicostratus and Ameinias fell in the last years of the fourth century i. e. about twenty years before our inscription. For the elder Philemon we have more exact dates. His first Dionysian victory was won in 327 (Frag. Mar. Par., Wilhelm, Ath. Mitth. XXII, 187; cf. Anon. *π. κωμ.* II, p. 9 Kaibel), but he was active until extreme old age, dying about the time of the Chremonidean war, ca. 263 B. C. (Suid. s. v. *Φιλήμων*). He could therefore have produced a play at Delos in 280. Now on the strength of these considerations Capps concluded that these three persons were *κωμωιδοποιοί* and proposed that this word (which is used in the other Delian inscriptions) or its equivalent (*π*)*ο*[*ητ*]*αὶ* [*κωμωιδιῶν*] should be restored as the heading. And in fact *ποιηταὶ κωμωιδιῶν* is found on the stone. Though the letters have been somewhat mutilated, they can still be made out with absolute certainty. It is hard to see how they could have escaped the French editor.

For the sake of clearness I reproduce my copy of III, omitting the part pertaining to the Dionysia, where my copy agrees entirely with that given in the Bulletin.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Χάρμου (280 B. C.) *οἵδε ἐχορήγησαν*
εἰς Ἀπολλώνια· (παι)δων· Δημοκράτης,
Πύρραιθος Φιλαίθου,
Ἱερόμβροτος Εὐδήμου,
Ἀλκίμαχος Προξένου.

[1] Not the Dionysian list; cf. Am. Jour. Phil. XX (1899), 388 ff.

οἵδε ἐπεδείξαντο τῶι θεῶι· αὐληταί·
Τιμόστρατος Κυζικηνός, Διόφαντος·
κωμωιδοί, Τέλεσις Πάριος, Ἀφ ,
Ἱερώνυμος, Πολυκλῆς, Μενεκλῆς,
Σιμίας Ἀθηναῖος, Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς·
τραγωιδοί· Θεμίστων, Δρά[κ]ων,
Διονύσιος, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἡγήσιππος·
κιθαριστής· Λύσανδρος· (ὁ)[1]ρ[χησταί]
Αὐτόνομος, Ν ποιηταὶ κωμωιδιῶν·
Φιλήμων, Νικόστρατος, Ἀμεινίας.

We are glad to know the names of a few of the comic poets who brought out plays at Delos. In VII, l. 25 (263 B. C.) we have Nicomachus the Athenian, and in VIII, l. 26 (259 B. C.) Chrysippus. We now possess three more names. Philemon is probably, as I have indicated above, Philemon the elder, rather than his son, who was known as *νεώτερος* and is so designated in the Athenian record C. I. A. II, 975, col. III, l. 11; cf. Suid. s. v. *Φιλήμων νεώτερος*.[2] Our Nicostratus must be the poet of the New Comedy. Meineke Hist. Crit. I, p. 346 thought that there was but one poet of the name, but fresh light is brought by C. I. A. II, 977 *g*. l. 14 and by our Delian inscription. One Nicomachus is assigned to the Middle Comedy by Athen. 587 d. He must be the one who is reported to be the son of Aristophanes and confounded with Philetaerus, and may be identical with the comic poet of the Icarian inscription C. I. A. IV, 2, 1281 b, as Buck surmised (see Kirchner, No. 11038). The other poet is assigned to the New Comedy by Harpocration s. v. *ὀρνιθευτής*. We know nothing further about Ameinias than that he is identical with the poet of the Athenian list, mentioned above. See Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. I Heft, s. v. Ameinias.

[1] The stone ΔP, as H.-B., but Capps' correction (p. 120 f.) is likely.

[2] Kirchner, Prosop. Att. No. 14276, following Köhler, distinguishes a third comic poet Philemon, and he must be right if insc. II, 975, col. III is to be dated ca. 184/3. The designation *νεώ(τερος)* was in that case intended to distinguish him from the second of the name, the son of the great Philemon. And the Philemon in the victor's list C. I. A. II, 977 *l* might seem to favor this view. But the dates at present assigned to the fragments of 975 cannot be regarded as even approximately correct; cf. Dittenberger, Syl.[2], No. 697, n. 7. Wilhelm's long-awaited edition of these inscriptions will doubtless settle this and many other open questions on the chronology of the comic poets.

IV, 279 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 108. In l. 5 for Κ . . *ίθου* read Κναίθου. The name is not found in Pape's Eigennamen nor in Fick-Bechtel's Personennamen; cf., however, Πύρραιθος, which occurs in II and III, and Φίλαιθος, which is found in III.

V, 268 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 110. In l. 32 the stone reads Ἱερώνυμος, as Capps (p. 119) conjectured, not Ἱέρωνος. This is the comic actor whose name occurs also in III. He appears as victor at the Lenaea at Athens in the year 289 (C. I. A. II, 972; cf. Am. Jour. Arch. IV (1900), 74 ff.) and was four times victorious at that festival (C. I. A. II, 977 *uv*). In l. 33 Χόρηγος is the reading on the stone, Hauvette-Besnault read χορηγ . . , taking it as a caption. Paris (B. C. H. IX, 153) conjectured χορηγ[ός]. But Brinck (p. 197) restored it as a proper name, the name of a comic actor, like Ergophilus who precedes. There can now be no doubt about this. Before Choregus we have the famous comic actor Ἱερώνυμος and after him the names of Κά[λ]λιπ(π)ος and Κλεόξενος. Callippus has been identified with the comic actor at the Lenaea at Athens in 306 B. C. (C. I. A. II, 1289) and credited with four Lenaean victories in C. I. A. II, 977 *uv*, while Cleoxenus is one of the comic actors at the Soteria in the year 272. Choregus must, therefore, also be the name of a comic actor. A. Muller[1] conjectures that he was a grandson of the comic poet Choregus mentioned in C. I. A. II, 977 *f*. The name is not, in fact, a common one, no Athenian of this name being known, for example (cf. Kirchner).

VII, 263 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 112. In l. 8 before Ἀναξιθέμιδος the stone gives ΗΣ and the name must be [Πάχ]ης Ἀναξιθέμιδος, who in V was choregus at the Apollonia and in VI (265 B. C.) at the Dionysia. We have a good many cases in these inscriptions of the recurrence of the same name among the choregi of different years (Von Schöffer, p. 141, n. 121), but if my reading of ΗΣ here is right, we have the first case of a man serving three times, and that within ten years. Brinck, (p. 199), who thought of this possible restoration, regarded it as improbable on this account, though Von Schöffer seems to restore as I have done. In l. 12 I read Ανσιδήμου for Αν[σανί]ου. In l. 24 after the comic actor Φιλωνίδης Hauvette-Besnault indicates space for five letters and then *-αρχος*. But there is space for only about three letters;

[1] Philologus LXI (1902), 160. Both he, and Körte in the Suppl. to Pauly-Wissowa, seem not to have known that the credit for the correct interpretation of this word belongs to Brinck.

I read [Ἵππ]αρχος, the stone showing traces of the two first letters. No comic actor of this name is known from other sources. Our actor could scarcely be the ὑποκριτής, Νεαίρας ἐραστής, of [Dem.] 59, 26, who Kirchner (Prosop. 7599) suggests may be the tragic actor of C. I. A. II, 977 *o*, for the date of this oration is between 343 and 340 according to Blass (Att. Bered. III, 1, 536).

I may add here a note on the omission of the bar in Θ and A, which led to Hauvette-Besnault's strange error of ὀλυματοποιός for θαυματοποιός (Dragoumis in B. C. H. VII, 384). Dragoumis suggested that the point of the Θ and the bar of the A escaped the eye of the copyist. This is not the case, for neither exists on the stone in this inscription and are often omitted in other inscriptions of this series. They were undoubtedly painted in, and whenever in these inscriptions we find Ε for E, Λ for A, or O for Θ, we may be certain, I think, that the missing stroke was supplied in color, of which distinct traces still remain, especially in VIII.

VIII, 259 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 114. In ll. 19, 20, if the reading Ἱεροκλέ[ους] were correct, the preceding name would have had fourteen or fifteen letters, which is not probable. The stone actually gives at the end of l. 19 ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ and in l. 20 . . . Σ. Read therefore Ἱεροκλείδης, as Capps (p. 119) suggested. In the space before this name, accordingly, stood the name of a comic actor and his ethnicon, in all probability. In l. 21 the stone reads clearly ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΔΙΣΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ and in l. 22 . . ΛΚΙΔΕΥΣ, confirming Capps' conjecture (p. 119) Σωτίων Ἀκαρνὰν δίς, Παράμονος Χαλκιδεύς for Hauvette-Besnault's Ἀκαρν[άν, Ἠ]λις Παραμόνο[υ]] δεύς. The editor evidently did not see the lower line of the Δ. It is not so well cut as the rest of the letter, but it still exists and was of course perfectly clear when the color was fresh. We have the name of a Paramonos, probably a Chalcidian, in an inscription Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1902, 111, Παράμονος Ἀπολλοδώρου. The ethnicon is not given, but the inscription was found at Chalcis. In l. 24 the majuscule copy gives "ΟΝΣΙΕΠΠΟΣ vide". But Ὀνήσιππος is clear. A name followed, but the stone is so mutilated that I could not read it.

IX, not long after 263 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 115. ΚΑΤΑΤΟΝ reported in l. 9 should be read in the line below. The text in l. 9 is ΚΑΤΕΟΥΝ, omitted altogether by the editor.

X, 201 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 117. In l. 34 read ΚΑΔΩΣ, not ΚΑΛΩΣ. The same word κάδος occurs in the inventories in

V, VI, VII, and VIII. In l. 59 the stone gives ΓΟΡΓΙΕΙΟΝ, not ΤΟΡΕΥΤΟΝ. The *φιάλη γοργίειος* occurs several times in XII.

XII, 171 B. C.; B. C. H. IX, 147. In ll. 76, 77 Paris read Αυ . . . δος as a proper name. Wilhelm proposed λυ[ρωι]δός as a caption; Capps (p. 121)[1] αὐ[λωι]δός. The reading is ΑΥΛΟΙΔΟΣ. The third letter cannot have been Ρ; therefore the performer was certainly an *αὐλωιδός*.

While studying these choregic inscriptions at Myconos I took occasion to look at No. 270, published in B. C. H. XIV (1890), 389 ff. At the end of this inscription Homolle reads *εἰς τὸ* λ | [*ογε*]*ῖον τῆς σκηνῆς* | *μον τετράπηχυν*. The word λογεῖον was considered a probable restoration by Dörpfeld, but doubted by his collaborator Reisch.[2] Both make the mistake of including the λ in the brackets, for it is clear on the stone and is given in Homolle's copy. The source of the dispute which has arisen about this word lies in the simple fact that it is always given as λ|[*ογε*]*ῖον*, which is not possible, since there is not space enough at the beginning of the line for three letters before *-ιον*. My reading was, at the end of l. 134, ΛC, and at the beginning of l. 135 -ΕΙΟΝ. Homolle's reading must therefore be simply changed to λο|[*γ*]*εῖον*. I feel sure that any epigraphist, after an examination of the stone, would agree that this is the correct reading.

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[1] His *αὐ*[*λωι*]*δοί* on p. 121 is evidently a misprint; cf. p. 137 *αὐ*[*λωι*]*δός*.

[2] Griech. Theat., p. 148 and p. 301.

V.—SOME REFERENCES TO SEASICKNESS IN THE GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.

My interest in this somewhat forbidding subject dates back to the year 1896, when, while crossing the ocean, I read, in a little periodical published by the White Star line, the statement that no references to seasickness occur in the ancient writers, whence it was inferred that the complaint is purely a modern one. I have since tried to get a copy of this periodical, but I find that it is out of print.

Since one or two eminent philologists, to whom I spoke of the matter that summer, had no more information than I myself had, and since the handbooks and commentaries seem to be entirely silent on the subject, the references which I have since collected may be of some interest.

Probably the most familiar passage is that in Hor. Epist. I. 1. 93 conducto navigio aeque nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis. It is rather curious that no editor except myself cites a parallel passage in this connection—or indeed in connection with the other references to the subject in classical literature, so far as I know—or raises the question whether the complaint was a common one, as we might perhaps infer from this reference alone; though I must admit that I probably should not have done so if my attention had not been called to the matter in the way I have mentioned.

Horace apparently has another reference in Epod. 9. 35 vel quod fluentem nauseam coerceat, metire nobis Caecubum. Here many editors regard *nauseam* as referring to the effect of excessive potations, especially of the sweet Chian and Lesbian wines. I think, however, that the word means "seasickness", with a punning allusion, of course, to Horace's disgust at Antony's conduct. This interpretation may not, as some claim, be preferable to the other on grounds of decency in the case of a Roman poet, and one so little fastidious as Horace, but it seems more appropriate to the situation. The use of *nausea* in this double sense suits the reference to the sea; and on the other hand, immediately after calling for wine in large cups, to celebrate

the victory, Horace would not be likely to anticipate the effect on his stomach. Such thoughts arise more commonly on the following morning. But if Horace was subject to seasickness, he might well, when in the grasp of Neptune, regulate his beverages accordingly. I should translate the passage as follows: "Give me Chian or Lesbian in huge cups, or rather (since I am on the sea—in imagination or actually) pour me out Caecuban, to stay my rising qualms (of seasickness—disgust)".

That the subject is not mentioned in the Homeric poems cannot be taken as evidence that the people of those times were immune. It might be said that the subject is not one which would be likely to be mentioned in epic poetry. And yet, considering the story of Elpenor, in Odyss. X. 552–560, who fell into a drunken sleep on the roof of Circe's palace, and "forgetting in his mind to descend backwards, when he came to the long ladder", fell from the roof and broke his neck; or the realistic account of the throwing overboard of Menoetes by Gyas in Aen. V. 172–180; and various other incidents of the same kind; it does not seem impossible that in the lighter passages, and of the humbler personages, some mention of so vulgar a complaint might have been made with comic effect. But since, as we shall see, the humorous aspect of the complaint does not seem to have struck the ancients so forcibly as it does the moderns, the lack of references can hardly be regarded as significant.

With reference to the Homeric heroes, we have the jesting remark of Seneca, Epist. 53. 4 illud scito, Ulixem non fuisse tam irato mari natum, ut ubique naufragia faceret: nausiator erat. This seems unquestionably a reference to the proverbial seasick pilot mentioned below, who seems to have escaped the vigilance of our collectors of proverbs.[1]

The fact that the earliest reference in Greek seems to occur in Aristophanes, and that the references as a whole are somewhat less numerous than those in Latin, may be because the seafaring Greeks were less subject to the malady than the Romans, or an evidence of better taste; or it may be purely accidental. I should reject the second hypothesis for the reasons already given, and the first seems improbable because such references as do occur are of a matter-of-fact nature, as if to a

[1] Otto, A. L. L. VI. 22, cites Sen. Epist. 85. 29 tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est. Cf. Sutphen, A Collection of Latin Proverbs, p. 137.

common and well-known thing. Thus Arist. Rhet. III. 4. 3 *ὁ Δημοσθένης τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι ὁμοιός ἐστι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ναυτιῶσιν.* A reference which is clearly of a proverbial character occurs in Plato, Legg. 639 B *χρηστὸς δὲ ἄρχων ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἐν πλοίοις πότερον ἐὰν τὴν ναυτικὴν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην μόνον, ἄν τ' οὖν ναυτιᾷ ἄν τε μή; . . . τί δ' ἄρχων στρατοπέδων ἆρ' ἐὰν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην, ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν, κἂν δειλὸς ὢν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπὸ μέθης τοῦ φόβου ναυτιᾷ;* Closely parallel to the latter reference, and undoubtedly suggested by it, or by the same proverb, is the one in Sen. Epist. 108. 37 non magis mihi potest quisquam talis prodesse praeceptor, quam gubernator in tempestate nauseabundus . . . quid me potest adiuvare rector navigii attonitus et vomitans?

Seneca himself was subject to the malady, as appears from Epist. 53. 3 nausia me segnis haec et sine exitu torquebat, quae bilem movet nec effundit. To this annoying phase of the disorder Celsus refers from the physician's standpoint in I. 3, p. 17. 28 D. qui navigavit, et nausea pressus est . . . si sine vomitu nausea fuit, etc. Seneca's suffering was so great that he insisted on being put ashore, and more fortunate than some victims of modern times, he carried his point: institi ergo gubernatori et illum, vellet nollet, coegi petere litus.

In two other passages Seneca refers to seasickness as a thing to be expected: Epist. 53. 5 ut primum stomachum, quem scis non cum mari nausiam effugere, collegi . . . hoc coepi mecum cogitare; De Ira III. 37. 3 numquis se hieme algere miratur? Numquis in mari nausiare, in via concuti? It may have been this tendency on Seneca's part which led him to refer to the subject more often than any other ancient writer, although my own interest in the question was not aroused in that way. I have always been kindly treated by Neptune—o di immortales, avertite et detestamini, quaeso, hoc omen! If, as some modern experts believe, the seat of the trouble is the eye, Horace, who was *lippus*, may have been led by personal experience to refer to seasickness alone among Roman poets outside of comedy, so far as I have observed.

Nervous men, such as Seneca seems to have been, are said to be especially unhappy at sea, and we should expect Cicero, who was of the same temperament, to suffer in a similar way. An indication that he did is the fact that he mentions the subject several times, and once in such a way as to imply that he usually succumbed, while one passage convicts his friend Atticus of a

similar weakness. These references are: ad Att. V. 13. 1 navigavimus sine timore et sine nausea, apparently an unusual and noteworthy experience; ad Fam. XVI. 11. 1 (to Tiro) festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam suscipias aeger et periculose hieme naviges; ad Att. V. 21. 3 illa tua epistula, quam dedisti nauseans Buthroto. It is possible that this tendency eventually hastened his end, for we read of him in Sen. Rhet. Suas. 6. 17 unde aliquotiens in altum provectum cum modo venti adversi rettulissent, modo ipse iactationem navis, caeco volvente fluctu, pati non posset, taedium tandem eum et fugae et vitae cepit.

Casual allusions are found in Caes. B. C. III. 28. 4 tirones multitudine navium perterriti et salo nauseaque confecti . . . se Otacilio dediderunt; Bell. Afr. 34. 6 legiones equitesque ex navibus egressos iubet ex languore nauseaque reficere; Suet. Calig. 23 cum et Silanus impatientiam nauseae vitasset et molestiam navigandi. Whether the reference in Liv. XXI. 26. 5 necdum satis refectis ab iactatione marituma militibus, is to seasickness, as Professor Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr, has suggested to me, or merely to the general discomforts of a rough voyage, is uncertain. The passages cited above from Caesar and from the Bell. Afr. certainly suggest that the Roman soldiers were troubled in that way, and *iactationem navis* in the passages cited from Sen. Rhet. is most naturally taken as including seasickness. *Iactatio navis* or *marituma* was doubtless a more comprehensive term, including knocking about, loss of sleep, and the like. *Iactatio* without a qualifying word is used by Cicero in this sense, where the meaning is clear from the context: Mur. 2. 4 quo tandem me animo esse oportet prope iam ex magna iactatione terram videntem in hunc, cui video maximas rei publicae tempestates esse subeundas. If these references are to seasickness, there may be others of a similar indirect nature, although I have run across but one. This is in Caes. B. C. III. 28. 5 and is but a few lines after the direct reference in B. C. III. 28. 4 which is cited above. It reads: at veteranae legionis milites, item conflictati et tempestatis et sentinae vitiis, neque ex pristina virtute remittendum aliquid putaverunt, et . . . gubernatorem in terram navem eicere cogunt. In Greek we have one in Alciphron, Epist. II. 4. 9, a passage to which my attention was called by Mr. Lee, of the Central High School, Philadelphia: *καὶ σφόδρα τῶν εὐθαλάσσων γεγένημαι, εὖ οἶδα, καὶ ἐκκλωμένης κώπης ναυτίας ἐγὼ θεραπεύσω. θάλψω σου τὸ ἀσθενοῦν τῶν πελαγισμῶν.* In this passage *ναυτίας* is regarded

both by Jacobs and by Meineke as a gloss explanatory of τὸ ἀσθενοῦν τῶν πελαγισμῶν, which has found its way into the text, and this view seems to me to be correct, and to be demanded by the sense of the passage.

That animals, as well as men, sometimes suffered from seasickness is seen from Bell. Afr. 18. 4 cum . . . Caesaris equites iumenta ex nausea recenti, siti, languore, paucitate, vulneribus defatigata ad insequendum hostem perseverandumque cursum tardiora haberent. Fronto seems to imply that the trouble was more common in hot weather, although of course comparatively little voyaging was done in winter. He says, p. 15 N. hiemps est et crudum mare hibernum est: adesse non potuit. Ubi hiemps praeterierit, vernae tempestates incertae et dubiae moratae sunt. Ver exactum est: aestas est calida et sol navigantis urit et homo nauseat. Autumnus sequitur: poma culpabuntur et languor excusabitur.

As a cure for the disease, or rather as a preventive, Horace's prescription of a dry wine—if his reference is to seasickness, as I have no doubt it is—was probably a favorite one, as champagne is to-day. Decidedly less attractive, and doubtless less popular, was that proposed by Pliny, N. H. XXVII. 52 nauseas maris arcet in navigationibus potum absinthium.

Plato incidentally shows that, as is notoriously the case in modern times, the sufferers became wholly oblivious of external discomforts: see Theaet. 191 A ἐὰν δὲ πάντῃ ἀπορήσωμεν, ταπεινωθέντες, οἶμαι, τῷ λόγῳ παρέξομεν ὡς ναυτιῶντες πατεῖν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι ὅτι ἂν βούληται. It has been observed that Plato here seems to follow Soph. Ajax 1142 ff., though the idea was probably a proverbial one. The words of Sophocles are as follows:

ἤδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ γλώσσῃ θρασὺν
ναύτας ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν,
ᾧ φθέγμ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ῥῦρες ἡνίκ' ἐν κακῷ
χειμῶνος εἶχετ', ἀλλ' ὑφ' εἵματος κρυφεὶς
πατεῖν παρεῖχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων.

Here and in Synesius, Epist. IV. p. 163 D, where we have a very similar passage: μεθῆκεν ὁ κυβερνήτης τὸ πηδάλιον καὶ καταλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν πατεῖν παρεῖχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων: there is no mention of seasickness, but the general symptoms seem to suggest it, as well as Plato's version. In Synesius, at least, and probably in all three passages, we clearly have another reference to the proverbially

inefficient seasick captain. Ναυτία and its derivatives do not occur in the lexicons to Aeschylus and Sophocles, but this passage from the Ajax is perhaps evidence that reference to so unpoetic a thing is not impossible in the higher walks of literature.

To judge from the vast number of jests on seasickness in modern times, we should expect it to be made much of by the writers of comedy and satire; but the subject seems to have been taken somewhat more seriously in antiquity. In Greek I have found but one such reference—I must admit that my reading in Greek has not been extensive of late—and that of a rather casual nature. It occurs in Aristoph. Thesm. 882 ff.:

> οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅπως οὐ ναυτιᾷς ἔτ', ὦ ξένε,
> ὅστις γ' ἀκούσας ὅτι τέθνηκε Πρωτέας
> ἔπειτ' ἐρωτᾷς, Ἔνδον ἔστ' ἢ 'ξώπιος;

In Latin the references are somewhat more numerous, though the subject cannot be said to have been done full justice. In Plaut. Amph. 329, lassus sum hercle e navi, ut vectus huc sum: etiam nunc nauseo, the remark seems of a casual nature, though it might have been given a comic effect by appropriate stage business. The reference in Mer. 388 appears to me to be more subtle: in portum huc ut sum advectus, nescioqui animus mihi dolet. Nausea edepol factum credo: verum actutum abscesserit. Here the allusion may be merely to the mental effect of the disorder to which Aristophanes refers; but I am inclined to see rather the same variety of joke as in the following passage from Jerome's Three Men in a Boat. ch. II: "If you were to stand at night by the seashore with Harris, and say: 'Hark! Do you not hear? Is it but the mermaids singing deep below the waving waters; or sad spirits chanting dirges for white corpses, held by seaweed', Harris would take you by the arm and say: 'I know what it is, old man; you've got a chill. Now, you come along with me. I know a place round the corner, where you can get a drop of the finest Scotch whiskey you ever tasted—put you right in less than no time.'" That is, Charinus says, 'my mind is troubled'. To which Demipho replies, 'Oh! that's seasickness: you'll soon be all right'. Somewhat similar is the jest in Stichus 749 totus doleo. Potus? tantum miserior, although here totus is purposely misunderstood as potus. Cf. Most. 375 ego disperii. Bis peristi? qui potest?

Festus, p. 166 Th. d. P. also cites Plautus in the Artemo, . . . lionum nauteam fecisset, which is expanded in the Forcellini-De Vit Lexicon into unguentum quod navibus mulionum nauteam fecisset (Müller in his edition of Festus has *naribus*). The other lexicons follow the Forcellini in giving *nauteam* in this passage the meaning of "seasickness", or "nausea", but since this would be the only example in Latin literature of the spelling *nautea* in this sense, and as Plautus himself elsewhere uses *nausea* and *nauseo* of seasickness, I believe that the word either means "bilge-water", or has the general meaning of an offensive odor which is derived from that signification; very likely the latter would best suit the connection with *muliones*, if the mutilated word in Festus is to be thus filled out, as seems probable enough. Plautus elsewhere uses *nautea* in the sense of "bilge-water" or something similar; the former meaning will suit all the passages in which the word occurs: cf. Asin. 894 nauteam bibere malim . . . quam illam oscularier; Curc. 100 omnium unguentum odor prae tuo nautea est; Cas. 1018 ircus unctus nautea.

In Satire we have the passage of Horace which was quoted at the beginning, while Petronius, in his romance, 103, gives us the most vivid picture of all ancient writers: unus ex vectoribus, qui acclinatus lateri navis exonerabat stomachum nausea gravem, notavit sibi ad lunam tonsorem intempestivo inhaerentem ministerio, execratusque omen, quod imitaretur naufragorum ultimum votum, in cubile reiectus est. Nos dissimulata nauseantis devotione ad ordinem tristitiae redimus.

The words ναυτία, ναυσία, with the corresponding Latin forms, seem to have received little attention from the phonologists. The original form in Greek was ναυτία, which in accordance with the well-known rule that τ in the middle of words before ι followed by another vowel becomes σ in all dialects, should become ναυσία. As a matter of fact, ναυτία and ναυτιάω occur in all the examples which I have found in Greek. Kretschmer, K. Z. XXX. 573 cites Ionic ναυσίη, and suggests that ναυτία is due to the analogy of ναύτης and ναυτίλος, and ναυσίη to that of *ναύσιος in ἐπιναύσιος and περιναύσιος. This is a reasonable hypothesis, so far as ναυτία is concerned, though ναυσίη, which is not cited by the lexicons and is certainly rare, seems to need no justification. See also Smyth, The Ionic Dialect, p. 304.

Why the prevailing form in Latin, where the word is a loan-word, as is incidentally shown by the failure of the *s* to suffer

rhotacism, is *nausea*, does not seem to have been explained. *Nautea* also occurs, but in a different sense, except for the possible exception in Plaut. Artemo, which I do not regard as an exception. Paul. Fest. s. v. *nautea*, says: herba granis nigris qua coriarii utuntur, a nave ductum nomen, quia nauseam facit permutatione T in S. No other mention of this plant is found, and it seems to be an invention of the lexicographer; cf. Non. 8. 6 nautea est aqua de coriis, vel quod est verius, aqua de sentina, dicta a nautis. *Nautea*, "bilge-water", seems to have become a general term for any bad smell, such as that which is associated with the tanner's trade. Cf. Juv. XIV. 203 neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter unguenta et corium, and Mayor's note, who says that tanning and similar offensive trades were restricted to the Transtiberine region. The numerous derivatives in Latin, *nauseare*, *nauseator*, *nauseabundus*, *nauseabilis*, *nauseola*, to which corresponding forms are not found in Greek, always have *s*.

I would suggest that the forms *nautea* and *nausea* were both taken into Latin with a difference of meaning: both occur in Plautus and the latter only in Plautus, except in the lexicographers; while *sentina* occurs first in Cicero and his contemporaries. *Nautea* was displaced at an early period by *sentina*, and disappeared. The connection between the two meanings of *nautea* and *nausea*, and the loss of the former, are suggested by a passage in the Comment. Einsid. in Gramm. Lat. VIII. 214. 32. K. inde nausea dicitur vomitus, qui fit propter sentinam. Had *nautea* then been in use, it would have served better than *sentina* to show the derivation. The meaning of *nausea* was also extended to cover any kind of nausea, physical or mental, and from any cause. Though the derived meaning became more common than the original one, the example from Pliny which is cited above, is the only one I know of in which a qualifying word is used for definiteness; of course the sense of "seasickness" would usually be evident from the context, as indeed it is in the passage from Pliny. Pliny's expression is also unique in using the plural.

As regards the orthography of the Latin words, *nausea* should represent the high Latin, and *nausia* the low Latin form. Keller, Epileg. 383 regards *nauseam* as the spelling of the archetype in Hor. Epod. 9. 35, and he also reads *nauseat* in Epist. I. 1. 93 (a few inferior MSS have *nausiat*). In his note on the former

passage he cites *nausia* as a vulgar form in Petr. 64, but Bücheler reads *nausea* there (codex H has *nausia*) and in 103, where there seems to be no variant reading. *Nausea* is the form used in the standard editions in all the passages cited, including Plautus, the Bell. Afr., and Cicero's letters, except in Seneca. Haase reads *nausia*, *nausiare*, *nausiator*, and *nausiabundus*, and Hense, in his edition of the Epistulae, also reads the forms with *i*, except in 103. 37, where he has *nauseabundus*, which is changed to *nausiabundus* in codex B. Elsewhere I have found no variant readings, except in Plin. N. H. XXVII. 52, where codd. F and V have *nausia*. If the manuscript tradition is correct, it is difficult to understand why Seneca uses the forms with *i*. Considering the predominance of the spelling *nausea* in so many different writers, the preservation of *nauseabundus* and the change to *i* in one manuscript suggest that Seneca also used the forms in *e*, and that they were changed by the scribes. It is noteworthy that there is no example of confusion between *nausea* and *nautea*, a circumstance which adds to the probability of the suggestion made above, that the difference between these two words was not merely one of orthography, but of meaning.[1]

JOHN C. ROLFE.

[1] Since these notes left my hands, Professor E. B. Clapp, of the University of California, has called my attention to the passage in Plutarch, Aitia Physica, IA′, where the question is discussed, Διὰ τί μᾶλλον ναυτιῶσι τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντες ἢ τοὺς ποταμούς, κἂν ἐν γαλήνῃ πλέωσι; Professor F. G. Moore, of Dartmouth, sent me one from Tac. Hist. I. 31 invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos atque inde reversos longa navigatione aegros impensiore cura Galba refoverat. Here *longa navigatione aegros* would seem to be the effect of *iactatio marituma* doubtless including *nausea*. Another indirect reference which had escaped me is in Juv. VI. 98 ff.

At the last moment I have received from Professor G. D. Kellogg, of Williams, Diodorus Siculus IV. 47. 4 (with reference to the myth of Phrixos and Helle) διαπλεῦσαι γὰρ αὐτόν φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νεὼς προτομὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πρῴρας ἐχούσης κριοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλην δυσφοροῦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ ναυτίᾳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τῆς νεὼς ἐκκύπτουσαν, εἰς τὴν θάλατταν προπεσεῖν.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Complete Works of John Lyly, now for the first time collected and edited from the earliest Quartos, with Life, Bibliography, Essays, Notes, and Index. By R. WARWICK BOND, M. A. 3 vols. Dêmy 8vo. Vol. i, pp. xvi, 543; ii, pp. iv, 574; iii, pp. iv, 620; with 3 full-page plates. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1902.

"Four years of continuous and exclusive work", Mr. Bond confesses, have been devoted to the preparation of these comprehensive volumes; and obviously that work, the reader will hasten to add, has been sustained by strength of convictions and inspired by unflagging enthusiasm; it has had a mission behind it, the mission of reclaiming from neglect and ignorance "one of the most distinct of Elizabethans". Mr. Bond puts the matter thus: "These volumes deal, in the first place, with the earliest English writer with an acute sense of form, or, . . . at least with the first who made Englishmen feel that prose was an art; also with the first English novelist, and—though this is a point of quite minor importance—with one of the most admired and conspicuous men of letters of the period 1580–1600. They deal, in the second place, with the first regular English dramatist, the true inventor and introducer of dramatic style, conduct, and dialogue; and, in these respects, the chief master of Shakespeare and (but mainly through the latter) of Ben Jonson, and the attendant host of playwrights. There is no play before Lyly. He wrote eight; and immediately thereafter England produced some hundreds—produced that marvel and pride of the greatest literature in the world, the Elizabethan Drama. What the long infancy of her stage had lacked was an example of form, of art; and Lyly gave it." These statements are destined to receive much attention. Mr. Bond is not disturbed at the prospect, but calmly and confidently asks of the critic only this, that he be thoughtful, and that he study the evidence laid before him.

Whatever modifications of Mr. Bond's judgments may be made,—for surely many will be made,—the obligation to him for the first complete edition of Lyly's works will remain to evoke the gratitude of scholars. Few critics will indeed have a sustained and uniform interest in every department of Lyly's activity, but the complete record thus brought together will more and more lead to that comprehensive view that will make amends for partial and distorted judgments and for belated praise. The inclusion of the anonymous play 'The Maydes Metamorphosis'

('A Warning for Faire Women' is rejected, its attribution to Lyly deserving "no support") will contribute to a closer study of Lyly's manner; and the unsifted appendix of poems (including 'The Bee' (hitherto attributed to the Earl of Essex, but by Bond confidently claimed for Lyly) will also stimulate scrutiny.[1] The editor's determination to give the fullest view of his author is shown in the expenditure of "months of labour" in selecting half a dozen 'Epigrams' from Addit. Ms. 15,227. These will have to be considered by the student of Shakespeare's 'Lucrece' (G. Sarrazin, 'Beiblatt zur Anglia' xv, 98).

But Mr. Bond's volumes are more than mere material for scrutiny and special investigations. It is not the shield of the faithful editor that he relies upon for defence, but he has courageously entered the arena of controversy on every important question connected with the active career of his author. Thus, his "Life" of Lyly is in itself a fine example of an exhaustive study and interpretation of the accessible records, while the "Bibliographical Appendix" is noteworthy for the report of newly discovered records and letters that throw additional light on some periods of Lyly's life, and bring the "Entertainments" claimed for him and his relations with "important folk" into clearer view. Although the "Life" contains much that in detail relates to the works of the author, the editor has evaded no expenditure of labor in reconstructing essays on the chief departments of Lyly's authorship. There is an "Essay on Euphues and Euphuism", another "On Lyly as a Playwright" (the "Note on Italian Influence in Lyly's Plays" is also to be specially mentioned); "the Marprelate Controversy" is surveyed, appropriately and fully enough, in the "Life." Moreover, there are prefixed to the texts discussions bibliographical and critical, ample in detail and well considered; and following the texts are notes that place Mr. Bond high in the rank of commentators.

The student of Euphuism will naturally turn to Mr. Bond for the most recent complete view of the subject, and he will not be unrewarded. It is, however, undeniably true that Mr. Bond is here not at his best in the *rôle* of reporter of the work of his predecessors. At this point, unhappily, he has faltered for just a moment, and, in refutation of his own painstaking method, feebly exclaimed against an essay "wherein elaboration reaches a point almost inimical to literary study". Inasmuch as Mr. Bond had previously tried his hand in this matter ('Quarterly Review' for January, 1896), it is all the more surprising that he should now fail in a methodical compilation. External proof of

[1] Mr. H. Littledale has already reclaimed 'The Bee' for Essex, and has further added: "I have studied Mr. Bond's conjectural 'Doubtful Poems' of Lyly very carefully, and the impression they leave on my mind is that not only did Lyly not write a single line of them, but also that it now becomes very much more doubtful than before whether he was capable of writing 'Cupid and my Campaspe'."—'The Athenaeum', Feb. 28, 1903.

looseness of method is at once furnished by the detachment of the "Additional Note" (i, 539); it contains nothing that should not have had an organic place in the "Introductory Essay". It is discoverable that Mr. Bond has here relied too much upon his previous presentation of the subject, and, after that, upon Dr. Landmann's "summarized" and "clarified" paper published by the "New Shakspere Society". He should have retaken the path through Dr. Landmann's original treatise and that of Mr. Child, conquering his momentary revulsion of feeling to "elaboration" that is "almost inimical to literary study". Throughout his discussion of Euphuism, moreover, Mr. Bond has prepared the reader for what would otherwise have been a real surprise in his note on 'parison' (i, 540). The ancient use of the word (Quintilian, ix, iii, 75) should have saved Mr. Bond from an habitual playing with the mistaken etymological significance of the term; indeed the modern glass-blower might have taught him better. There is, however, an objection that might be urged against the use of 'parison' (adjective) in place of the correctly formed name of the process, 'parisosis' (Volkmann, 'Rhetorik'[2] p. 482; Gerber, 'Die Sprache als Kunst' ii, 135, 140). The old word cancels the demand for such an unshapely coin as 'clause-parallelism'.

In acknowledging the receipt of Macaulay's 'Essay on Milton', Jeffrey wrote to the young author, "The more I think, the less I can conceive where you picked up that style". The subjective elements of a marked style are usually developed by external 'educational' circumstances that are more or less clearly traceable. There is an external history of Lyly's style, and the principal facts are well known; but there is still a division of opinion in detail. Lyly's debt to Pettie is now perhaps duly acknowledged, and Pettie is probably destined to become more intimately known (see 'The Nineteenth Century' for February, 1904); but there is still no agreement in the distribution of honors between Lord Berners and Sir Thomas North, to say nothing of the inadequate study of classical influences. Mr. Bond might easily have contributed more to the determination of results by an exact collation of 'The Golden Book' and 'The Dial'. That North has transferred into 'The Dial' chapters and long passages from 'The Golden Book' (e. g., the first chapter of the Letters, cap. lviii of 'The Dial' is cap. xxvi, 1 of 'The Golden Book'; cap. xxxviii of 'The Golden Book' is cap. lxiii in 'The Dial'; cap. lxviii of 'The Dial' becomes the fourteenth Letter of 'The Golden Book'; cap. lvii of 'The Dial' becomes, in somewhat ampler form however, cap. xlviii of 'The Golden Book'; and cap. lxv of 'The Dial' becomes the first Letter of 'The Golden Book') should have been completely reported. A thorough comparison of the two works would reveal an agreement in style of which Mr. Bond gives no intimation. Granted that Lyly used North's book rather than Berners', the English source of

the style remains to be determined by the relation of the second translator to the first. Moreover, a collation of the different editions of the original book from which Berners and North made their translations is required, and the difference in the linguistic attainments of the translators should not be neglected.

Mr. Bond's volumes contain so much that will remain valuable for the study of the plays that it is difficult, in a brief notice, to convey a notion of all he has done. His annotations are, of course, not complete. Echoes of Lyly in Shakespeare that have not reached him will from time to time be caught by other ears. The comedy of the master will be brought into clearer relation at many points with that of his clever predecessor because of the way traversed by Mr. Bond. But special attention will be attracted to two questions connected with the plays that are handled by Mr. Bond with marked originality and independence of judgment,—the question of the allegorical interpretation of the 'Endimion', and the question of the dramatic maturity of 'The Woman in the Moone'.

Mr. Baker's conclusion ('Endymion' p. lxxxiv) is "that 'Endymion', with its figures and similes that are the same as figures and similes in both parts of the 'Euphues', was first acted after the publication of the 'Anatomie of Wit' and before the publication of the 'England', but when all of the 'England', except possibly the 'Glass for Europe', had been written for some months". Mr. Child, on the other hand, had seen in the 'Campaspe' features of style that associated it in the closest manner with the 'Euphues'; in the 'Endimion', a later development of the 'Euphuistic' manner. Mr. Bond sustains Mr. Child's judgment, and accordingly places the 'Campaspe' at the head of the chronological list, and the 'Endimion' in the fourth place. But it is with reference to the allegory of the 'Endimion' that Mr. Bond's arguments are most significant. He expounds the allegory in a manner more convincing than that of Mr. Halpin or that of Mr. Baker. The Earl of Leicester remains Endimion, and Queen Elizabeth remains Cynthia; but a radical change of the programme is effected by the substitution of Mary Queen of Scots as the original of Tellus. Well defined limits for the date of the play (May to November, 1585) are thus inferred. The ingenious and usually convincing character of Mr. Bond's argument is finely shown in his method of discovering Sir Amyas Paulet to be the original of Corsites. Paulet was charged with the custody of the Queen of Scots, and in his rigid puritanic honesty rejected his royal prisoner's secret overture for a relaxed watchfulness. "This incident (says Mr. Bond, iii. 92), which affords a parallel for Tellus' deceptive promises to Corsites (iv. 1. p. 54), is related by Froude as occurring at the commencement of Paulet's appointment in 1585. Among other details of his guardianship of Mary, Froude relates that when she wished her apartments, which looked upon the castle court, changed to others commanding

a view of the open country, Paulet refused, from a conviction that she would use the opportunity thus afforded to exchange signals with some of the messengers ever on the watch to carry communications to her friends. This detail is probably the suggestion of Tellus' remark—'I maruell Corsites giueth me so much libertie: all the world knowing his charge to bee so high, and his nature to bee so straunge; who hath so ill intreated Ladies of great honour, that he hath not suffered them to *look out of windowes*, much lesse to walke abrode': and her further remark at the end of the scene, 'I will in, and laugh with *the other Ladies* at Corsites sweating', probably has reference to the mischievous enjoyment by Mary and her train of their continual efforts to elude her gaoler's vigilance". Interesting, too, though to a subordinate degree, is Mr. Bond's identification of Sir Philip Sidney (not the Earl of Sussex, as Halpin thought) in the character of Eumenides, and the substitution of Gabriel Harvey for Stephen Gosson as the original of Sir Topas. At every step Mr. Bond is cautious enough not to require too much of the allegory, and finally confesses (iii, 102) that "its weak point is, doubtless, the want of any definite intrigue against Leicester by Mary or Lady Shrewsbury; but the same weakness", he adds, "is inherent in the theory of Mr. Halpin, and in Mr. Baker's emendation of it".

Some of Mr. Bond's judgments concerning 'The Woman in the Moone' will be disputed. It is Lyly's first play in verse,—"The first he had in Phoebus holy bowre", of the Prologus is thus explained. This fact of form has misled Mr. Bond in his comparison of the plays in Euphuistic details. He overestimates it as to construction of plot, as to merit of literary form, and as to the inherent power of the characters, and consequently places it, one must believe, too late in the list (in the seventh place). "Altogether, in spite of some defects", he concludes, "I am inclined to regard 'The Woman' as the cleverest and most original of Lyly's plays: it certainly possesses the largest share of poetic beauty" (ii, 278). But the 'Midas' and the 'Mother Bombie' are surely closer to the "imitation of life", and represent better dramatic art. Mr. Bond has in this instance left a question in a very unsettled state.

An important aspect of Lyly's dramatic art brings into view the theatrical companies of his day. Few dramatists have not been influenced by the players and the conditions of presentation they have had in mind. If, therefore, the plays of Lyly were comprised in the *rêpertoire* of the St. Paul's Boys, what effect did such Children Companies have upon the dramatist in his preparation of plays? The question is not asked for the first time, nor have the more obvious features of its reply hitherto escaped notice. But there is another aspect of the influence of the Children Companies, and this has perhaps never been surveyed in the full light of all the facts. Lyly's dramatic career

marks the significant central point of view between the petition of the Scholars of St. Paul's addressed to Richard II in 1378 and the Beeston's Boys who continued to play perhaps to the closing of the theatres in 1642 (see A. Albrecht, 'Das englische Kindertheater', Halle, 1883; and Hermann Maas, 'Die Kindertruppen', Bremen, 1901); and many of the most significant complexities in the problem of the development of the regular drama become classified and interpreted by regarding the Children Companies as the result of a second birth of the drama within the church.

With the secularization of the old plays came this new beginning of performances within the church and under its supervision. And it was again in the choir, where the *Quem quaeritis* had begun and gradually grown from antiphonal response through trope and other accretions into the germinal play of the complete cycle, that this second beginning was made—but with a difference; the Scholars of St. Paul's asked for protection against unauthorized presentations of Old Testament history. The choir boys began with dramatic material that was destined to wear out. And the relation of these boys to the schools in time established a relation between the presentations in the churches and those in the schools, and then those at the court and before the academicians. The character of the plays underwent corresponding transformations, and there emerged from these companies the professional player and the essential features of theatrical organization and conduct. How central in all affairs dramatic these companies became is shown by the attention directed to them by "Inhibitions" and in all the controversies respecting theatrical matters, as well as by the attitude towards them on the part of the dramatists. All the women on the stage were impersonated by boys until the Restoration. The Children Companies had served their important purpose.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

A History of French Versification, by L. E. KASTNER, M. A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1903, pp. vi, 312.

The title of Mr. Kastner's book, 'A History of French Versification' is misleading. Professedly based upon Tobler's 'Vom französichen Versbaue'—unfortunately not upon the last edition, as is apparent by a number of omissions—with the subject matter somewhat differently arranged, and at times much expanded, the author has produced a handbook of French poetics, which will be very useful for reference on account of the large number of illustrative examples. But there is not any discussion of the origins of French metres, an omission intentional but not justifiable, for the results of the study of the beginnings of French versification are not so hypothetical as Mr. Kastner seems to think. At the very outset he has failed to give an adequate statement of the

problems of French versification, and in the course of the whole book there is no attempt on the part of the author to trace the development of certain tendencies, which in many cases made the exception become the rule.

From the categorical arrangement of the examples, a novice would get the idea that there had been numerous variations from, and infringements of, certain established metrical rules, but he would look in vain for an account of the principles of the various schools of poetry, the Classic, Romantic, Parnassian and Symbolistic schools, or a statement of the reasons why each successive school revolted from the preceding school, and formulated its own rules. The author may have acted wisely in avoiding the use of the standard French manual but he should certainly have known such books as Sully Prudhomme's 'Reflexions sur l'art des vers', Eichthal's 'Question du rythme dans le vers français' and Kahn's 'Palais Nomades', which were the manifestoes of the doctrines of the several schools to which the writers belonged. But then, most of the recent books and articles on various phases of the subject are simply ignored in the elective bibliography, which heads the book.

A number of misstatements and omissions should be noted. In speaking of the elision of the mute *e* in the enclitic *le* (p. 6) the phrase "after the verb" should have been added, and mention made of the fact that the rule applied in Old French to the other enclitic pronouns, no longer in use. The *i* can be elided in the conjunction *si* but not in the adverb (p. 6). Why are not examples given from the symbolists of elision in the verbal forms *t'es, t'as* (p. 13)? Not "a few", but many examples of mute *-ent* are found in the poets of the early seventeenth century (p. 16). The subjunctive *aies* is regularly counted as only one syllable in modern poetry (p. 18). *Rimes gasconnes, normandes, de Chartres* put under different headings by Mr. Kastner (pp. 72, 75), all represent the same phenomenon, the assimilation of the ö sound to the ü sound. (Cp. K. Nyrop, *Grammaire hist.* vol. I p. 163). Moreover the rime word *meure* is wrongly cited from Villon as an example of this phenomenon (p. 75), as the Latin form * mora developed regularly in Old French into *meure*, which under the influence of the adjective *mûr* and the substantive *mûrier* became *mûre* in modern French.

The explanation of the dialectical rimes, aigne: agne: eigne: egne (p. 73), is meaningless, and the present pronunciation of Montaigne, far from being a relic of this phenomenon, is due to a dialectical spelling of the name Montagne, which was pronounced with *añ* in the last syllable. In order to explain the rimes *Brute: juste; dextre: maistre* in sixteenth century poets, the author states that "Modern French has sometimes (in its wish to approximate to Latin pronunciation) reintroduced letters silent before the seventeenth century",—an explanation which does not explain. Writers of the sixteenth century often made merely

orthographical changes in order to assimilate French words to their primitive Latin forms. Certain of these words came to be pronounced in Modern French as they are spelled as was the case with *juste*, but with none of the others cited. It should have been noted that the mute *e* in the epic cesura comes after the fourth accented syllable, while the mute *e* of the lyric cesura comes after the third accented syllable (pp. 84, 87), and the fact should have been mentioned that there is a choice of only fifteen possible rhythms in the Romantic system (p. 94), to the thirty-six in the classical system. In the discussion of classical versification there is no mention of the important rules in regard to two rests in succession, and the avoidance of a rest on the seventh syllable when there is no rest on the sixth (p. 89). In the chapter entitled "The So-called Poetic Licenses", there is no discussion of actual licenses such as ellipses, etc. There are numerous omissions in the account of "Certain Fixed Forms", and by following Tobler too closely Mr. Kastner has failed to include the experiments of the symbolists in his survey of rimeless poetry.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Greek Sculpture: Its Spirit and Principles. By EDMUND VON MACH, Ph. D. Ginn & Co., 1904.

Dr. von Mach's Greek Sculpture is a welcome addition to the books on Greek art which have appeared in recent years. The book is an octavo volume of upward of three hundred pages and not too heavy to use easily. It has many plates scattered through it and about forty more at the end. To supplement these an atlas with about five hundred further illustrations is to be issued shortly.

The book in general may be described as a series of essays on Greek sculpture, rather than a history of Greek sculpture, and in this respect it differs from the other well-known histories of Greek art. The chief object of the author is to lead the reader to a proper appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of the works which he discusses, and in this he is most successful. In fact the book is much stronger on what may be termed its artistic, as opposed to its archaeological side.

In a book of this kind there must necessarily be many places where opinions will differ. It is a satisfaction to see the author assert, what is undoubtedly true, that Greek sculpture was Greek from the beginning and not due to outside influences, although this is a conclusion which probably many persons are not yet ready to accept. To take another case: Dr. von Mach will probably find few to agree with him when he declares that the Achermos inscription and the winged figure from Delos do not belong together. It is true that Wolters once held this view,

but it is shared in by few other archaeologists. Again: the author also denies the connection of the Antenor base and the female figure which stands upon it in the Acropolis Museum. There is a chance here for an honest difference of opinion, but if Dr. von Mach could compare a cast of the top of the base with the lower part of the statue perhaps he would be more ready to believe that the two belong together.

One misses a chapter on the Sidon sarcophagi, and another on the Attic grave reliefs, but the author no doubt wishes to confine himself as far as possible to the works of the great masters. The chapter on material, technique, etc., might be enlarged with profit without materially increasing the size of the book.

In this book Dr. von Mach has done a real service to the study of Greek art. Students of archaeology are too apt to forget artistic appreciation in the discussion of archaeological detail. This the book aims to correct, and in this it differs from other available handbooks. It thus has a field of its own.

The misprints are few. Note 'Reissner', page 325 and in the index, for 'Reisner'. Errors in proper names are especially irritating.

WILLIAM N. BATES.

1. **Asser's Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of St. Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser.** Edited, with introduction and commentary, by WILLIAM HENRY STEVENSON, M. A. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1904. cxxxi, 386.

We at last have a critical edition of Asser's Life of King Alfred, which Mr. Stevenson pronounces "one of the great *desiderata* of our early historical literature". An introduction of 131 pages is followed by the text of 96 pages. Then comes an appendix of 50 pages containing the Annals of St. Neots,—20 pages of introduction and 30 of text,—followed by about 200 pages of Notes on Asser's Life of King Alfred and 40 pages of an index of proper names. After a very thorough and laborious study of the work Mr. Stevenson's conclusion is stated as follows in the Preface (p. vii): "The net result has been to convince me that, although there may be no very definite proof that the work was written by Bishop Asser in the lifetime of King Alfred, there is no anachronism or other proof that it is a spurious compilation of later date". The introduction comprises the following sections: 1. History of the text; 2. Description of the lost MS; 3. The transcripts; 4. Excerpts from the work in later compilers; 5. The author, Internal evidence of the text; 6. The attacks upon the authenticity of the work; 7. Summary.

The work is full of interpolations, made by Archbishop Parker, chiefly from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Annals of St. Neots, one of the most noted of which is the familiar story of

"the cakes", taken from the Annals of St. Neots. Mr. Stevenson calls this "the most famous of the passages foisted into the Life by Parker" (p. 256), of which he says: "More mischief has been wrought by Parker's interpolation of this long passage than by any of his other falsifications of historic evidence". Mr. Stevenson is sustained in his view of the genuineness of the Life by Pauli and Ebert vs. Wright and others, and he has devoted some thirty pages to a consideration of the charges that have been brought against the work. He says: "We have thus examined the charges brought against the Life, and we have not found one dealing with facts that support the view that the work is of later origin than it pretends to be"; and further: "In the course of a microscopical examination of the work we have failed to discover anything that can be called an anachronism". . . . "This absence of anachronism is an argument in favour of the authenticity of the work". Neither Pauli nor Ebert thinks that the Life has come down to us in its original form, but Mr. Stevenson considers that "both writers are probably influenced in part by the gross interpolations of Parker". He gives the date of composition of the Life as "six years only before the death of the King", i. e., 895 A. D., and says that there are "several features that point to its being composed at least as early as the first half of the tenth century", and that are "compatible with an earlier date". The unique Cottonian MS was entirely destroyed in the great fire of 1731; "the oldest hand dated from about the year 1000 or 1001", and "the later hand cannot have been later in date than the eleventh century". Francis Wise published a facsimile of the MS in 1722, nine years before the fire, and this is our chief authority for the text. He had the authority of the noted scholar, Humphrey Wanley, for the date, and it was he that "assigned the first and earliest hand of the MS to about the year 1000 or 1001", as given above. Archbishop Parker bequeathed a transcript to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,—the most valuable one,—and there are other transcripts in the British Museum, in the Cambridge University Library, and in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Mr. Stevenson states that "the text has been established by a minute collation of the existing transcripts and editions and of the early compilers who embody matter derived from this work", the most valuable of whom is Florence of Worcester (died A. D. 1118), then the author of the so-called Annals of St. Neots,—*not* Asser,—who slavishly copied his originals, then Simeon of Durham. Mr. Stevenson has evidently done his work very carefully and thoroughly, and in such manner that it will not need to be done over again. Scholars are greatly indebted to him for rehabilitating Asser.

Because of the relation of the Annals of St. Neots to the Life of Alfred, Mr. Stevenson prints the text of that work, and prefixes an introduction treating "1. Character of the work;

2. Origin of name; 3. Probably an East Anglian compilation; 4. Date of compilation; 5. Use of Frankish sources; 6. English sources; 7, 8. Version of O. E. Chronicle employed; 9–11. Relations with Florence of Worcester; 12. Compiler does not use William of Malmesbury or Geoffrey of Monmouth; 13. Use of the work by later compilers; 14–16. Description of unique MS; 17. Early transcripts; 18. Previous editions".

The passages drawn from the Life of Alfred and other well-known sources are merely indicated, and these, with the translations from the O. E. Chronicle, "constitute by far the greater part of the work". "Nothing is known of the compiler or of the date or place of the compilation". The work is not continued beyond A. D. 914, and the use of Norman sources proves that it is later than the Conquest, probably later than the year 1104. "The English sources used in the compilation are Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, the Chronicle, the Life of Alfred, Abbo of Fleury's 'Passion of St. Edmund', a life of St. Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, and a life of St. Neot. The text of the latter has not come down to us, but the verses quoted from it occur in a twelfth-century MS life of this saint". These are the verses quoted in the Life of Alfred containing the excoriation of the King by the cowherd's wife in the matter of "the cakes",—referred to above,—and run as follows (p. 41 of the Life):

"Heus homo
urere, quos cernis, panes gyrare moraris,
cum nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes".

It is a pity that we do not know the name of the author of these hexameters, for a literary reputation has sometimes been based on much less foundation.[1]

The compiler of these Annals "makes extensive use of the Life of Alfred, embodying nearly the whole of it". Only one MS of the work is known, formerly belonging to Archbishop Parker, and at present in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A transcript made for the use of Parker is among his MSS at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and an edition was printed from the Trinity College MS at Oxford in 1691 by Thomas Gale, hence its rarity deserved this reprint.

2. The Making of English. By HENRY BRADLEY. New York and London. The Macmillan Company, 1904.

The title of this book is attractive, and when introduced by the name of Dr. Henry Bradley, one of the editors of the Oxford English Dictionary, it was reasonable to expect that we at last had an elementary text-book on its subject which could be confidently commended to school-teachers. I regret to have to say that the result is disappointing. This may be due, in part,

[1] Mr. Stevenson says that "we have no evidence of the existence of this story of Alfred and the cakes before the Norman Conquest."

as Dr. Bradley says in his Preface, "to the desultory manner in which it has been composed", but the only answer to such an excuse is that it was not necessary to compose it. It would take too much space in this Journal to enumerate specific objections. Even "educated readers unversed in philology",—for whom it is intended,—should have a more scientific and systematic treatment of the subject than we find here. It does not lessen the difficulties of a subject to ignore scientific order and arrangement, and to throw together "desultory" essays, however true may be the statements made in them.

It is scarcely correct, from the standpoint of modern philology, to say (p. 35): "Old English had many declensions of substantives". This is going back to the days of Rask and his followers. To say nothing of German and American studies, it disregards the works of Dr. Morris, Professor Skeat, and Mr. Sweet. Too much is made of "the complicated system of strong verbs", and the statement is made that "it remains just as intricate as it was in Old English". It is easily enough understood if it is arranged on a scientific system, but where no help is given to understand it, no wonder it is called "complicated" and "intricate".

In the chapter on "Word-Making in English", many illustrations are drawn from "made-up" words, as *fairation* (p. 137), *dodder* (p. 159), etc., but these are scarce in actual English. The "general reader", ignorant of the subject, may be edified by this book, but the teacher will find it hard to use the book in instruction.

JAMES M. GARNETT.



REPORTS.

Englische Studien.

A considerable number of excellent studies and reviews are to be found in the later volumes; at the same time certain tendencies of the periodical will hardly be admired by its more scholarly readers. At present the field of discussion extends from original research in the English language and literature to Neuere Erzählungsliteratur, Neue Romane, Unterrichtswesen, even including articles on the Boer War and educational acts in England. Breadth of interest is excellent, but it should be distinguished from dissipation of effort. The quality of work in Englische Studien is notably unequal, and falls off especially in articles of popular nature. Popular articles give opportunity for skillful, and even noble workmanship, but they cannot exactly be said to lessen the provincial character of a journal ostensibly devoted to a branch of philology; and when they fail to improve upon Baildon's concluding article on Stevenson (Volume XXVIII) they are intolerable. There is small excuse, too, for such negligence in the matter of proof-reading as appears on nearly every page.

Volume XXXI. 1. Förster. Early Middle English Proverbs. An edition of nineteen proverbs found in MS II 45, Trinity College, Cambridge, and printed in the first edition of Kemble's rare Salomon and Saturnus. The proverbs are in Latin, with Middle English, and, in a few cases, Old French parallels. The date of the collection is about 1200, though several of the proverbs are doubtless much older. It was compiled apparently in Southern Central England, and has traits in common with the so-called Proverbs of Alfred and the Owl and the Nightingale. Several of the proverbs are pure specimens of the Old English long line, chiefly of the A type; others illustrate the verse of Layamon. The editor has cited numerous interesting parallels in his notes, besides compiling a glossary, and furnishing bibliographical material on the subject of Early English proverbs. He adds four proverbs from MS Digby 53, and two from MS Rawlinson C 641, printed by P. Meyer and Stengel.

Knapp. The Diffusion of the Inflected Genitive in *-s* in Middle English. Knapp discusses the subject under the following heads: Die Flexion des Genitivs in Altnorthumbrischen; Der Genitiv Singularis im Späteren Sächsischen; Der Nördliche [Middle English] Dialekt; Der Norden des Östlichen Mittellandes; Chaucer, Londoner Urkunden, Caxton; Das Westliche Mittelland; Der Westliche und Mittlere Süden; Kent und die

Benachbarten Südöstl.-Sächs. Gebiete; Der Genitiv Pluralis; Ursachen der Entwicklung; Wegfall des Suffixes nach Zischlauten und vor *s* des Folgenden Wortes; Der Genitiv der Verwandtschaftsnamen auf *-r;* Eigennamen und Personennamen mit Endungslosem Genitiv Singularis; Ausdruck des Possessiven Verhältnisses durch das dem Substantiv nachgestellte Possessivpronomen *his;* Der Genitiv in der Zusammensetzung. Arising, as it did, in Old Northumbrian, the dissemination of the genitive in *-s* is explained chiefly by a failing sense of grammatical gender, by the leveling of the inflection of the article and the adjective, and by its phonetic convenience. In the South the circumlocution with *of*, among other causes, tended to retard its increase. The study is abundantly illustrated from a rather wide range of Middle English literature.

Holthausen. Studies in Early English Drama. A reprint of two Latin dialogues of Ravisius Textor from an edition of 1651. These dialogues are the sources respectively of the interlude Thersites, and Ingelend's interlude, The Disobedient Child. The author remarks briefly upon the relation of these plays to their originals.

Among the reviews may be mentioned the following: Trautmann, Kleine Lautlehre des Deutschen, Französischen, und Englischen, reviewed by Logeman; Malmstedt, Studies in English Grammar, by Stoffel; Reitterer, Leben und Werke Peter Pindar's, by Machule; Gaebel, Beiträge zur Technik der Erzählung in den Romanen Scott's, by Schnabel.

The Miscellanea include Bemerkungen und Zusätze zu Franz' Shakespeare Grammatik by Ellinger; a note on *Always = at any rate*, by Swaen; a note from Lange opposing Skeat's theory that the Romance of the Rose, B, was translated by James I. of Scotland.

2. Weyrauch. The Squyr of Lowe Degre. A brief discussion of Turk's study of this romance. The author supports him in his belief that the romance is not, like Sir Thopas, a travesty.

Machule. Coleridge's Translation of Wallenstein. An account of its origin drawn from such sources as Schiller's correspondence, and a detailed comparison of the translation with the original. Certain variations, or additions, sometimes thought to have been original with Coleridge, are due to the fact that he used a MS version sent him by Schiller, which differs slightly from the text published in Germany. This version is that of the Stuttgarter Theaterhandschrift, published by Von Maltzahn in 1861.

Jespersen. The Nasal in *Nightingale.* This intrusive nasal is not due to the associative influence of the word *evening* (cf. Sweet N. E. G. § 1551), but is the same as that in *Portyngale*

<Portugal, porringer<porrager, and a dozen other examples. Jespersen deduces the rule that 'a nasal was very often inserted before *g* or *dʒ* in the weakly stressed middle syllable of a trisyllable stressed on the first syllable'. The insertion in most cases occurred in late Middle English.

Reviews. The important ones are as follow: Finck's Die Klassification der Sprachen, and Osthoff's Etymologische Parerga, both by Uhlenbeck, the latter containing some five pages of detailed comment and correction; Kaluza's Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache, which Pogatscher finds hasty, inaccurate, and ill-adapted to the student's needs; he adds numerous minor observations; Pound's Comparison of English Adjectives in the XV. and XVI. centuries, by Stoffel; the sixth edition of Zupitza's Lesebuch, by Holthausen; Sedgefield's edition of King Alfred's Boethius, reviewed in detail by Wülfing, though a considerable proportion of the matter is irrelevant.

The Miscellanea include a lexicological note fully illustrated, by Sattler, on *Most—the Most* and an explanation, by Berg of the terms *gentlemen of the professions* and *college*, as used in The Rivals.

3. Van Draat, The Loss of the Prefix *ge-* in the Modern English Verb. The history of the prefix in Germanic down to Old English was somewhat as follows: As a prepositional prefix it first denoted combination, then became intensive, then a mere symbol transforming an imperfective verb into a perfective or resultative. Thus it comes to indicate tense in Old English, and naturally becomes a distinguishing mark of the perfect participle. In a number of cases, however, cited from Alfred's Orosius, the collective force is apparent, and in a still greater number (from the same text) *ge-* distinguishes the perfective meaning of a verb from the imperfective meaning of the simple verb form. In later English *ge-* has been lost, chiefly owing to French influence, and the simple verb compelled to do duty both in the imperfective and perfective senses. A list of such cases is appended. The author's distinctions seem confused at times, and his cited examples represent little literature beyond the Orosius and some thirty verses of the Old English Gospels in the four various manuscripts.

Nesbitt. On Some Difficulties in Learning English.

Ruete. Otto Gildemeister. An obituary account of the editor of the Weserzeitung, and translator into German of Byron, Shakespeare, Ariosto, and Dante. In his essays he is strongly influenced by Macaulay.

Reviews. Björkman speaks enthusiastically of Callaway's study of the appositive participle in Old English. Furnivall's *editio princeps* of Lydgate's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man is re-

viewed by Logeman, who is not convinced that Bunyan was directly dependent upon it, though the two allegories may have a common source. Boyle, in his usual violent manner, falls foul of Thorndike's The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare, and, oddly enough, blames him for his 'inclination to sneer', &c. 'a tone of unprovoked aggressiveness', and for 'dealing his blows furiously right and left'. Elton commends, for its thoroughness and learning, Ker's edition of select essays by Dryden.

Miscellanea. Bang maintains that *A* in *A Talbot*, I. Henry VI. I. 1. 123, is an interjection.

A Supplementheft contains a Generalregister to Volumes I–XXV of Englische Studien, compiled by Arthur Kölbing.

Volume XXXII. 1. Heuser, A New Middle English Version of the Theophilus Legend. This is the late XV. century version found in the Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetr. 225, and here printed for the first time. A Southern and a Northern version of this mediæval Faust legend are already in print, but a fourth (Harl. 1703) is still unpublished. This version, in six-line tail-rime stanzas Heuser considers the most artistic.

Bruce. The Breaking of the Deer in Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight. In this very interesting article the author explains the obscure description, found in Sir Gawayne, of this event of the chase. This he does with the aid of descriptions of the process found in mediæval English and French texts. They are as follows: Sir Tristrem 474 ff.; Parlement of the Thre Ages 65 ff.; Boke of St. Albans, and a XVII. century version of it called Jewell for Gentrie; a tract in Cott. MS Vesp. B XII. (translated from Twici's Art de Venerie); Chace dou Cerf (late XIII. century); Le Livre du Roy Modus (1300); La Chasse de Gaston Phoebus (1387).

Lawrence. Some Characteristics of the Elizabethan-Stuart Stage. The author first attacks the false doctrine that the Elizabethan theatre had a drop curtain; he then distinguishes between two kinds of public theatre—those in which the stage was permanent, being covered with a permanent roof supported by columns; and those which could be quickly converted into a bear-garden by the removal of the stage. In the latter case there was only a light roof and no columns. Van Buchell's famous contemporary drawing of the Swan combines columns with a movable stage, and is therefore inaccurate. Lawrence discusses also the position and use of the lower traverses. They hung between the doors at the rear of the stage, and confined a small portion of the stage-room, which served in many cited instances as an inner room and the like. Traces of this expedient survived in the drama until nearly 1700, long after the device had vanished.

Pughe. Matthew Arnold as Critic of his Age and Social Reformer (continued on p. 200 of this volume). A voluble, but not especially discriminating paraphrase of material in Walker's Greater Victorian Poets, Saintsbury's Arnold, Gate's Selections from Arnold's Prose, Stedman's Victorian Poets, and the same writer's Matthew Arnold.

Eitrem. Stress in English Verb-and-Adverb Groups (cf. Sweet's N. E. G. II, §§1907, 1908). A classification of the various cases in contemporary English in which the stress falls upon the adverb, upon the verb, or upon both equally. The article may be useful as a record of contemporary sentence-accent, or to an adult foreigner in his study of English.

Reviews. Holthausen's notice of the coöperative Laut- und Formenlehre der Altgermanischen Dialekte, edited by Dieter, contains nearly seven pages of detailed corrections. Glöde praises Fehr's Die Formelhaften Elemente in den Alten Englischen Balladen, I, as a good example of an analytic study of style. The best review of the number is by Van Dam, dealing with Bridges' Milton's Prosody and Stone's Classical Metres in English Verse. He shows that Bridges is wrong in disregarding the pronunciation of Milton's time, and that such disregard vitiates his entire treatment of the subject of elision. Furthermore his conception of stress is crude. The exceptional cases of inverted stress in both the first and the second foot of Par. Lost VI. 34; XI. 79, are perhaps due to unconscious imitations of Italian hendecasyllabics. An instance occurs in Milton's Italian Sonnet II. 13.

Miscellanea. Swaen continues his notes in Old English Lexicography. Ritter contributes ten Literarhistorische Miscellen, among which may be mentioned two XVIII. century examples of Cupid and Death as a lyric motive; a comparison of Measure for Measure III. 1. 32 ff. and Lear I. 2, with a Latin version of Anthol. Graec. I. 66. 1, and with a song in Kendall's Flowers of Epigrammes; a comparison of Gray's Agrippina 98 with Night Thoughts 258, 261; notes on Chatterton's Ælla, Cowper's Task 1. 749, Byron's To Mary, Shelley's Adonais, and the following poems of Burns: Song composed in August, A Winter Night, Captain Grose's Peregrinations, Thou Ling'ring Star, The Cares o' Love, From Esopus to Maria 23.

2. Osthoff. Ags. *Blāce, Blācðrustfel.* Etymologists have in many cases assumed *blāc* to be a variant of *blāc.* T. E. Karsten has shown that the nom. masc. form should be *blāče*, not *blæc.* These collateral forms arose as a result of the *-u-:-io-* inflection of the adjective. Sweet derived his nominative *blāc* from the gloss *blæc thrustfel* (=*vitiligo*, leprosy). The author believes, however, that the gloss should be printed *blāc-ðrūstfel*, which is probably analogous with **blāc-ðrūstfel*, just as *blāc-ern*

is analogous with *blāc-ern*; therefore *blāc*, as a nominative form is not correctly inferred. Osthoff adds one or two corollary remarks.

Ackermann. Lord Byron's Betrothal, Marriage, and Divorce. A reply to exceptions taken by Brandl to the author's conclusions in a review of Ackermann's Life of Byron. The review was printed in the Deutsche Lit. Zeitung 1901, 3040-3041.

Lamburn. The Education Act of 1902 for England and Wales.

Reviews. Franz speaks with much greater approval of the second part of Kaluza's Historische Grammatik than Pogatscher did of the first. He corrects a few errors of detail. A review by Spies, in twenty-four pages, of Macaulay's edition of Gower is somewhat spiritless, though scrupulously detailed. The edition he finds a useful makeshift, though not critical in the best sense.

Miscellanea: Hempl, The Runic Words, Hickes 135; Van der Gaaf, The Devil and his Dam (Marlowe, Faustus l. 716, ed. Merm.); Sprenger, April Fool Day. Apropos of Havelok 1006, Van der Gaaf shows that a parliament was held at Lincoln as early as 1226; Holthausen's edition dates the earliest one in 1301. Boyle suggests that the farmer with the expectation of plenty, in Macbeth ii. 3, is Sordido of Jonson's Every Man out of his Humor.

3. Eckhardt. Diminutive Forms in Old English. The arrangement and clearness of this article are admirable. Old English is comparatively feeble in its formation and use of diminutives. Besides the purely diminutive endings, and those which form pet-names and names of the young of animals, there are certain suffixes which have lost their original diminutive force. Under separate heads the author deals with the following suffixes: *ing*, *ling*; *l* (*el*, *la*, *le*), *k* (*ca*, *ce*, *oc*, *uc*, *ic*, *ec*); *in*, *en*; dental suffix; *incel* (not of Latin origin); and certain anomalous cases. A large number of the names of persons are diminutive, at least in form. In Old English versions of Latin Texts the diminutive is seldom rendered by a corresponding Old English diminutive. It is either ignored or paraphrased.

Belden. Perfective *ge-* in Old English *Bringan* and *Gebringan*. *Bringan*, though perfective in Gothic and Old High German, has become durative in Old English and takes *on* with the accusative. A new perfective is found with *ge-* which takes *on* with the dative (in Alfred). This verb also fades into a durative in late Old English, according to the general tendency in Germanic.

Van Draat. The Loss of the Prefix *ge-* in the Modern English Verb. Continued from Volume XXXI. In the first section of this paper the author distinguished eight various constructions with *since*. Each of these he illustrates with examples from Old, Middle, and Modern English. Three have now died out.

Reviews. Wyld's long review of R. Müller's study Über die Namen des Nordhumbrischen Liber Vitae is chiefly occupied with the subject of *ð* and *đ* before a nasal in Old English. His remarks are inconclusive.

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HERMES, XXXVIII.

Fascicle 1.

Vergil's erste und neunte Ecloge (F. Leo). L. again (cf. A. J. P. XXIV p. 344) defends Vergil's Eclogues. Published when the poet was nearly 30 years old, we should expect to find in them the ripe fruit of his genius. There is little need of condoning faults, and comprehension is possible without the aid of Theocritus or the aid of allegory, which has been overdone. Eclogue I, indeed, expresses V. gratitude to Octavian for the peaceful possession of his Mantuan estate, and has pictured the distress of the dispossessed settlers; but Tityrus is not Vergil, Servius and modern commentators, notably Bethe (Rh. Mus. XLVII p. 578 ff.), notwithstanding. The latter, starting with this hypothesis, has pointed out discrepancies that tend to show a lack of unity in the composition; but these difficulties yield to a proper interpretation. The same is true in general of Eclogue IX. Here Menalcas is Vergil; but the correspondence is veiled and the other points of contact with V. life are fewer than is commonly believed and unnecessary to the reader. Above all we should recognize that Eclogue IX, apart from the Theocritean verses, is an original production.

Eine Elegie des Gallus (R. Bürger). Theocritus' dying Daphnis was Vergil's model for Eclogue X, which was suggested by an elegy of Gallus. What was the nature of this elegy? Apollo's speech (vv. 21–23) corresponds closely with that of Priapus (Theocr. I 81 ff.) excepting that Vergil, following the scholia to Theocritus, represents Gallus' Lycoris as false to her lover. The substitution of Apollo for Priapus is due to Gallus, who probably introduced Apollo in a dream as Lygdamus did; the dream motive was common to elegy. In sharp contrast with Apollo's words, made cruel through Vergil's misconception, follow those of the hopeful Gallus. These are paraphrased from a single elegy of G., as Servius' *translati* is not to be taken literally and it is not likely that the repeated allusions to the chase would be found in different poems, the chase being rarely mentioned in elegy. The words (v. 2) 'quae legat ipsa Lycoris' show that Gallus was still writing love songs to Lycoris. This imaginary character became the prototype of the Cynthias and Corinnas of the other elegiac poets, as Gallus himself suggested the model lover. Vergil made use of this elegy just as Ovid drew on Tibullus (Am. III 9); hence biographical details are not to be

looked for. The identification of Lycoris with Cytheris was due to the misconception alluded to above. If Eclogue X, the latest, shows us Gallus as an elegiac poet, it becomes evident that Eclogue VI 64 ff. does not represent a change of G. to an epic poet. Indeed the translations from Euphorion, such as that of the Grynian grove, would naturally precede the original elegiacs, on which Gallus' reputation rests.

Die Senatssitzung vom 14. Jan. 56 (W. Sternkopf). A discussion of Cicero *ad fam.* I 2. 2. leads to the adoption of *ut* after *aperte*, where M shows *vi* crossed out. Changing the usual punctuation we are to read: Perspiciebant enim in Hortensi sententiam multis partibus plures ituros, quamquam aperte, < ut > Volcacio adsentirentur, multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus invitis, nam ei Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt (or cupierant Madvig).

Οὐλοχύται (P. Stengel). L. Ziehen has shown (cf. A. J. P. XXIV p. 471) the cathartic signification of the οὐλοχύται for post-Homeric times. In Homer water cleanses the hands and fire burns the sacrificial meat; later the burning stick is plunged in water, and altar and worshipers are sprinkled, a symbolism which arose with the post-Homeric belief in pollution. In Euripides' Iph. Aul. 1563 ff. Calchas lays his φάσγανον, before using it, on the basket with οὐλαί as an act of purification. In Homeric times this was unnecessary (cf. Γ 271 ff. and Τ 252 ff.). The rite of the οὐλοχύται was part of the κατάρχεσθαι. We read γ 445 Νέστωρ χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατήρχετο, which means χερνιψάμενος οὐλοχύτας (ἀνείλετο καὶ) προὐβάλετο. The casting forward was the essential act, and while the οὐλαί would naturally fall on altar and sacrificial animal, it was not for the sake of purification. The companions of Odysseus (μ 357 ff.) pick leaves οὐ γὰρ ἔχον κρῖ λευκόν. Leaves certainly had no purifying virtue. Penelope (δ 759 ff.) goes into the ὑπερῷα and ἐν δὲ θέτ' οὐλοχύτας κανέῳ, ἠρᾶτο δ' Ἀθήνῃ. After the prayer we read: ὣς εἰποῦσ' ὀλόλυξε. As this was the customary cry at offerings to attract the attention of the god, we may infer that it was accompanied by the sprinkling of the οὐλαί. A man in her place would have poured out wine. The ceremony of the οὐλαί then was a sacrifice, usually preliminary, performed to attract the attention of the god and win his favor, just as wine was poured out for the same purpose.

Paralipomena zu Euklid (J. L. Heiberg).

Zu Clemens Τίς ὁ σωιζόμενος πλούσιος (E. Schwartz).

Stilicho und Alarich (Th. Mommsen). The relations of the two Roman empires, nominally under Arcadius and Honorius, but actually governed by Rufinus Stilicho and others, is set forth on the basis of the historical sources with particular reference to Illyricum, the eastern provinces of which were claimed for the Western Empire by Stilicho. In this connection the warfare

and treaties between Stilicho and Alaric are discussed down to the death of the former. Stilicho held his position as generalissimo through his relationship to the imperial family, though he seems to have been more of a statesman than a general; and remained faithful to the trust the dying Theodosius had imposed on him and made no attempt to dethrone Honorius.

Das neugefundene Bruchstück der capitolinischen Fasten (Th. Mommsen). The restored text of the two columns, for the years 380 B. C. and 332–330 B. C., are given according to Hülsen's publication (Lehmann's Beiträge z. alt. Gesch. 2 (1902), 248.) and compared with the respective data in Livy and Diodorus. The names of seven of the nine military tribunes in column I seem to have arisen from the careless combination of two lists containing six names each, the maximum number; the last two are really names of censors as shown by Livy, who appears to be somewhat more accurate. The identity of the names given in both columns and their genealogies are then discussed.

Bruchstücke der Saliarischen Priesterliste (Th. Mommsen). Built into the church S. Saba on the Aventine this stone contains five names, already known, of a patrician college of ephebi; and as no other such college is known except that of the Salians this list of the years 37–40 A. D. may therefore be added to those of the years 170–202 A. D. long ago recognized as belonging to the college of Palatine Salians, all of which helps to identify another list of the years 56–64 A. D. as being of the same character.

Zu den attischen Archonten des III. Jahrhunderts (J. Beloch). B. defends his chronology of the Attic archons against J. Kirchner (cf. A. J. P. XXIV p. 472). Arrheneides, however, must be moved down to 262/1 B. C. This substantiates the statement of Diod. XXIII 6 (cf. Suidas *Φιλήμων*) concerning the death of Philemon. The hypothesis of a cycle of 19 years gains in credibility and is valuable as a criterion.

Zur Überlieferung von Statius' Silvae (Fr. Vollmer). V. believing with Krohn and Klotz that the Matritensis (M) discovered by Löwe, is the oldest and only source for the Silvae is wholly opposed to Engelmann (De Statii silvarum codicibus, Diss. Leipzig 1902) and Wachsmuth (Leipz. Studien XX 202 ff.), who argue that the collation of Poliziano was made from the famous Poggio MS.

Ἑκατώρυγος (Br. Keil). Modern travellers have noted the checkerboard appearance of a large part of the Tauric Chersonesus, marked off by stone fences. This receives light from an inscription of the III century B. C. (Inscr. Pont. Eux. IV n. 80) in which *ἑκατώρυγος*, abbreviated from *ἑκατοντώρυγος*, originally modifying *κλῆρος*, designated a rectangular plot of ground. Such units combined would constitute farms of various sizes.

Miscellen.—H. Schrader finds that as Minucianus was the first to treat of the 13 στάσεις (cf. Syrianus II p. 55, 2 R.) Telephos must either have followed him (150–155 A. D.) at an advanced age, which involves difficulties, or this subject was wrongly attributed to him in the Proleg. to the στάσεις of Hermogenes (Walz VII, 1, p. 5, 23) (cf. A. J. P. XXIV 474).—S. Selivanov supported by F. Hiller von Gaertringen shows that five not six was the number of πρυτάνεις at Rhodes in the III century B. C.—W. Radtke approves of Kaibel's explanation of Cratinus' verse (II p. 88 M.) τυρῷ καὶ μίνθῃ παραλεξάμενος καὶ ἐλαίῳ "dici videtur piscis aliquis caseo mentha oleo conditus tamquam cum Mintha concubuisse"; but includes Tyro in the allusion (λ 235 f.) and adds "quem iocum ut satis absolvat et explanet, poeta extremo versu subiungit sine ulla ambiguitate καὶ ἐλαίῳ."—Mommsen derives *iumentum* from *iuvare*. *Iouxmenta* on the archaic cippus of the Roman Forum (Lehmann Beiträge zur alten Gesch. 2 (1902) p. 232) is therefore unintelligible. The word *regei* in the same inscription points to the time of the kings; the letter R can be matched only in the Duenos-inscription.—A. Wilhelm discusses the Hecatompedon inscription and one pertaining to the Eleusinian Mysteries.—Chr. Huelsen identifies the Aemilius Probus, who gave Theodosius II the extracts from Nepos' work de historicis latinis, with one whose name is inscribed on three fragments of stone from the Colosseum.—C. Robert changes Arist. Birds 1701 to καὶ φίλιπποι Γοργίου.

Fascicle 2.

Paralipomena zu Euklid (Fortsetzung) (J. L. Heiberg). See Hermes XXXVIII pp. 46–74.

Die enoplischen Strophen Pindars (O. Schroeder). S. transfers the dactylo-epitritic odes of Pindar and four of Bacchylides into the Ionic rhythm known as ἐνόπλιος, in which the fundamental constituents are — — ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪ — and — ∪ ∪ —, ∪ ∪ — —. A lengthy introduction discusses the nature and origin of this metre, its occurrences in the Lyric poets and its close relation to and confusion with logaoedics. The fundamental peculiarity of Ionics is their three-fold character, producing a waltz-like movement. There is no antithesis between ascending and descending rhythms; but an equal balance is maintained by means of a medial stress (⏑ ⏑ ∪ ⏑, ⏑ ∪ ⏑ ⏑). The first and last syllable being common produces variety, now a retarded movement (— — ∪ — and — ∪ — —), now iambs and trochees, which are, however, peculiar to the rhythm. The Ionic measure, at once rigid and pliable, was highly developed before it combined with the choriamb to form the ἐνόπλιος, in which the choriamb with medial stress (— ∪ ́∪ —) is of secondary value, just as the dactyl is in anapaestic verse, yet important in causing the rhythm of the verse to glide and soar rather than to rise and fall. The

letters a e i o u representing the five fundamental forms, with a few diacritics, serve to set forth compactly the metrical schemes and facilitate their description.

Eine Prosaquelle Vergils und ihre Umsetzung in Poesie durch den Dichter (P. Jahn). This study attempts to show by means of parallel columns, that one half of Georgics II is a poetical version of a prose extract from Theophrastus' *περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας*. The agreements, taken in sections, follow frequently in the same order and are often nearly literal. This illustrates the remark of Columella that Vergil's method was *exornare floribus poeticis*.

Ἐλαφόστικτος (P. Wolters). Dittenberger showed (Hermes XXXVII p. 298) this to be a nickname of one marked with the figure of a deer to designate the runaway slave (*στιγματίας*). We have evidence that the owl, horse and ivy-leaf were used to indicate respectively the proprietorship of Athens, Syracuse and the god Dionysus; but the figure of a deer does not appear suitable. On a vase of the Munich collection appear two women whose arms and legs are tattooed showing at least one figure of a deer. These vasepaintings probably represent Thracians, whose custom of tattooing is well known as it is of other races in antiquity. We may presume then that the Ἐλαφόστικτος of Lysias (13, 19) was tattooed with one or more such figures, which would be considered an ornament in his native country, but in Athens marked him as a barbarian.

Zu Herons Automatentheater (W. Schmidt). S. tries to meet the criticisms of A. Olivieri, who argues (Rivista di filologia XXIX (1901) 424–435) that the above mechanism would not work according to Heron's description. S. while believing in its completeness refers the final solution to a practical test.

Zwei Listen chirurgischer Instrumente (H. Schoene). S. compares a Latinized list of 67 names of surgical instruments found in a IX century MS (codex Parisinus latinus 11219) with a similar independent list in Greek characters of the XI century (Laurentianus gr. LXXIV 2), containing 88 names, and so attempts to determine the original forms. It remains for a specialist to identify these names with the numerous surgical instruments discovered at Pompeii and elsewhere. The above lists yield a total of 104 distinct names.

Über die Handschriften der Silven des Statius (A. Engelmann). E. meets the objections made by Vollmer (see above), and gives reasons for believing that the Matritensis is a copy of a XV century MS. Line 86* (in M) is not genuine, hence the only proof of the priority of M over Poliziano's collation falls to the ground. This collation was complete, for the notes known as A were written in the same pale ink as notes A*, which were explicitly taken from the Poggio MS.

Zu Galens Schrift Περὶ κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων (M. Wellmann). The V century MS Constantinopolitanus (C) contains under the text of Dioscorides on the first few leaves corresponding sections from the illustrated herbarium of Crateuas and, more extensively, extracts from the above named work of Galen. This beautifully illuminated MS is valuable in showing what the oldest illustrated herbarium of the Greeks, the ῥιζοτομικόν of Crateuas, was like; but the text of Galen, as of Dioscorides, has been arbitrarily abbreviated and changed so as to be valueless. The Galen extracts with critical notes follow to prove this assertion. Fuller and better extracts κατὰ Γαληνόν are found on the margin of a Dioscorides MS of the XV century (cod. Paris. gr. n. 2183). A few specimens of these are given to serve to identify the probably extant original.

Conjectanea (F. Leo). I Catulli versus 95, 7. 8; II Caelius Ciceroni (*ep.* VIII 3); III Horatii carm. I 20; IV Petroni cap. 82; V Valeri Flacci Medea VIII 6; VI Octaviae v. 485; VII CIL. VI 4, 33674.

Miscellen.—W. Dittenberger with the aid of an inscription conjectures Χαρίου, a rhetorician, for Χαβρίου, the general, in Plutarch's An virtus doceri possit (3 p. 440 b.).—J. Schoene shows that Photius' extracts from Plutarch's lives were arranged chronologically.—The same scholar finds that Cicero ad fam. V 5 contains a rough draft of the letter followed by a smoother copy, the latter beginning with "Meus in te animus" (cf. A. J. P. XIX p. 227).—M. Manitius presents his collation of the legible part of the Dresden MS R. 52ᶜ (XII century) containing Cicero's orat. Phil.—Joseph Mesk proposes παράλιον or πάραλον for Παραίτιον in Xenophon of Ephesus III 12, 1 (cf. E. Rohde Gr. Roman (2. Aufl.) p. 422 A. 4).—F. Hiller von Gaertringen cites a list of five πρυτάνεις found in Alexandria, but recognized as Rhodian by v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. (See Miscellen above.)

HERMAN L. EBELING.

BRIEF MENTION.

There is worse reading than the *Opuscula* of GOTTFRIED HERMANN, a mighty shade in the days when I began to learn my business, and in turning over the third volume the other day I chanced on two prefaces, one of which made a deep impression on my youthful mind more than fifty years ago. In the preface to his edition of the Odyssey as in the preface to his edition of the Iliad the fine old scholar emphasizes the importance of reading Homer continuously, and tells us how he read the Iliad over and over again within the compass of a few days. Years before I knew aught of Hermann except the name I had been stirred by the passage in Gibbon's autobiography in which he informs us that 'Scaliger ran through the Iliad in one and twenty days' and adds 'I was not dissatisfied with my diligence for performing the same labour in an equal number of weeks'. It was easy enough to beat Gibbon, but when it comes to Scaliger, when it comes to Hermann, the question 'How?' arises. To read Homer as Hermann read him, as Hermann would have us read him, with the eye now on this, now on that element, is not an easy matter for men of a certain temperament. One gets caught in the undertow, and I have once at least found myself turned back from ω to A and forced to begin all over again in order to verify an observation I thought I had made. Even lesser units are not often read continuously by the average scholar, such units as a major dialogue of Plato or a long speech of Demosthenes; and I myself remember as a manner of revelation the first time I read the De Corona through without leaving my chair from *πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* to the musical close *σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ*. It was some thirty years ago. I had studied the speech years before under the illustrious master Boeckh. I had gone through it *guttatim et stillatim* with undergraduate classes, but I never felt the thrill of it and the surge of it as I did then. What was intended to be heard at one sitting ought to be read at one sitting. But I am afraid that I forgot to mark some of the typographical blunders I had set out to correct in an edition of that date, much lauded by the only kind of press we had then, for I find on consulting the book that I had scored only some two hundred errors. The trouble is that after such hours of exaltation commentaries always seem to be more or less an impertinence. And yet commentaries are not an impertinence, nay, are eminently necessary, though, to quote the same old master, many commentaries are constructed on false principles, and one type was his abomination as it is mine:

Si de rebus alienis in commentariis scriptum est, non tam hi scriptoris caussa facti esse quam scriptor, ut commentarius scribi potuerit, editus videtur.

At all events there is no lack of commentaries on the De Corona and more are on the way. The latest next to GOODWIN'S smaller edition is ROSENBERG'S new revision of WESTERMANN'S standard work (Weidmann), with which I made acquaintance in the year of its first issue. The Westermann edition of 1850 contains 144 pp., the Rosenberg-Westermann of 1903 contains 194 and the additional fifty pages hold much valuable matter, whereas enlarged editions often resemble nothing so much as blown up veal; and Blass was right when he prided himself on the reduction of the bulk of the first volume of his 'Attische Beredsamkeit' in its second edition. Indeed a comparative study of the different succeeding editions of the Haupt and Sauppe series would yield much food for reflection and throw much light on the progress of doctrine. The fad of one editor is thrust out by the fad of another and one is reminded of the shifting proportion of articles in cyclopaedias. Look at the space occupied by 'Magic Squares' in the first edition of Johnson's Cyclopaedia and the space occupied by the same subject in the second. Studied in this way commentaries would furnish much material for history, more perhaps for biography. But evidently 'Brief Mention' is not the place for a minute differentiation between WESTERMANN and ROSENBERG, between the 'Grundstock' and the 'Bearbeitung', which must not be translated 'belaboring', as one is sometimes tempted to do when the younger commentator revises his predecessor. So far as I have observed, ROSENBERG'S attitude towards WESTERMANN is all that it should be, and there is no occasion to espouse the cause of Entellus against Dares.

ROSENBERG'S laudable object is to bring the work up to date and to cover every point—political situation, grammatical phenomenon, rhetorical device, sophistic trick. Ay, sophistic trick, for in this edition at least, our admiration of the forked lightning of Demosthenean eloquence is not suffered to blind us to the cloven foot of the disingenuous pleader. Diligent use has been made of recent German contributions and due honor is paid to such Demosthenean scholars as Blass and Fox, but no mention is made of Goodwin's *magnum opus*, which has been received everywhere with loud acclaim, and that is all the more remarkable as in the Leptinea due credit is given to Sandys for his elaborate edition, so that the English garb could not have interfered with the recognition of Goodwin's merits. Piqued by this neglect, as a good American should be, I had hoped to

find time for a comparison which might have revealed how much ROSENBERG would have gained by the study of GOODWIN, but I must leave the vindication of American work to others. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that ROSENBERG sets forth a greater array of points than do his rival editors, and the important subject of rhythm is made justly conspicuous. Granted the danger of over-analysis here as elsewhere, still without some demonstration of the calculable effects of rhythm, the beginner will fail to appreciate the importance of this untranslatable element of Demosthenean style. Syntactical notes are easily overdone, and from my point of view the student who is ripe enough for Demosthenes might easily dispense with the trivialities of syntax such as Weil brushes aside (A. J. P. IV 529); and some of the syntactical notes in ROSENBERG seem superfluous, and others do not get to the heart of the matter, but everyone will be grateful for those helps that cannot be found ticketed in text-books. What is commonplace to one may be a revelation to another, and if each specialist were to strike out of every commentary what is stale or false to him, we should be badly off for commentaries, and so I suppress my syntactical jottings.

Mr. NAIRN tells us in the Preface to his *Herodas* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), that the preparation of an edition of Herodas first suggested itself to him on the occasion of the performance of one of the Mimes (Διδάσκαλος) in June, 1902, by some of the boys of Merchant Taylors' School, of which Mr. NAIRN is Headmaster. English boys accept more stoically than do American boys the Orbilius ideal of education and nothing could be more characteristically British than the selection of that brutal mime for public performances. But as we owe to this selection Mr. NAIRN'S laudable effort to supply the lack of an adequate English commentary, we on this side will not quarrel with the occasion, and the literature of Herodas, as the editor prefers to call him, being much scattered, Mr. NAIRN has set himself a praiseworthy task in undertaking not only to garner the notes of the various editions but also to glean the Herondaean ears that have been dropped in monographs and in philological journals. Especial attention is naturally paid to what British scholars have done and Mr. NAIRN has endeavored to give to English critics their 'due share of credit', of which, by the way, English critics are unreasonably jealous (A. J. P. XXIII 348): and so eager is Mr. NAIRN in vindicating the rights of his countrymen that he claims for Mr. Henry Jackson the identification of the βαυβών with the ἄλισβος (VI 19) though M. Henri Weil's article was published in 1891, and Mr. Jackson's in 1892. Perhaps it will never be known who first nosed out the unsavory secret, which Radermacher has stirred still further Rh. Mus. LIX 313. Soon

after the publication of the Mimes I saw the *mot d'énigme* in the Hermes XXVI (1891), p. 582, and inasmuch as the writer gives Bonn as the seat of his oracle, I had attributed the discovery to the famous editor of Petronius. But really the question of priority is not a matter of international importance like the discovery of Neptune, and we are not to bracket Weil-Jackson as we do Leverrier-Adams.

The conspectus of the more important literature is printed at the end of the introduction and occupies four pages of the eighty-seven. True, Reich's comprehensive work, 'Der Mimus,' appeared too late to be used, and I have before me a Freiburg dissertation by HERMANN KRAKERT on Herondas's use of the comic poets (Leipzig, 1902), which might have yielded more than the meagrenesses of the passages in Aristophanes cited in Mr. NAIRN's Introduction, but that treatise also may have been unavailable. But why Mr. NAIRN with his clamorous championship of English work on Herondas should have passed by Mr. Symonds' translations I cannot understand. Most of the Introduction is a frank compilation and to the scholar the most interesting thing about this edition will be the 'Evidence for the Text' because the editor has 'made the fullest possible use of the papyrus itself and' has 'been most generously assisted in deciphering it by Dr. Kenyon', so that he has 'been enabled in' his '*apparatus criticus* to correct several misstatements made by previous editors in regard to the readings of the MS.' What future editors will make of these corrections doth not yet appear. Mr. NAIRN'S personal contributions to the restorations of the text are of the slightest and he himself has signalized I 82: οὐ π[αρα]λλάττ[ειν] as the most considerable.

The commentary is not the work of a man who has first steeped himself in the cognate literature. It is not such work as one expects of a Bücheler, of a Crusius (A. J. P. XIV 125). It has the happy-go-luckiness of so many editions, which condescend to bestow on the world just those things that happen to interest the editors themselves (A. J. P. XVII 518, XXIII 234). In my salad days I was surprised to find in a German commentary on Xenophon's Cyropaedeia repeated citations of the Emperor Julian, *á propos* of what? The puzzle was resolved soon afterwards by the publication of Hertlein's Julian. And Pindar occurs with such frequency in Mr. NAIRN'S commentary that as an old student of Pindar I look forward with interest to Mr. NAIRN'S edition of his favorite and mine. Still, even at the risk of appearing pedantic, I must insist on the sphere. If a note on II 28: κἀκ ποίου πηλοῦ is needed, why cite Horace, C. I 16, 13 instead

of Pers. III 23 and Iuv. XIV 35, poets who belong to the Herondaean sphere. Simply stupendous is the suggestion (I, 5) that the corrector wrote *Φιλαινίδος* for *Φιλαινίου*, 'because he was puzzled by the neuter form in *ιον* of a woman's name.' No corrector could possibly have been ignorant of the familiar employment of these diminutives especially of the *Φιλαινίς* class. By the way, Philaenium figures in Plautus's Asinaria just as Gymnasium figures in the Cistellaria, Planesium in the Curculio, Erotium in the Menaechmi, to cite only those names that catch every eye as I cut the leaves of the welcome final volume of LINDSAY'S *Plautus*? On I 8, we are told that 'the *τι* in *στρέψον τι* is characteristic of Aristophanes'. About as characteristic of Aristophanes as 'a little' is characteristic of Shakespeare. 'Live a little, comfort a little, cheer thyself a little' says Orlando to Adam. I 25: *πέπωκεν ἐκ καινῆς*, the editor ought not to have admitted into his note the foolish suggestion that *ἐκ καινῆς* may also be adverbial, although he proceeds to reject it. The ellipsis *κύλικος* is not unlikely, but *πηγῆς* is not impossible especially when we consider the large use of 'well' and 'fountain' in erotic literature. Of *κεκαύχηται* I 33, he says that the perfect does not differ in sense from the present and to prove this he cites III 84, *ἴσχηκας* and IV 2: *ᾤκηκας* which belong to another category of the perfect. *κεκαύχηται* is an emotional perfect. On I 41: *νηῦς μιῆς ἐπ' ἀγκύρης* I miss the familiar passage from Epiktetos fr. 89 Sch. *οὔτε ναῦν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀγκυρίου οὔτε βίον ἐκ μιᾶς ἐλπίδος ὁρμιστέον*. Epiktetos, if indeed the author be Epiktetos, belongs to the same homely sphere with Herondas. Much to my distaste are such notes as the one I 67: *τὰ λευκὰ τῶν τριχῶν*. 'This is somewhat more emphatic than *αἱ λευκαὶ τρίχες*.' Surely it is high time to give up such vaguenesses as more 'emphatic'. 'Emphasis', 'emphatic', like 'vividness' and 'vivid', are usually poor excuses for the explanation of an idiom. I 71: *χωλὰ ἀείδειν* is said after Crusius to mean 'liederliche Reden führen'. One craves further light, which falls from *ἄριστα χωλὸς οἰφεῖ*, a Greek proverb, Diogen. 2, 2, Athen. XIII, 568 E, which Byron quotes somewhere in his correspondence (A. J. P. VIII 511).

On II, 59, *Φασηλίδα*, cf. Dem. [XXXV] 1, to which I called Crusius' attention in A. J. P. XIV 125. It is a much more apt passage than Cic. Verr. 4, 10, 22, which NAIRN cites after Crusius. III, 18, we are bidden to 'note *οὐδέν* after *μή*'. 'We must', it seems, 'take *οὐδέν* closely with *καλόν*'. The passage runs: *κἦν μήκοτ' αὐτὴν οἷον Ἀίδην βλέψας | γράψῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν, ἐκ δ' ὅλην ξύσῃ*. It is a *μὲν-δέ* passage, and as in other *μὲν-δέ* passages, the *οὐ* is due to the parenthesis. On III, 31: *ἀνώγωμεν*, it is passing strange that Mr. NAIRN should not have cited Pindar P. 6, 13 for the plural after a disjunctive. Such a concord is certainly less common than the use of a singular with a double subject which he thinks worthy of a note. On III 70 Mr. NAIRN finds Ribbeck's conjecture *πρὶν σχολὴ βῆξαι* 'before I have time to cough', 'attractive'.

True, there is an elliptical πρὶν ὄρῃ in Od. 15, 394, but a negative sentence precedes, and we are not to supply with Monro ἔῃ, for the present tense is un-Homeric, nor with Hayman, ἔλθῃ or γένηται. The notion is causal as in similar constructions with ἕως (A. J. P. XXIV 389). Hence the present indicative must be supplied, the only familiar ellipsis. On III 75: ἐπαινέσειεν we are told that ἄν is omitted. Read κἂν περνὰς and the normal construction is restored. In V 75: τίς οὐκ ἀπαντῶσα . . . ἐμπτύοι the AN sound is there; and so these two precious specimens of 'Alexandrian Greek' disappear. See S. C. G. § 450, or A. J. P. XII 387. Doubtless bookish bards might omit ἄν, to show off, but in homely Greek like that of Herondas, the omission of ἄν is highly questionable. On IV 12 Mr. NAIRN says: 'It is clear from vv. 14 sqq. that the cock was sacrificed, not as being sacred to Asklepios, but as the poor man's gift', and a writer in the Athenaeum, Sept. 12, 1903, possibly Mr. NAIRN himself, tells us that the sacredness of the cock to Asklepios is a 'hoary superstition. Cocks were offered to every deity by those who could not afford a sheep or a bullock'. 'Every deity' is a sweeping statement. Nothing would seem more natural than the sacrifice of a pig to Aphrodite. Yet we are expressly cautioned against it. True, cocks were offered to other deities besides Asklepios, but there must have been a special propriety in offering a cock to the god of dreams, as we see from Artemidoros, V 9. The poor patient offered a cock, the rich patient a bullock, but that does not do away with the appropriateness of the lesser gift. On IV 22 we have a note on ἐποίει taken from the not inaccessible work of Liddell and Scott. On the next line there is a note on Πρηξιτέλεω παῖδες taken from the much less accessible treatise of Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*. Oddly enough in the same Löwy there is a much more exhaustive statistic of this artistic imperfect, which could hardly have been overlooked by a first-hand student (A. J. P. XXIII 251). On V 8 for the omission of ἐστί in the phrase ποῦ μοι might have been cited the familiar folk-song ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα. By the way, V 15, ἐγῴμι, gives actual warrant for the crasis in Timotheos, Πέρσαι, which I suggested for ἐγώ μοι in a recent number of the Journal (XXIV 235). One ought never to take such things for granted, and I am not sorry that I was cautious, but still I take shame to myself for not remembering Herondas amid the barbarian's tumultuous Greek. In his note on VI 5 Mr. NAIRN seems to be under the spell of the 'hoary superstition' that there is something specially causative about the middle. It is a spell which his own countrymen have done their best to break. See Riddell's Digest, § 87. So too, of late, Thompson's Meno, p. 195. See also my note on Pindar O. 1, 98, and S. C. G., § 150. For the colour of the φαλλός it seems rather recondite to refer boys to Suidas. Why to anything? Or if to anything, why not to Ar. Nub. 538? On VI 20 Mr. NAIRN has a slighting mention of Nossis, which might

lead one to think that naught of Nossis was extant. True, the Lokrians are not in good repute (A. J. P. IX 458), but he might have said of Nossis that to judge by the epigrams attributed to her in the Anthology there is nothing to warrant her bad name. There is but one *ἐρωτικόν* among them all and that innocent enough (A. J. P. V 170). But I could fill pages with this kind of thing, and my excuse must be that the printer is calling for *Brief Mention*, and my steamer will not wait until I can find something worthier of note than these remarks, which hardly transcend the level of Mr. NAIRN'S schoolboy actors of the *Διδάσκαλος*.

In my review of FUCHS'S book on what I call the Temporal Sentences of Limit in Greek (A. J. P. XXIV 388–407), my chief concern was with the theory and not with the statistical detail. The theory of this class of sentences and the formulation of the actual usage I had worked out many years before, and FUCHS'S treatise has added nothing of moment to syntax proper. In fact, important categories have been overlooked by him and his explanation of apparent abnormalities is often singularly defective, so that apart from the observations as to the varying sphere of the different particles—no secret to those who read Greek attentively—the whole mass of Fuchsian statistics cannot be said to have much significance. No wonder then that I did not undertake to verify FUCHS'S figures and did not notice that he had given 14 *μέχρι περ*'s in Plato's Laws, whereas Campbell gives 16. The difference between 14 and 16 vanishes in view of the bulk of the Laws. The main thing is the preference for *μέχρι* in the last stage of Plato's authorship. True, in discussing the more difficult passages, and in comparing my own collections with his, I soon found out the shortcomings of FUCHS'S work, his false references, his omissions, his neglect of MS authority; and one of my correspondents, Professor BOCOCK, in a subsequent number of the Journal (XXV 109) has shown how negligent FUCHS has been in gathering his material. But long before the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY had called attention to FUCHS'S lack of philological *ἀκρίβεια*, Professor FUHR had exposed his inaccuracies in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for April 18, 1903—a clipping from which greeted me on my return to America. Himself a statistician, who attracted my notice years ago by his suggestive article on *τε-καί* in the orators, Professor FUHR has not learned mercy from his own experience as I have from mine and by the help of indexes and by personal recount has convinced himself of the untrustworthiness of FUCHS'S statistics. Somehow FUHR'S review of FUCHS escaped my eyes, but if it had not, I should have used the treatise all the same. In a footnote of the article referred to (A. J. P. XXIV 392) I distinctly declined responsibility for his figures, which, as

I have said, happen to be of little moment for questions of genesis and growth in this particular class of sentences. At the same time every mistake in statistics is a demand that the work be done over again. All they that take statistics shall perish with statistics; and no one has protested more vigorously than I have against the misuse of figures in historical syntax.

Among the themes suggested for consideration at one of the congresses to be held at the St. Louis exposition was 'The Influence of Linguistic Studies on the Interpretation of Literature'. Unfortunately the subject did not fit into any of the established schemes. It did not belong either to philology or to literature, and, although a place was assigned to it, the unhappy man that signified his willingness to open the discussion, suddenly realizing the magnitude and the invidiousness of the task, followed the example of an earlier prophet and fled over seas. Doubtless, if he had carried out his original plan of comparing the chief histories of literature that have been published in the last hundred years, there might have been some interest, possibly some profit, in tracing the infiltration of the new ideas introduced by linguistic study. But such a review, to be anything more than a mere sketch or a mere skit, would have required a range of reading quite beyond the ordinary and a keenness of criticism that could have been gained only by long familiarity with the most varied linguistic and historical problems. The very conception was presumptuous and the abandonment of it is not to be regretted. For in all likelihood the whole thing would have resulted, if taken lightly, in a satire on modern tendencies; if taken seriously, in a reiteration of the old thesis that there is no line of linguistic study, no line of grammatical research, that may not be made directly or indirectly to subserve the end of aesthetic appreciation. The illustrations would have been drawn from the author's special domain and there would have been a flagrant defiance of the poet's wise warning: *ταὐτὰ δὲ τρὶς τετράκι τ' ἀμπολεῖν | ἀπορία τελέθει, τέκνοισιν ἅτε μαψυλάκας Διὸς Κόρινθος.*

Still 'in magnis voluisse sat est', and it may be contended that the theme is well worth pursuing. Indeed, the bare statement of it may be worth more than the address, which, I understand, continued to figure on the programme after the project had been definitely abandoned. It was a familiar remark in my boyhood that the titles of Dr. Chalmers' sermons covered the ground of his discourses so completely that it was not necessary to read the sermons themselves. 'The expulsive power of a new affection'—a rather grandiloquent variant of 'clavus clavum

pellit'—summarizes all the great Scotch divine had to say on that subject, and the bare statement that the study of linguistics has profoundly affected the whole conception of literature even among those who are not addicted to linguistic research may serve to check the facile sneer of the *littérateur*. The florist may have his laugh at the botanist, such a happy laugh as breaks forth in Alphonse Karr's *Voyage autour de mon jardin*, but the botanist has his rights even in the ordering of a parterre.

One undeniable effect of linguistic study has been the widening of the term 'literature'. Comparative grammar owed its origin to the spirit of missions. The appreciation of the value of soul as soul led to the appreciation of language as language. To the student of linguistic science, nothing is common or unclean, and the ruder dialect, may be, nay, often is, more precious than the most refined idiom. In like manner the student of literature must not be satisfied with the definition of literature as 'written art', though I am free to confess that this is the definition that I myself have accepted, as one accepts so many definitions—not from a profound conviction of their ultimate truth, but from the necessity of getting forward. In fact, if one examines any modern history of literature and compares it with an earlier work on the same subject, the larger space given to the beginnings will show how the point of view has shifted. And yet formula is so apt to survive process that OUVRÉ in his remarkable work *Les formes littéraires de la pensée grecque*, published some four years ago, found it necessary to attack what I have just called the florist's conception of literature. According to him aesthetic charm is beside the question. All that we are to insist on is the conservation of verbal groups by a voluntary act of the individual or of society, and we must apply to literature the same rules that we apply to the study of the plastic arts. The dilettante does not admit to his collection 'vulgar objects or spoiled specimens' whereas OUVRÉ'S limits 'embrace the chefs d'oeuvre of a Pindar, a Vergil, a Bossuet, newspapers, advertisements, shopsigns'. It is, as I have said, a remarkable book, a barbed-wire trellis of metaphysical systematization, clothed with a tropical wealth of imagery. More than once have I attempted to treat the book as I have treated other books and to make a summary of it with a running commentary of my own. The theme interests me deeply. The title seems to cover much of my work. The sections follow the consecrated rubrics of epic, lyric, dramatic, history, philosophy, rhetoric under which I have registered my own observations,—rubrics which, to be sure, are hardly consistent with genetic theories. Indeed, when I first opened the book I thought that my occupation was gone. But language, which enters so largely into all my studies of literary form, OUVRÉ puts aside from the

beginning, so that I might have reinforced or haply supplemented his observations by the results of my own researches. However, repeated experiments have shown me that to do this adequately would require a volume, not a magazine article, and the book will continue to haunt me. Meantime the brilliant author has passed from among the ranks of living workers—and every one knows the peril to which the books of dead scholars are exposed. Every one knows how hard it is to keep a text-book alive when the author is dead, and OUVRÉ'S death may in like manner lead to the neglect of a work which is not very easy reading at any rate. And then, one would have liked to watch the effect of time on the man himself. The years might have sobered his genius. There might have been less barbed wire, less flaring flowers. Perhaps, I say, perhaps. For age does not always dull the appetite for spicy epigram or check the efflorescence of fancy. In fact, it is well known that some writers wax more figurative as they grow older. Only the figures are seldom organic. They are mere σχήματα not μορφαί. The number of beads and broken bits of glass multiply in the kaleidoscope of the brain. But the prism is unchanged, and the effects are too mechanical.

Honestly I cannot say that I think that an abridgment of OUVRÉ would answer for secondary schools. It would hardly do to translate 'Les oeuvres archaïques germèrent et fleurirent en des âmes où la vie confuse tremblait comme de la rosée chatoyante sur un taillis d'avril'; and even I should hesitate to begin an account of historiography by saying 'L'histoire est soeur du poème épique, une soeur cadette, mais plus grave, plus raisonneuse, moins charmante, comme le sont ordinairement les enfants, lorsqu' ils viennent sur le tard'. Then again, in adaptation for popular use the numberless allusions would fall away and with them much that gives piquancy to the treatment. An epic poem tells us that the siege of Troy was intended to relieve the earth overcome by the weight of the generations of men, another that the Sphinx was not a monster but a soothsayer clever at proposing insoluble questions. Whereupon OUVRÉ remarks: 'Ce malthusianisme céleste et cet évhémérisme avant la lettre n' ont pas beaucoup de portée'. 'Malthusianisme céleste' and évhémérisme avant la lettre' are amusing expressions, but they would have to go. 'Des Acharniens au Plutus' he says (p. 289) 'les comédies déroulent une étoffe à paillettes qui scintille, mais se déchire sous les doigts'. I am not certain that even the context would make the justice of the comparison perfectly plain. Still I am of the opinion that was accidentally crystallized into a verse, 'tous les genres sont bons hors le genre ennuyeux', and in reading OUVRÉ one does not yawn, one does not sicken, one does not toss the book into a corner. He is not dry, he is not deliquescent, he is not frivolous, and that is saying a good deal.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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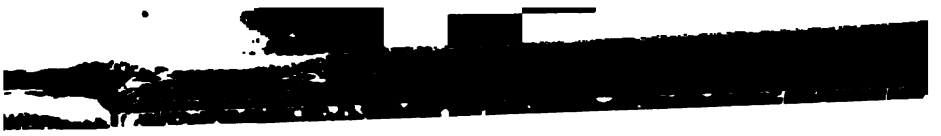
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VOL. XXV, 3 WHOLE NO. 99

THE

AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY



EDITED BY

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BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.

PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING LEIPSIC: F. A. BROCKHAUS

JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER

1904

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Postoffice.

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AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXV, 3. WHOLE NO. 99.

I.—THE OXYRHYNCHUS EPITOME OF LIVY IN RELATION TO OBSEQUENS AND CASSIODORUS.

I.

Some months since the welcome announcement was made by Grenfell and Hunt that their campaign of 1903 at Oxyrhynchus had discovered a portion of an epitome of Livy hitherto unknown. The fourth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri brings us this fragmentary epitome edited with that acute scholarship which the discoverers everywhere display; they have had also the assistance of Mr. W. Warde Fowler and of Professors Kornemann, Reid, and Wissowa. While little has escaped the attention of this group of scholars, there yet remain for discussion some interesting questions, and in one important point at least the relations of the Oxyrhynchus epitome have not yet been observed.

The portions recovered are drawn from books 37–40 and 48–55, treating events from the end of 190 to 179 B. C. and from 150 to 137 B. C. The latter period is one in which our authorities are so scanty that every fragment of new information is welcome, and the amount of new information gained, especially on points of chronology, is not small, as Grenfell and Hunt point out, p. 94.

The writing is described by the editors as 'a medium-sized upright uncial with some admixture of minuscule forms', and is dated by them as certainly not later than the beginning of the fourth century and more probably belonging to the third. The papyrus is so sadly mutilated that hardly a line remains complete, but the supplements are in part readily made. Furthermore the scribe seems to have been guilty of great carelessness and stupidity in spelling and grammar so that in some cases it is impossible to determine what stood in the original, even when the lines are unbroken. The form of this new epitome is that

of a chronicle in which each year is indicated by the names in the ablative case, followed by a bald enumeration of events in strict chronological order. In fact, the best description of the Oxyrhynchus periochae was unwittingly given by Mommsen in 1861, while discussing the sources of Cassiodorus's chronicle[1]: 'es ist ganz im Geiste der Kaiserzeit, dass man das weitläuftige und viel "Ueberflüssiges" enthaltende Werk des Livius früh in einen kurz das Thatsächliche Jahr für Jahr, unter Voraustellung der Consulnamen im Ablativ, zusammenfassenden Abriss gebracht hat.' Mommsen (l. c.) also first established the fact that a considerable number of authors, not only Cassiodorus but also Vopiscus, Obsequens, Eutropius, Festus, and Idatius, drew not from Livy direct but from a lost epitome which departed at some points from its original. Zangemeister[2] proved that the Periochae and Orosius belonged to the number. Still other writers were added by Pirogoff, Droysen, Wagener, Haupt, Maurenbrecher, and Ay, and the date at which an epitome of Livy was made was carried back until Sanders[3] showed that Livy was certainly abridged before the end of Tiberius's reign.

The discovery therefore of an epitome corresponding in outward form so closely to the epitome postulated by Mommsen in the passage quoted, raises at once a series of interesting questions as to its relation to Livy, to the Periochae long known, and to the later writers who drew indirectly from Livy's complete work. Fortunately for us the first three columns of the papyrus cover the years 190-179, a period which is treated in Livy's extant books 37–40, so that we can here determine the relation of the Oxyrhynchus periochae to their ultimate source. The bald account of O naturally gives only facts and results and admits of no discussions or long exposition of motives. Yet all the most important events are noted. While at times phrases and clauses are repeated from Livy, there is on the whole no striking verbal agreement. O occasionally paraphrases Livy's account, as e. g. ll. 3–6 P. Licinius[4] [pontif]ex maximus Q. Fabium pr(aetorem) quod flamen Quirinalis[5] erat proficisci in

[1] Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator, p. 552, in Abh. der sächs. Gesell. der Wiss., Leipzig, 1861.

[2] Die Periochae des Livius in Festschrift für die Karlsruher Philologenversammlung, Freiburg i. B. 1882.

[3] Die Quellencontamination im 21 und 22 Buche des Livius, 1, 1897.

[4] Pap. Lepidinus maximus.

[5] Pap. Quirinalem.

Sardiniam [.....]ant, which reproduces Livy 37, 51, 1–3 priusquam in provincias praetores irent, certamen inter P. Licinium pontificem maximum fuit et Q. Fabium Pictorem flaminem Quirinalem, quale patrum memoria inter L. Metellum et Postumium Albinum fuerat. consulem illum cum C. Lutatio collega in Siciliam ad classem proficiscentem ad sacra retinuerat Metellus, pontifex maximus; praetorem hunc ne in Sardiniam proficisceretur, P. Licinius tenuit. Again we find mere condensation with no verbal similarity, as when l. 18 [inter Achae]os et Lacedaemonios cruenta proelia covers, although inexactly, Livy 38, 30–34. An extreme case is in l. 12, where [Ambra]cia capta summarizes Livy 38, 1–9. The most striking instance in which Livy's words have been preserved is ll. 78–80 L. Livius trib(unus) pl(ebis) quod [annos nati quemque] magistratum pete[rent rogatio lata] est,[1] cf. Livy 40, 44, 1 eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque. Usually, however, when there is little or no condensation, O employs a different phrase from Livy, e. g. ll. 42 f. at[hletarum cer]tamina primum a Fu[lvio Nobilior]e edita, which represents Livy 39. 22, 2 athletarum ... certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit.

When we compare O with the Periochae, we see at a glance, as Rossbach (Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, No. 31/2, 1904, col. 1020 ff.) has pointed out, that neither can be the source of the other. Not only does O chronicle more and different events than the Periochae—in the epitome of book 39, for example, O mentions at least fifteen events, eight of which are not given in the corresponding Periocha—but a comparison of the language in which the same events are reported shows that whatever their common source, that source was clearly remote. Their verbal differences may be illustrated by the story of Orgiagon's wife:

O ll. 14–17[2]	Per. 39.
Origiacontis captian nobilis [centuri]onem cuius vim pass(a) erat aurum admit[t] poscentem occidit caputque eius ad virum [secum? tulit].	exemplum quoque virtutis et pudicitiae in femina traditur. quae cum regis Gallograecorum fuisset, capta centurionem qui ei vim intulerat occidit.

[1] This of course must be emended with Grenfell and Hunt to read a L. Villio trib(uno) pl(ebis) quot, etc.

[2] The text of O is given as printed by Grenfell and Hunt unless otherwise noted.

Yet a comparison of the two stories as given above with Livy's words makes it probable that the common source of O and the Periochae was not the unabridged Livy, for his account runs thus (38, 24, 2–10): Orgiagontis reguli uxor forma eximia cui custodiae centurio praeerat corpori . . . vim fecit. ubi cum aurum ostenderent mulier lingua sua stringerent ferrum et centurionem pensantem aurum occiderent, imperavit. Iugulati praecisum caput ipsa involutum veste ferens ad virum Orgiagontem pervenit; etc.

A further illustration of the divergences between O and the Periochae may be found in the account of the defeat of Q. Fabius by Viriathus:

O ll. 185 f.	Per. 54.
[Q.] Fabius Maximus a Viriath{i}o devictus de[f]ormem cum hostibus pacem fecit.	Q. Fabius procos. rebus in Hispania prospere gestis labem imposuit pace cum Viriato aequis condicionibus facta.

There is a further striking divergence in point of style. Woelfflin, in the Commentationes in honorem Theodori Mommseni (1877), p. 338, pointed out that while the Periochae show a periodic style in which *qui, cum, ne*, etc. are frequently employed, the style of the complete periocha of the first book, Ia in Jahn's edition, is abrupt, chronicling events in three ways: it uses the substantive without a verb—adventus Aeneae, Tulliae scelus in patrem, Superbi expulsio; the perfect passive participle without the copula—Amulius obtruncatus, Tullus fulmine consumptus; and the perfect indicative active—Tullus Hostilius Albanos diripuit, Servio Tullio caput arsit. Rossbach (l. c., col. 1022) recognizes that O shows the same characteristic forms, e. g. l. 1 [in Hispa]nia Romani caesi, l. 11 [Ambra]cia capta, l. 212 Lusitani vastati; l. 27 [Gracchus t]rib(unus) pl(ebis) intercessit, ll. 46 f. Scipio . . . con[lata pecunia feci]t; l. 18 [inter Achae]os et Lacedaemonios cruenta [pr]oelia. He therefore regards the authorship of O as identical with that of Periocha Ia, probably correctly. In any case no one can deny that the stylistic resemblance is very close.

The next question that arises is whether any intimate relation is to be found between O and the later writers who drew from an abridged Livy. That such relations undoubtedly exist, I shall immediately show; they seem, however, to have escaped the notice of Grenfell and Hunt as well as their coadjutors. First, let

us compare the list of consuls in O with that given by Cassiodorus for the corresponding years. We find at once a striking similarity between them. While in both lists the officials are generally designated by two names only, *praenomen* with the *nomen* or *cognomen*, after the fashion of the republic, in seven cases out of twenty O gives the full three names; but in four of these seven instances Cassiodorus likewise employs the complete names, so that no significance is to be attached to the other three.[1] But a proof of the close relationship between the two, so far as the consular list is concerned, is furnished by the names of the consuls for 149 B. C.: O l. 88, L. Marcio Censorino M. *Manlio* cos.; cf. l. 103 *Manlio*[2] et Marc<i>o c[os.]; Cassiodorus, L. Marcius et M. *Manlius;* the correct form is preserved by the Periocha, L. Marcio M'. *Manilio;* cf. Censorinus, *de die nat.* 17, 11 L. Marcio Censorino M'. *Manilio.*[3] This agreement in the error *Manlio* points to a close connection between O and Cassiodorus. While such consensus is not in itself full proof, the matter is raised to a high degree of certainty by the notice of the introduction of athletic exhibitions in the year 186 B. C.:—

O ll. 42 f.	CASSIODORUS.
At[hletarum cer]tamina primum a Ful[vio Nobilior]e edita.	His conss. athletarum certamina primum a Fulvio edita.

The contrast between these notices and Livy's phrase (39, 22, 2) athletarum certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit[4] shows that not only is there an intimate relation between O and Cassiodorus, but that both drew from a common source other than a complete Livy. A suggestion that Cassiodorus drew from O is rendered improbable by the difference in the names of the consuls for the year 179, and by other reasons (cf. infra, pp. 246 ff.). We may fairly say at once that this common source was a chronicle similar in form to that partly recovered in O but

[1] A single discrepancy between the two lists is found in the names of the consuls for 179 B. C. where O has Q. Fulvio *M.* Manlio, Cassiodorus correctly Q. Fulvius et *L.* Manlius. Obsequens 7 Q. Fulvio *C.* Manlio.

[2] That this is hardly a mere scribe's blunder for *Man<i>lio* is shown by the repetition. The error existed rather in the archetype of O (and of Cassiodorus). Grenfell and Hunt should not have changed to *Man<i>lio* as they have done, following the Periocha.

[3] The correct form is also given by Florus 1, 31, 7; Oros. 4, 22, 1; App. *P.* 75, 97; Zonares 9, 26; and in Eutrop. 4, 10, where P D have *Marco Mallio*, but the metaphrase of Paeonius shows that *Manilio* belongs in the Latin text.

[4] The notice is not elsewhere preserved, so far as I know.

somewhat fuller in matter. By this last hypothesis we can perhaps explain such confusions, due to condensation, as in O, l. 7, *Rhodonia de soli deducta*, where apparently a notice of the founding of Bononia (Livy 37, 57, 7) has been confused with a preceding reference to the Rhodians, either to their embassy about Soli (Livy 37, 56, 7–10), as Reid thinks (Class. Review, July, 1904, p. 261), or to the additions made to their territory in recognition of the aid given by them to the Romans (Livy 37, 56, 5 f.).[1] We can thus understand the chronological confusion in ll. 17, 44 f.[2] and elsewhere.

Whether O and Cassiodorus drew immediately from this parent chronicle or not is a question at present beyond answer. But it is clear that in all discussions of the 'lost epitome' of Livy we must postulate a number of epitomes, all going back perhaps to the epitome used by Valerius Maximus, but furnishing various lines of descent for the later histories and chronicles. All that has thus far been determined is the not uninteresting fact that the chronicle of Cassiodorus—for the republic—and the Oxyrhynchus periochae have the same parent source to which they stand relatively near.

Mommsen long since pointed out[3] that Julius Obsequens and Cassiodorus drew from a common source. That this was an epitome of Livy's history, varying from it in phraseology, is evident from the following: Under the year 571/183 Cassiodorus has the notice—His consulibus Hannibal apud Prusian veneno periit; Obsequens 4, Hannibal in Bithynia veneno periit. From these we can perhaps reconstruct the notice in the source from which they drew, Hannibal apud Prusian in Bithynia veneno periit. But Livy's words are (39, 51, 7–12) Hannibal venenum poposcit poculum exhausit.[4] Again compare Cassiodorus 648/106, His consulibus per Servilium Cae-

[1] Cf. Per. 37 Rhodiis quoque, qui et ipsi iuverant, quaedam civitates concessae. colonia deducta est Bononia.

[2] Cf. Grenfell and Hunt's notes.

[3] Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator, p. 552.

[4] It is also clear that the immediate source of Obsequens and Cassiodorus was not that from which others drew. Cf. Per. 39 Hannibal *veneno sibi mortem conscivit;* Ampel. 34, 2 *veneno se liberavit;* Eutrop. 4, 5 Hannibal . . . *venenum bibit* et apud Libyssam . . . sepultus est, followed by Hieronymus in his chronicle, Hannibal . . . *venenum bibit* et apud Libyssam sepultus est. De viris ill. 42, 6 Hannibal *veneno absumptus est.* Oros. 4, 20, 29 Hannibal . . . *veneno se necavit.* Still more widely divergent is Appian *Sy.* 11 τὸν Ἀννίβαν . . . ἐκτεινε (Φλαυινῖνος) διὰ τοῦ Προυσίου φαρμάκῳ.

pionem consulem iudicia equitibus et senatoribus communicata, with Obs. 41, Per Caepionem consulem senatorum et equitum iudicia communicata; and still further Cassiodorus 658/96 and 671/83 with Obsequens 49 and 57. It is therefore important to compare Obsequens with the Oxyrhynchus Epitome. Unfortunately only six notices are common to them, and in the case of three out of the six the text of O is badly mutilated. O ll. 64 f. Han[nibal] fi [.] uhe [. , apparently contained a notice of Hannibal's death, but no comparison is possible with Obs. 4. The case is hardly better with O ll. 132–4 which have reference to the operations before Carthage in the year 147 B. C. for the text is hopelessly corrupt. Furthermore the notice in Obs. 20 cum Carthago obsideretur in captivos Romanorum per Hasdrubalem barbaro more saevitum, mox Carthago per Aemilianum diruta is apparently a careless condensation, for the fall of Carthage is placed a year too soon. There is a similar chronological error, likewise perhaps due to condensation, in Obs. 23 annus pacatus est Viriatho victo; O ll. 197 f. gives the names of the assassins, Audax Minurus <D>ita[lco] Viriathum iugula[verunt. Neither agrees in phraseology with our other authorities: Vell. Paterc. 2, 1, 3 interempto Viriatho, Val. Max. 9, 6, 4 interemptus est; Per. 54, Eutrop. 4, 6, 12, and Oros. 5, 4, 14 interfectus est; De Viris Ill. 71, 3 satellites qui Viriathum peremerunt. Compare further Obs. 19 Pseudophilippus devictus and O l. 127 [Philippus a] Metello captus est;[1] Obs. 3 Galli qui Alpes transierunt in Italiam sine proelio eiecti and O ll. 44 f. Galli(s) in Ital[iam transgressis Ma]rcellum [p]ersuasit [ut trans Alpes redire]nt.[2] But if these notices exhibit no striking parallelism between O and Obsequens, it is clear that the entries in Obs. 19 and O ll. 127–9 show adherence to a common source:

O.	Obsequens.
sacrarium [regiae et laur]us foci maximo incendio [inviolata][3]	vasto incendio . . . sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolata exstiterunt.

[1] Cf. Per. 50 Pseudophilippus in Macedonia . . . ab Quinto Caecilio victus captusque est.

[2] The text is printed thus by Grenfell and Hunt. The suggestion by Reid Cl. Rev. July, 1904, p. 292, is better: Ma]rcellus [p]ersuasit [ut Italia excedere]nt.

[3] The text is given as restored by Rossbach, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift, No. 31/2, 1904, col. 1021. The papyrus has]*us soci*, etc. So far as I know, the marvel is not chronicled elsewhere.

The scanty and mutilated condition of our material, however, forces us to look further for supporting proofs of the use of the same source by Obsequens and O. First of all we find a parallelism in the chronicles of certain successes, e. g., Obs. 4 Celteberi *subacti*, 48 Celteberi Medi Dardani *subacti;* O l. 42 His]pan[i] *subacti*, 136 Lu]sitani *subacti* (pap. subalti). Obs. 11 rex Illyrici Gentius et Macedoniae Perses *devicti*, 19 Pseudophilippus *devictus*, and 24, 32, 47, 62; O l. 164 a Tyresio quem *devicit*, 185 [Q.] Fabius Maximus a Viriatho *devictus*. Cf. also Periocha Ia Latinos . . . *devicit;* while the Periochae regularly use the simple *vincere* (see Woelfflin, Commentationes Mommsenianae, p. 338). Furthermore, as has been observed above, there is little of the periodic style in O, such as we find in the Periochae, but instead we have brief notices given by noun without verb, perfect passive participle without copula, and by the perfect indicative. This is exactly the style of Obsequens, e. g., § 4 M. Claudio Q. Fabio Labeone coss. in area Vulcani per biduum, in ara Concordiae totidem diebus sanguinem *pluit*. in Sicilia *insula nova maritima*. Hannibal in Bithynia veneno *periit*. Celtiberi *subacti*, § 5 L. Aemilio Paulo Cn. Baebio Tamphilo coss. procellosa tempestas strage in urbe facta signa aenea in Capitolio *deiecit*, signa in circo maximo cum columnis *evertit*, fastigia templorum a culmine abrupta *dissipavit*. mulus tripes Reate *natus*. aedes Apollinis Caietae fulmine *icta*. Compare with this the opening lines of O: [in Hispa]nia Romani *caesi*. [M. Fulvio] Cn. Manlio cos. [.]ṣ pax iterum *data est*. P. Lepidinus { maximus } [pontif]ex maximus Q. Fabium pr(aetorem) quod flamen [Quirin]alem erat proficisci in Sardiniam [.]*ant*. Ant[i]ocho regi pax *data*. Lusitani [*vastati*]. Rhodonia desoli *deducta*. [Glabrio c]ensuram petens minantes [accusa]tionem compellitoribus composito [*destiti*]*t*. The historical notices in Cassiodorus, with rare exceptions, have the same form, e. g.— 515 His consulibus ludis Romanis primum tragoedia et comoedia a Lucio Livio ad scaenam *data;* 524 His consulibus Hamilcar Hannibalis pater in Hispania bellum Romanis parans *occisus est*. Hic *solitus* dicere quattuor filios contra p. R. velut catulos leoninos <se> educare; and so passim. In view of this and of the relation long recognized between Obsequens and Cassiodorus we are justified, notwithstanding the scanty and fragmentary material at hand for a comparison between Obsequens and O, in concluding that O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus all come

from a common source to which they are more closely related than are other later historians,[1] as has been already indicated on p. 246 n. 4. This point will be more fully illustrated below. Furthermore, from a comparison of the three, it is evident that this source was a chronicle in which each year was designated by the names of the consuls in the ablative case;[2] then followed in chronological order the principal events and portents of the year, noted in the abrupt style displayed by its descendants. That the parent chronicle contained a record of portents is shown not only by Julius Obsequens, but also by the fact that O, while almost wholly given to secular matters, still records (ll. 127-9) the miraculous preservation of the *sacrarium* and the sacred laurel, and again (ll. 59–63) reports the fulfilment of a prophecy: P. Licini Crassi po[ntificis maximi] ludis funeribus [. in foro tabernaculis po[sitis evenit id quod] nate[s c]ecin[e]rat [tabernacula] in foro futura.

This fragmentary epitome, therefore, has brought us one step farther on in the problem of disentangling the complex interrelations of the followers of Livy. It would now be desirable to examine again the other historians and chroniclers from Valerius Maximus down in the hope of carrying on to more certain results the work of those scholars who have followed after Mommsen and Zangemeister. That is, however, too large a task to be entered on here.

II.

As has been said above, O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus apparently drew from a chronicle not identical with the epitome (or epitomes) used by most other writers; a brief portion of the evidence for this statement has been given on p. 246 n. 4. For further illustration the two following anecdotes are well suited,

[1] With the possible exception of Eutropius. Vid. infra, p. 255.

[2] As Mommsen divined, Die Chronik des Cassiodorus Senator, p. 552. If the editors had apprehended the relation between O and Cassiodorus, they would have supplied the missing names of the consuls differently in some cases. E. g. 188 instead of [*M. Valerio* L]ivio Salinatore cos. read with Cassiodorus [*M. Messala C.*] Livio Salinatore cos.; 187 instead of [*M. Aemilio* C. Fl]aminio cos. read [*M. Lepido* C. Fl]aminio cos.; 148 instead of [*Sp. Albino* L. Piso]ne cos. read [*Sp. Postumio* L. Piso]ne cos.; 147 instead of [*P. Cornelio* C. Livio] cos. read [*P. Africano* C. Livio] cos. (cf. also Obsequens); 144 instead of Ser. Galba L. [*Cotta* cos. read Ser. Galba L. [*Aurelio* cos. 181 P. Lentulo should not be corrected to *Cornelio* (or *Cethego*).

being given at comparative length by O and being preserved in both Livy and a number of later authors. These are the vengeance taken by Orgiagon's wife, already given, p. 243, and the cause of the expulsion of L. Quintus Flamininus from the senate. The first story, as told by O ll. 14–17, is repeated here for convenience:

Origiacontis captian nobilis [centuri]onem cuius vim pass(a) erat aurum admit[t] poscentem occidit caputque eius ad virum [secum? tulit].[1]

This can best be compared first with its ultimate source, Livy, 38, 24, 2–10, and with Valerius Maximus, 6, 1, ext. 2.

Livy.	Valerius Maximus.
Orgiagontis reguli uxor forma eximia custodiebatur inter plures captivos, cui custodiae centurio praeerat . . . is . . . corpori . . . vim fecit. certo auri pondere pactus locum prope flumen constituit	Orgiagontis reguli uxor mirae pulchritudinis a centurione, cui custodienda tradita erat stuprum pati coacta
nocte insequenti et duo necessarii mulieris ad constitutum locum et centurio cum captiva venit. ubi cum aurum ostenderent , mulier lingua sua stringerent ferrum et centurionem pensantem aurum occiderent, imperavit. iugulati praecisum caput ipsa involutum veste ferens ad virum Orgiagontem pervenit; . . . caput centurionis ante pedes eius abiecit et iniuriam corporis et ultionem violatae per vim pudicitiae confessa viro est.	postquam ventum est in eum locum in quem centurio misso nuntio necessarios mulieris pretium, quo eam redimerent, adferre iusserat, aurum expendente centurione et in eius pondus animo oculisque intento Gallograecis lingua gentis suae imperavit ut eum occiderent. interfecti deinde caput abscisum manibus retinens ad coniugem venit, abiectoque ante pedes eius iniuriae et ultionis suae ordinem exposuit.

It is evident at a glance that the amount of verbal agreement between the Livy and Valerius Maximus's derivative account is great: there are trifling divergences in phrase and construction, but they are of little significance; still less the use of the classic

[1] Printed thus by Grenfell and Hunt.

expendo for Livy's *penso* and *abscido* for *praecido*. The words et in eius pondus animo oculisque intento are only a rhetorical touch for Livy's cum aurum ostenderent, etc. We must remember that Valerius Maximus was no copyist like Cassiodorus or Jordanes. So far as this single anecdote goes, it would be unnecessary to suppose that he drew from any source but Livy's original account.[1]

When we turn to O, whose author was on a very different literary plane from Valerius Maximus, and compare it with the two older accounts, we find a certain divergence in form of expression. For Livy's *corpori vim fecit* and Valerius Maximus's *stuprum pati coacta* O has the eclectic phrase, so to speak, *cuius vim passa erat;* and passing by the following words, which are perhaps hopelessly corrupt,[2] the simple *occidit* outdoes Livy and Valerius Maximus in making the outraged woman avenge her wrong with her own hands. In this point O and the Periocha agree.

Per. 38 exemplum quoque virtutis et pudicitiae in femina traditur. quae cum regis Gallograecorum uxor fuisset, capta centurionem qui ei vim intulerat occidit.

Although this agrees with O in the point just noted, it differs from it—as from Valerius Maximus and Livy—by shifting the emphasis through cum regis Gallograecorum uxor fuisset in place of the direct statement, as well as by a slightly varying phraseology, qui ei vim intulerat instead of cuius vim passa erat. Especially to be noted is the fact that the Periocha makes no mention of the ransom or of the ghastly proof of her revenge which the princess carried to her husband.

The account given by Florus, and by Jordanes who follows Florus exactly, is as follows: Florus 1, 27, 6. Orgiacontis regis uxor a centurione stuprum passa memorabili exemplo custodiam evasit revolsumque adulteri hostis caput ad maritum reportavit.

Here, too, no mention is made of the ransom, but on the contrary we are told that the queen escaped and carried her violator's head with her; and it is worth while to note that Florus has substituted the more vivid *revellere* for *abscido* and *praecido* of the earlier accounts.

[1] Of course this is not to call into question Sanders' conclusions (Die Quellencontamination, pp. 45 ff.) that Valerius Maximus used an epitome of Livy.

[2] Unless indeed we adopt Rossbach's plausible emendation (Berl. Phil. Woch. No. 31–2, 1904, col. 1020), aurum ad (se) mit[tendum] poscentem. If this be right, we have marked departure from Livy in the facts.

Finally we have the story told by the unknown author of the De Viris Illustribus 55, 2: inter captivos uxor regis Ortiagontis centurioni cuidam in custodiam data; a quo vi stuprata de iniuria tacuit; et post impetrata redemtione marito adulterum interficiendum tradidit.

This writer has departed yet more widely from his predecessors in recording the woman's cleverness, *de iniuria tacuit*, and in transferring the punishment of the centurion from his victim to her husband.

Now the comparison between these five accounts shows unquestionably that all were based ultimately on Livy, who in his turn drew from Polybius (ap. Plut. *mul. virt.* p. 258 E–F). Yet after all allowance has been made for the individualities of the several authors as shown in choice of material and expression, it is clear that all do not stand equally close to their source: the first place belongs to Valerius Maximus; next we have O and the Periocha, independent of each other and not drawn from the same immediate source as is proved by content and style;[1] and finally Florus and the De Viris Illustribus are most remote. But what is chiefly significant for us at the present moment is that, so far as we may judge from this single anecdote, the differences between O and the Periocha, Florus, and De Viris Illustribus make it improbable that the direct source of O was that from which the others drew.[2]

This view is supported by a comparison of the several accounts of the expulsion of L. Quintius Flamininus from the senate. The mutilated text of O is as follows:

O ll. 52–57. L. Quintius Fla[mininus] Gallia quod Philippo [Poeno scorto] suo desiderante gladia[torium specta]culum sua manu Boiu[m[3] nobilem occiderat] a M. Catone[4] cen[sore senatu motus est].

It will be convenient to give the other accounts at once:

Livy 39, 42, 5–43, 3. Censores M. Porcius et L. Valerius septem moverunt senatu, ex quibus unum insignem et nobilitate

[1] Cf. supra pp. 243 ff.

[2] Valerius Maximus is naturally excluded from consideration here by his date. It may be said in passing that it is also by no means certain that the Periocha, Florus, and De Viris Illustribus drew from the same direct source. There are many differences between them similar to those noted above which seem to point to divergent lines of tradition. Cf. Sanders, Die Quellencontamination.

[3] Pap. Bonu[m. [4] Pap. lanatone.

et honoribus, L. Quinctium Flamininum consularem obiecit (sc. Cato) ei Philippum Poenum, carum et nobile scortum, ab Roma in Galliam provinciam spe ingentium donorum perductum. eum puerum, per lasciviam cum cavillaretur, exprobrare consuli persaepe solitum, quod sub ipsum spectaculum gladiatorium abductus ab Roma esset, ut obsequium amatori venditaret. forte epulantibus iis, cum iam vino incaluissent, nuntiatum in convivio esse, nobilem Boium cum liberis transfugam venisse: convenire consulem velle, ut ab eo fidem praesens acciperet. introductum adloqui consulem coepisse. inter cuius sermonem Quinctius scorto "vis tu," inquit, "quoniam gladiatorium spectaculum reliquisti, iam hunc Gallum morientem videre?" et cum is vixdum serio adnuisset, ad nutum scorti consulem stricto gladio loquenti Gallo caput primum percussisse, deinde fugienti latus transfodisse. Valerius Antias ... aliud argumentum ... peragit. Placentiae famosam mulierem, cuius amore deperiret, in convivium accersitam scribit; ibi iactantem sese scorto inter cetera rettulisse, ... quam multos capitis damnatos in vinculis haberet, quos securi percussurus esset. tum illam infra eum adcubantem negasse umquam vidisse quemquam securi ferientem et pervelle id videre. hic indulgentem amatorem unum ex illis miseris adtrahi iussum securi percussisse.

Per. 39 a censoribus L. Valerio Flacco et M. Porcio Catone motus est senatu L. Quintius Flamininus, T. frater, eo quod cum Galliam provinciam consul obtineret, rogatus a Poeno Philippo quem amabat, scorto nobili, Gallum quendam sua manu occiderat sive, ut quidam tradiderunt, unum ex damnatis securi percusserat rogatus a meretrice Placentina, cuius amore deperibat.

Sen. Cont. 9, 2 praef. Flamininus proconsul inter cenam a meretrice rogatus, quae aiebat se numquam vidisse hominem decollari, unum ex damnatis occidit.

Hier. in Matt. 2, 14 Legimus in Romana historia Flamininum ducem Romanum quod accubanti iuxta meretriculae latus quae nunquam se vidisse diceret hominem decollatum, assensus sit ut reus quidam capitalis criminis in convivio truncaretur, a censoribus pulsum curia.

Val. Max. 2, 9, 3 Sicut Porcius Cato L. Flamininum, quem e numero senatorum sustulit, quia in provincia quendam damnatum securi percusserat tempore supplicii ad arbitrium et spectaculum mulierculae, cuius amore tenebatur, electo.

De Viris Ill. 47, 4 Censor (sc. Cato) L. Flamininum consularem senatu movit, quod ille in Gallia ad cuiusdam scorti spectaculum eductum quendam e carcere in convivio iugulari iussisset.

Plutarch, Cato 17 and Titus 18, follows Livy on the whole but shows the influence of Cicero, C. M. 42. He says in both passages—too long to quote here—that at a dinner Flamininus had one of those already condemned killed to please Philip, referring to Cicero as his authority; but he notes that Livy also says that the victim was a refugee and that Flamininus killed him with his own hand. In Titus 18 Valerius Antias is also quoted (from Livy) as saying that this was done to please a meretrix, not Philip. Plutarch therefore need not be considered further here. As for the other accounts it will be readily seen that the Periocha here reproduces Livy most completely; that Seneca and St. Jerome are closely related, using the unusual *decollare* for Livy's *securi percutere;* and that Valerius Maximus and the De Viris Ill. show no striking affinity with any other author.

Omitting however all minor points, we must note primarily that O gives the first half of the story only, while Valerius Maximus, Seneca, De Viris Ill., and St. Jerome confine themselves to the second half. It may properly be urged that such difference in choice does not in itself show difference in direct source, that the original of the five accounts may have contained both versions, may indeed have been the original of the Periocha, and that O took one half while the rest chose the other. This would be entirely possible, if the question depended on this anecdote alone. It is here significant, however, that O follows Livy more closely than the Periocha does in giving the reason for Flamininus's action—Philippo [Poeno scorto] suo desiderante gladia-[torium specta]culum, and also in telling us that the victim was a Boian. Cf. Per. Gallum quendam. The others naturally make him one of those already condemned. Finally, judging from the few cases which we can control, we can hardly attribute to the author of O any literary talent whatsoever beyond that of the copyist; it is therefore highly probable that O reproduces its source pretty closely.

Although absolute certainty in this matter cannot be attained with the scanty material at hand, the comparison just made of these two notices in O with the accounts given elsewhere, as well as the evidence adduced, p. 246 n. 4, makes it very probable that the parent chronicle of O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus was not the

source from which Florus, the author of De Viris Ill., or St. Jerome drew. Seneca and Valerius Maximus might probably be excluded on chronological grounds, even if the differences shown did not exist. For the Periochae (and for Appian) the evidence is abundant.[1]

Reinhold, das Geschichtswerk des Livius als Quelle späterer Historiker, Berlin, 1898, p. 13 comes to the conclusion that Eutropius, Festus, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus all drew from a chronicle which was itself derived from an epitome on which the Periochae and Orosius were based. It is impossible to discuss here the validity of his arguments; but this much may be said, that while Eutropius's work has in large measure the form of a chronicle, and although there are striking parallels between Eutropius and Cassiodorus which point to a close relationship between the two, it is fairly certain that the former used more than a single source in his history of the republic—the only part that concerns us here. Unfortunately O and Eutropius have little in common, but a comparison of O ll. 90–97 with Eutrop. 4, 10 and of O ll. 197–202 with Eutrop. 4, 16 certainly suggests that a re-examination of the evidence might not be unprofitable, for in neither case do the passages give evidence of near relationship.

Any attempt to assign a date for the composition of the parent chronicle of O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus can be of little value. Scholars are still far from agreed as to the date of the Periochae. Grenfell and Hunt, p. 93, assign the compilation of O to the second or third century. Its source need not have been much earlier.[2]

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Sept. 12, 1904.

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[1] Further proof may be obtained by comparing O ll. 89–97 on the beginning of the Third Punic War with Per. 52–53; App. Pun. 75 ff.; Florus 1, 31, 7 ff.; Eutrop. 4, 10; Oros. 4, 22, 1–7. O ll. 197–202 on the killing of Viriathus with Vell. Paterc. 2, 1, 3; Val. Max. 9, 6, 4; App. Iber. 71; Florus 1, 33, 15–17; Eutrop. 4, 16; De Viris Ill. 71; Oros. 5, 4, 1; Per. 54; Dio Cass. frg. 80; etc.

[2] This article was in type before Kornemann's note in No. 37 of the Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift reached me, in which he announces that he has discovered the relationship of O, Obsequens, and Cassiodorus shown above, and promises to present soon the detailed proofs. That the same results have been obtained by two independent workers is a gratifying warrant of their validity.

II.—ON THE RECESSION OF THE LATIN ACCENT IN CONNECTION WITH MONOSYLLABIC WORDS AND THE TRADITIONAL WORD-ORDER.

PART II.

THE LATIN ACCENT AND THE TRADITIONAL WORD-ORDER.

In a previous paper I sought to emphasize the fact that a very great number of Latin word-combinations possess recessive accentuation, and hence, in accordance with current usage, may properly be classed among the Latin 'separable' or 'improper' *composita*. This form of statement is not, however, sufficiently clear, and it seems worth while to define more precisely the conditions under which a recessive accent arises in the Latin sentence, and to illustrate the actual process by some concrete examples. It is probable, for example, that most Latin scholars, if asked to explain the recessive accent in *transfero* or *trans fero* (as it is not infrequently written in the Roman word-division), would say that the accent is *tráns fĕro*, and not *trans féro*, because we have to deal here with a compound verb and cases of genuine composition require a recessive accentuation. Thus the whole explanation is commonly made to turn upon the process of *composition*, as though in this process we had reached the primary cause of accentual change and did not need to examine also into the effects of simple juxtaposition. So far, however, as concerns those classical languages which possess a recessive accent-system, such an assumption is wholly unscientific.[1] An historically correct statement must be somewhat as follows: The accent is recessive in *trans fero*, because a *traditional word-order*, i. e., a preferred and usual word-order, had been established already in I. E., in accordance with which certain adverbs, the so-called verbal prefixes, were commonly placed immediately before the verb (Delbrück, Syntakt. Forsch. V, p. 44 f.).[2] In prehistoric Latin this traditional word-order

[1] For the value and meaning of composition, cf. the references given above, A. J. P. XXV 158.

[2] That is, in I. E. and also in Sanskrit these adverbs (prepositions) held precisely the same relation to the verb that the negatives *non*, *ne*, *nec* and *haud* hold to the Latin verb; cf. Delbrück, l. l., IV 147: "Es war also das Ver-

had no doubt gained still further at the expense of the occasional order, but apparently an invariable order had not been established for any of these combinations; cf. *ob vos sacro, sub vos placo* Festus 190, 2 M. During the Latin historical period, however, the traditional word-order became virtually an invariable order in the case of some of the prefixes, as in *trans fero.* No process of composition has, however, taken place originally in any of these verbs, but only juxtaposition, and, from the purely technical point of view, Victor Henry (Comp. Gramm.[2], Engl. tr., p. 173) is quite right in refusing to admit the existence of any genuine compound verbs in Greek and Latin; in like manner what Stolz (Hist. Gramm. I 404) observes of the combinations *denuo, ilico, profecto*, etc., applies equally to these so-called verbal compounds: "das eigentliche characteristische Moment der Zusammensetzung fehlt bei diesen Verbindungen." Hence the combinations with *ante, post*, etc., in an adverbial sense, i. e., *anteparta* (cf. *postpartor*, Pl.), *antedicta, contradicta, infrascripta* (Inscrr.), *postgeniti* (v. still other examples in Stolz, l. l., 398), though they are regarded with disfavor by many editors of classical texts, are yet, in point of fact, as good Latin 'compounds' as the majority of the verbs in question. Indeed, provided the traditional order can be fully established, it is not even necessary that the two parts of a Latin 'compound' should belong to the same clause, e. g., *nimirum = nisi, mirum est* (Ribbeck, Latein. Partik., p. 17).

hältniss der Negation zum verbum finitum dasselbe wie das Verhältniss der Präposition, es trat keine Zusammensetzung der Negation mit dem Verbum ein, aber eine enge Verbindung zwischen der Negation und der einzelnen Verbalform. Dieses Verhältniss hat sich in den europäischen Sprachen bei einigen Verben behalten. Im Lateinischen gehört hierher namentlich *nescio, nequeo, nolo* [aus **nevolo*], im Slavischen die Verben welche bedeuten *sein, haben, wollen, wissen;*" cf. also Hirt, Der Indogermanische Akzent, p. 171. It is with good reason then that we not only have in Latin the accents *néqueo, néscio, néclego, nécuter, haúscio, nónnihil*, etc., but, as will be shown later, we have, if the negation is prefixed to iambic verbs, regularly *nón queo, nón facis, néque agis*, etc.; thus the old rule has been very largely preserved in Latin as well as in Lithuanian and Slavic, that "die Negation steht auf einer Linie mit den Präverbien" (Hirt, l. l., p. 306). If no Latin verbal *composita* are formed with *non* itself, this is chiefly due to the late development of this particular negation; cf., however, *nonnulli, nonnumquam*, etc., and, in Inscrr., *nonlicebit, nondebuerunt* (Corssen II 881). I may add that we apparently still find in early Latin some traces of the free I. E. position of the negative in relation to the verb; for in Tru. 877 all recent editors read *ne* facere si *velim* for the MS *re* facere (cf. Habich, De negationum usu Plaut., p. 29), although in Mo. 124 reparcunt (BCD) is usually retained (neparcunt L).

I have said that an invariable order was finally established in Latin in the case of some of the verbal prefixes; in perhaps the majority of cases, however, the order never became even approximately invariable, especially in the case of the prefixes *ante*, *circum*, *inter*, *praeter*, *post*, *super*, etc., which form in general only separable *composita*. Yet it is easy to show from Latin verse and from the grammarians that the accent was as strongly recessive in those combinations like *supér erit*, *anté tulit*, *circúm dedit*, which possess only a traditional order, as in those which have gained an invariable order like *tráns fero*. The Latin recessive accent is not due then primarily to the process of 'genuine composition', but it is due to the traditional word-order, which includes genuine composition and much more besides. Thus the verbal prefixes are far from being the only words which may be used to exemplify the I. E. traditional word-order and its effects. Of all the I. E. word-orders the best-known is that in accordance with which the object immediately precedes the verb (Delbrück, l. l., III 24), and the question is entirely legitimate whether, in cases where the object-accusative precedes an iambic verb like *velim*, the accent recedes or not. In fact, we find evidence that both the accent *aquám-velim* and the accent *áquam vélim* were here known; for Plautus allows such apparent double iambic verse-closes as Am. 1058 *ăquám-velim;* Au. 417 *cŏcúm-decet;* Cas. 395 *lŭcrúm-facit;* cf. Inc. inc. fab. 92 R. com. *misericórdiám-rogat* (Klotz, Grundz., p. 244; Hauler, Einl. Phor., p. 38 n. 1), thus treating these combinations as quadrisyllabic words. Similarly, although the word-order is far from invariable (e. g. often *dare operam*, *operam . . . dare*, also *agis nugas* Ci. 581), we find Lachmann's law regularly observed in *operám-datis*, *-damús*, *-daté*, *-daré;*[1] *nugás-agis*, *-agit* (10 times; examples in Lodge, Lex. Pl., p. 81); hence Lindsay's view of the admissible character of the accents *fidém-do*, *coctúm-dabo*, *factúm-volo*, *missám-face* (Journal of Phil. XX 147; The Captivi, p. 369) seems a probable

[1] With the single exception, Ba. 98 *operám-dărĕ* (troch.); anap. is St. 311 operám-dătĭs. The accent *operám-do*, etc., is well attested by the critical feet viz., As. 449 operám das; Per. 372; Ph. 87;—but was not the only accent in use, as Men. 1009 óperam da^{s}bo et, and also in 1st ft., as Ba. 103 óperam da^{s}bo. [I use '1st ft.' throughout in the meaning '1st ft. of a colon'; also numerals written *below* the line indicate *iambic* verse; written *in* the line, *trochaic* verse.] *Pessúm dare* (9 times) has both an invariable order and accent in the dramatists.

one. Cf. also the pronominal combinations originally containing an oblique case, which are often written as one word, i. e. *quodlubet, quoilubet, quolubet, quidvis* (Prehn, Pronom. Indef., p. 28 f.), *quidvoles, quidvolet*, etc., and observe the vowel-weakening seen in *simus* and *libet* for *sumus* and *lubet* respectively (Lindsay, L. L., p. 29). Many indications show, however, that the separate accentuation, as in *áquam vélim*, was much more usual in such cases, e. g. the non-observance of Lachmann's law in examples like Ep. 691 morâm *fácĭs*, quom égo; cf. also As. 380 offícium *fa⁶cis*, etc.

It is in connection, however, with certain special classes of words which were pronounced in close connection with the following word, that the effects of the traditional word-order are best seen, viz., the pronouns, the conjunctions, the prepositions and monosyllabic words in general. The case of the monosyllables and the prepositions will be treated here[1]. If the dialogue verse of the dramatists be examined with reference to those I. E. word-orders which place the monosyllabic object pronouns or the monosyllabic sentence-introducing conjunctions and pronouns[2]—also the subject pronouns—before the verb, we shall find that in all these cases the recession of the accent is fairly complete. For we not only always find in a tribrach sequence *quŏd ĕdīs, út aīs*, etc., but in dactylic and cretic sequences all combinations like *quod facis, quae cupis, id petis, si sapis, hoc age, non queo, id scio, te volo, te rogo, ne time*, etc., are subjected with remarkable strictness to the difficult law of Lachmann respecting the use of dactylic and cretic word-forms[3], i. e., except in the first foot of a colon, such combinations can enter the verse only in the form *quódfacis*,

[1] For a separate treatment of the dissyllabic pronouns and conjunctions, v. my article in the forthcoming volume of the Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1904.

[2] The conjunctions, when followed immediately by the verb, often form a complete sentence, as *sí-sapis, sí-facis*, and the accent of the more frequent combinations is extended by analogy; cf. also the I. E. 'enclisis' of the verb in this position (Hirt, l. l., 307 ff.), which has perhaps been preserved in Latin. Similarly in the case of clauses which consist only of subject and verb, the subject-pronoun precedes the verb (Delbrück, III 13), e. g. *tú-facis;* in general, the word-order subject + verb must be recognized as sometimes causing recession in Latin, as in the verse-closes Poe. 447 quando ămór-iubet; Tri. 533 ille ăgér-fuit.

[3] Similarly even in Phaedrus (I 10, 9 pérdidísse quód-petís) *quod-petis* counts as a trisyllabic word in justifying an app. double iambic verse-close, and Havet's correction (ed. Phaed., p. 181) is needless.

sisapis, népavé, nónpotést, útdecét, útsolés, quám r[em] agis, quid t[u] ais, etc., and not at all in the form *quŏd făcis, nĕ păvĕ, nŏn pŏtĕst*; very rarely as *quod fácis, id vólo*, etc. Finally, by extension of usage, the accent recedes upon any monosyllabic pronoun or adverb prefixed to the verb, i. e. *tíbi aït, hínc-agis, iám-sció;* the analogy of the very numerous verbal *composita* like *pérvidet* may perhaps have been an important factor here. It should further be noted that these conclusions which we have reached respecting the accented character of monosyllabic pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs prefixed to the verb, and which are equally true for prefixed pyrrhic pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs, e. g., always *béne-voló, béne facis, íta scio, égo-scio* (see below p. 269), *néque volo*, and never *bene fácis, ego scio*, etc.[1], are in general agreement with the probable history of Latin verbal accentuation. Thus, according to Hirt, Indog. Akz., p. 171, it is extremely likely that Latin originally retained the extensive I. E. 'enclisis' of the verb and constantly accented the prefixed adverb[2], as appears from verbal forms like *conficio*, earlier **cón facio*, although in historical Latin, to be sure, the accentuation of the prefixed monosyllable or pyrrhic word is limited to those cases which are permitted by the three and four-syllable laws.

The preceding statement may seem to assign too great a role to an abstract traditional word-order and to take too little account of concrete cases. I have purposely chosen it as the most convenient form of expression, but the principle actually involved in the process is probably this: that in every traditional word-order so many familiar word-groups like *quid agis, quod ames*,

[1] Exceptions to this tendency are very few, viz., in the 1st ft., Cas. 54 sibi fŏre; Mi. 117 ubi sŭmus; Mer. 778. Within the verse I have noted only: Mi. 36 ehem, scĭo; Nov. com. fr. 93 age mŏve te; the foll. constitute no real exception: Per. 190 séd-ita vŏlo te; Au. 608 tú-modo căve; Mo. 20. It is true that—owing partly to the recessive tendency, partly to other causes—the disposition to prefer ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏓ to ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏓ is general in dramatic verse, but I do not think that I am mistaken in saying that this tendency reaches its height in connection with the verb and in combinations like *méus pater* (Lindsay, The Captivi, p. 369[2]), *érus meus, érus tuos* (erus méus only in anap. and in 1st ft. iamb. and bacch.; no real exception is Per. 259 nám-erus mĕus; in Cur. 177 either quŏd-meus érus or quod mĕus erús is possible); cf. also Luchs, Comm. Pros. II 13[1].

[2] For other traces of this I. E. 'enclisis,' cf. Hirt, l. l., p. 307: Im germanischen Alliterationsvers ist gewöhnlich ein selbständiges Adverbium höher betont als das Verbum, e. g. Ags. *úpp beran*.

quod facis must arise with a recessive accent that a general type is eventually established, to which the accent even of rare combinations is made to conform.[1] Quite similarly, in the case of rare verbal *composita* like *exbĭbo* (only Mi. 832) or even *expŭto*, the recessive accent really exists because the more frequent combinations like *effero*, *expeto*, etc., have first established a general accentual type. With this explanation of my meaning, I shall continue to refer to an abstract traditional order.

The demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns also possess an I. E. traditional word-order, i. e., they are as a rule prefixed[2] to their substantive (Delbrück, l. l., III 35). Here also we find not only always *quĭs ĕrŭs*, *hic equos*, *hic homo*, but also with very few exceptions, *quis-modŭs*, *hic-locŭs*, *hic-diēs*, etc.; for examples of a similar usage in other I. E. languages, cf. Hirt, l. l., p. 324. Two other traditional orders show, at least in the sensitive tribrach sequence, a complete recession: (1) The personal and demonstrative pronouns and pronominal adverbs attach themselves to the sentence-introducing conjunctions and pronouns (Kämpf, Pronom. Personal., pp. 36, 31), i. e. *sĕd ego*, *quĭs ea*, *nisi ita*, etc. (2) The subject-noun attaches itself directly to the S.-I. conjunctions and pronouns (Delbrück, l. l., V 16, 23), i. e. *ĕt erus*, *sĕd erus*. This habit has apparently been extended also to the oblique cases of the noun in this position, and since all such cases involve Wackernagel's toneless 'second position', we have here also perhaps the retention of an I. E. 'enclisis'. The cases which have been so far mentioned are all of them closely connected with traditional orders; on the other hand, owing to the free position which belongs to the *adverb*[3] in the sentence, nearly all adverbial combinations show a variable accent

[1] In many cases the retention of an original I. E. 'enclisis' is also possible, and in some cases it is highly probable.

[2] Just so Priscian, Keil III 31, 5, observes at some length that certain usually 'prefixed' words, such as the pronoun *hic* (e. g. *hic homo*) and the prohibitive *ne*, belong in almost the same category as the prepositions, which are the prefixed words (*praepositiones*) κατ' ἐξοχήν, and for the accent of which see below (p. 262).

[3] The adverb, being loosely connected with the verb which it modifies, freely varies in position; examples in Braune, Observ. gramm., pp. 12, 33, 60; cf. Leo, Nachr. d. Gött. Ges., 1895, p. 428: "Eine sehr lose Verbindung geht das Adverbium mit dem Verbum, das es bestimmt, eine minder lose mit dem Nomen oder Adverbium ein"; examples of the latter in Braune, pp. 12, 25, 51.

and no observance of Lachmann's law, e. g. Ba. 363 sí măgis úsus; Ad. 708 quí măgis mórem; Ru. 218 quí mĭnŭs sérvio; Cur. 622 te[2] male pérdat; Poe. 16, etc.; also Ad. 701 ni mágis; Cap. 430; we find always, however, in association with the adjective or adverb *tám-citó*, *támdiú*, *tám-malé*.

There is at least one great traditional Latin word-order, which is not wholly of I. E. origin, but is in large part the result of later development; viz., the order in accordance with which the preposition is prefixed to its case. Here also the accent regularly receded; for in tribrach sequences the dramatists accent always *in opus*, and in dactylic and cretic sequences they obey strictly Lachmann's law, i. e. *á patré*, *in maré* (*immaré*), *înforó*, *súmmanús* (cf. *émtibí*, *váemihí*, *súo-sibí*, etc.), and only in the first foot either *ă pătrĕ* or *a pátre*, etc. Thus if we take a separable *compositum* like *apatre*, we shall be able to note the observance of the Lachmann-Ritschl law in the most minute and delicate particulars. For this form must either be placed in the verse-close, i. e. *á patré*, or it must stand within the verse (1) as *ápatrè;* (2) as *ápatrĕ* (St. 71, P and ed. min.)[1]; (3) as *ápatr*[*e*] ⏑⏑. The shorts of *apătrĕ* can neither in whole nor in part be used to form a resolved thesis, and if elision occur, the ultima must be elided into an accented syllable; thus the penult [*a*] *patr*[*e*], [*in*] *for*[*o*] is doubly incapacitated from acting as a Brevis Brevians.[2] Similarly it may be shown from Ahlberg's collection that, after a

[1] This is a permissible license in the case of all dactylic words (cf. Leo on As. 250; Men. 762, and cf. even Maurenbrecher, Hiatus, p. 203 f.), for the reason that the regular verse-treatment of dactylic words *gives a sufficient clew to the reading of the verse independently of quantity;* cf. also Per. 398 vél-facé; Eu. 12 quí-petít, unde ís; et al.

[2] *A* (*cúm*, *dé*, *éx*, *pró*) *patre* occur 13 times in middle of verse with elision into an acute (Cas. 36; Men. 1112; 1113; Mo. 1127; Ps. 730; Tri. 771; 785; Vid. 115; And. 653; Hau. 235; Ad. 951; Ph. 607; 879), 12 times in verse-close (Ba. 665; Men. 31; Mer. 64; 68; Poe. 65; Tri. 741; 775; 778; Tru. 649; And. 252; Acc. fr. 654; Afran. fr. 310); *de pătre*, etc., with long penult, of course occurs later (Sen. H. F. 446; Thy. 310). Also *dd* (*in*, etc.) *mare* occurs 4 times with elision *m. v.* (Ba. 458; Mer. 354; 371; Ru. 295), 4 times *ult. v.* (Poe. 627; Ru. 34; 898; Tru. 564), while we find *in mâre* (cf. *pectóre*) once: Tru. 565 hoc in ma[2]re abit. ∠ *sene*, *cane*, *lare*, *grege*, *sale*, *love* occur 5 times with elision *m. v.* (Cas. 320; Ps. 871; Ad. 362; Hau. 1036; Laber. fr. 110), 6 times *ult. v.* (Am. 1125; Tri. 208; Per. 267; Mi. 966; Hau. 759; perioch. 10). No exception is Tri. 152 *dtrtĭă-mĭlia* (numeral + subst.), nor Tri. 940 a[1]d căpŭt ámnis (1st ft.), but we find Hec. 842 in bre[2]ve, also once in 1st ft. e núce, Cur. 55, and in general we find *ad fŏr*[*um*] (Ps. 1230, usually

preposition, an iambic word is excluded absolutely from the arsis of the proceleusmaticus, i. e. never *ăpŭd ĕrŭm, apud fŏrŭm, sine mŏdŏ, sine mălŏ, super ănŭ, quŏd ĭn mănŭ*, but always *ápud-erúm, ápŭd-forúm, sine-modó, quŏd ĭn mănú*. As shown in the example *quŏd ĭn mănú* (Tri. 914; cf. séd ŏptume, épĭstulam), the accent, in accordance with its general tendency, may sometimes recede still further, but it may not move forward, as in *quod ĭn mânu*. It should be added that the absence of vowel-weakening in the prepositional *composita* is due chiefly to the free occurrence of tmesis-forms (e. g. á bono patre), since, wherever the tmesis-forms are excluded, vowel-weakening freely occurs, e. g. *per annos* (*per . . . annos*), but *perennis; per agros*, but *peregre; quotannis* (adv.), but *quotennis* (adj.); *in loco* (*in . . loco*), but *ilico*. Finally, this 'enclitic' attachment of the noun to the preposition was, according to Hirt (l. l., 43, 299 ff.) a familiar construction in I. E. Both Germanic and Greek (cf. *ἐπίπαν, ὑπέρμορον, διάτριχα*, etc.) preserve some traces of the construction, and Slavic has retained the old rule in actual use to the present day. In primitive Italian, according to v. Planta, Osk.-Umbr. Gramm. I 597, the preposition received the tone and the noun was apparently in all cases 'enclitic'. In historical Latin the old 'enclisis' is preserved not only in many combinations stereotyped as adverbs, e. g. *denuo, sedulo, ilico, comminus, eminus, protinus, antea, interea, interdiu, intervias, profecto*,[1] etc., but as a rule in all combinations of prep. and iambic noun.[2]

The recessive accentuation continued here throughout the classical age (cf. Quintil. I 5, 25 ff.; Annianus ap. Gell. VI 7). True, as we have already seen (A. J. P. XXV 151), the processes of 'recomposition', which give rise to *commando* for *commendo*, **de nóvo* (Fr. de nouveau) for *dĕnuo*, etc., existed to a limited

corrected on other grounds, cf. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 83) and *cum ma¹lŏ* (Ru. 923, in free troch. (?) oct., just as in immediately preceding line *susci¹tăt*) only as we find *pectóre* and *pectóri*; for cases of latter outside 1st ft., cf. Klotz, Grundz., 63, 277 vs. Ahlberg, Correpl. iamb., 46.

[1] In Pl.'s time often still *prófécto*, as shown especially by the procel. Ps. 201: íd tibi prŏ²fĕctó; cf. also St. 614 per hŏrtu²m.

[2] This is the view now generally held by critical students of the Latin accent; see especially the excellent observations of Vendryes, L'intensité initiale, Paris, 1902, p. 108. In V.'s view also we have forms like *admodum, affatim*, instead of **admidum*, **affitim*, because their 'composition' or 'recomposition' is subsequent to the period when the law of vowel-weakening was effective; 'recomposition' seems to me here the important factor.

extent even in the earliest period, but they long remained of secondary importance and did not actually gain the mastery before the late Romance period. In the fifth century the recessive accent appears to have been still predominant; for the grammarians repeatedly class ordinary prepositional phrases like *cismare* and *in locum* among the *composita* in the same manner as *conficio*, *omnipotens*, etc. (Charisius, Keil, I 17, 3; Diom. I 436, 15; Dositheus, VII 389, 4; ib. 409, 27, etc.[1]). Their disputes show also that *ét tamen*, *sét tamen*, *ét quidem*[2] and apparently *ét mihi*[3] were still in actual use.

The verse of the quantitative poets to the latest age bears the same testimony to the general recession of the primary accent; thus often Lucil., Pompon., and Novius (B. C. 90), as Pomp. 66 a^{5}ge anus; Nov. 50 u^{6}bi ego; also Laber. 13 qu$\underset{s}{e}$m ego; CLE.

[1] So also, notwithstanding Gell. VI 7, *af fátim* was not the only accent in this period; for Priscian, III 75, 7 K., writes: 'affătim' a Graeco ἀφάτως, unde et corripitur 'fa', showing that some pronounced *áf fătim*, others *af fâtim*. Further, while the imitation of the Greek rules for the accent of prepositions often creates the greatest confusion in the set statements of the grammarians on this subject (as in the alleged examples citrà forum, antè Iovem, Schöll, l. l., 181, 184), yet often also a correct statement is made, e. g. Diom. I 433, 5 (Schöll, p. 177): Item inveniuntur raro dissyllabae (praepositiones), quae acui desiderant, ut est *circúm*, *intér*. On the frequent imitation of the Greek rules, cf. Schöll, p. 65; for *af fâtim*, v. Arator 2, 326.

[2] Cod. Bern. 83, Suppl., p. 184, 27 K. (Schöll, p. 194): Duas etiam partes vide, ne sub uno accentu pronunties, idest *vérum támen*, quod nihil est aliud, quam *sét támen*, *ét támen*, *ét quídem*: sic *vérum támen* ut duae efferendae sunt.—It is evident that all these accents were in actual use, just as the well-known *istế* and *tríginta*, which are also censured (cf. Skutsch, Forsch. 130 f.); besides, we have *etquidem* expressly named as a *compositum*, Audax VII 349, 18, cf. CGL. II 335, 62, and Ahlberg, Procel. I 62 ff.; also *sitamen* Audax ib. 22; Probus IV 144, 3;—*verumtamen* and *attamen*—the latter not even mentioned by this writer—are often written together in MSS and texts. Abbreviations for all 5 combinations are found in the Comm. Not. Tironian. Similarly the dramatists always (8 times) accent *verúm tamen*, although the intermediate character of the combination allows them to disregard Lachmann's law (4 times: Mi. 585 ver$\underset{1}{u}$m tămĕn, dí; Ba. 1074; Ru. 890; Men. 253); also, outside of the 1st ft., we find always *ét tamén*, *séd tamén*, *át tamén*, except for disregard of L.'s law twice: Naev. fr. 79 át tămĕn $\underset{4}{a}$lii; And. 59. So, except once in 1st ft. (Hau. 1012 níhilo m$\underset{s}{i}$nus), we find always nihiló minus (Men. 953; Poe. 363; Ph. 597; Enn. trag. 368; Phaed. III prol. 48), with disregard of L.'s law once (Enn. tr. 368).

[3] Servius ad Aen. II 124 (Schöll, p. 159[1]): Et mihi iam multi crudele canebant.] quidam graviter pronuntiandum tradunt 'mihi';—where, acc. to the sense, the pronoun is fairly emphatic.

(Büch.) 45, 3 ét ego; 103, 1 quód ego; Phaed. 1, 17, 2 áb ŏvĕ; 1, 9, 5 quíd ĭtă; Mar. Victor., Gram. Lat. VI 92, 12 quíd ĭtă (sotadean); Paulinus Nol. 24, 407 breve pér ĭtĕr. Since, however, a light tribrach like *ab ove* is, upon the whole, conventionally avoided by the later poets (cf. Quint. 9, 4, 140), an anapaestic sequence like *áb eō* is more frequent; e. g., Auson. Lud. 42 sed quíd ego istaéc; Phaed. 3, 19, 5 quód itĕr (v. Havet, p. 160); 3, prol., 46 quód erīt; 1, 21, 5 ád eūm; Syr. sent. 209 a^{3}b eō; 242 ín eūm; Varro γνῶθι σ. 9 út amōr; CLE. 68, 4; 238, 2, etc. A primary accent of this kind is disregarded only in the first foot, as Sen. Tro. 607 quid ágis; CLE. 194. 195 et íta. A secondary accent of this kind is also usually observed, as Cat. 63, 63 égo adulēscens; App. Syr. sent. 63, R., etc., but is freely disregarded in preparing for the verse-close, as Hor. Ep. 17, 74 ego ínimícís equés; Syr. sent. 47.

PLAUTINE USAGE IN TRIBRACH GROUPS.

In the preceding statement I have attempted to give some general account of the recession of the Latin accent both in tribrach and in dactylic groups. I shall now offer a more extended proof of the correctness of this account, and for this purpose it will be convenient to treat these groups separately. I shall begin with the case of tribrach groups.

It is a well-known rule of Latin iambic verse that a tribrach word admits the metrical accent as a rule only in agreement with the grammatical accent, i. e. regularly, *génere*, very rarely *genére;* similarly *cădămī* | tatem, almost never *cădămī* | tatém[1]. Hence if

[1] See TAPA. XXXIV 64 ff. In the treatment of exceptions which is there given a reference should have been made to the cases collected by Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, p. 274; add also *illĭc-hómo* Ep. 45; 671 (Luchs, Hermes VI 279), cf. *altrīmsécus*, Ps. 357, etc.; for late authors, v. Meyer, Beob. d. Wortacc., p. 115 ff. On the other hand, *itáne* (Mi. 1120) and *hicíne* (Mo. 507) should not have been confidently cited (p. 65), cf. Schrader, De -ne . . . prosodia, pp. 15, 12. With respect to the observance of the secondary tribrach accent, as in *cădămī* | tátem (p. 66), credit should have been given to Seyffert, l. l., p. 272, for completing Lindsay's statement and adding Ru. 218 (misĕrĭ-córdiór), Mo. 802 to the exceptions in bacchiac verse. The observance of this accent is important, for, as is well-known, some critics (e. g. Meyer, l. l., p. 38) refuse to admit any influence of the grammatical accent in Latin verse and explain the non-occurrence of *gĕnĕrĕ* by a supposed rule that the two *closing* shorts of a polysyllabic word cannot be used as a resolved arsis; such an hypothesis wholly fails, however, to explain the non-occurrence of *cădămī* | tatém.

Latin tribrach groups like *sed erus, sed ape* | ritur have adopted a similar accentuation, they must in general receive the verse-accent only upon the initial syllable, although the verse admits equally well both the initial and the medial accent (TAPA. XXXIV 68 ff.). In fact, so great a majority of the tribrach and anapaestic groups which actually occur consist of the recessive word-orders named above that the Latin sentence-rhythm appears to have been influenced at this point, and recession has usually occurred even in purely casual combinations. A very simple proof of this general recession in both tribrach and anapaestic groups may be given. As is well known, the iambic proceleusmaticus regularly requires the agreement of word and verse accent, e. g. *vidēs hódie, ibi prius* (Ahlberg, Procel. I 36 f.). If now we examine the complete collection of proceleusmatici which has been made by Ahlberg, we find 48 examples of the type *vides áb ea* (inclusive of 11 examples, which involve syllable-shortening, as in *rogat út illum*, Eu. 618[1]), but of the type *sed ab éă* only a single case, i. e. Ci. 594 *ego ad ánŭm*, which belongs to the license of the first foot.[2] Further it may easily be shown that the avoidance of the types *sed ab éă, sed ut ágăs, neque ego íta* is not due to the formation of either the thesis or the arsis when taken separately (Ahlberg, l. l., 10 f., 11 f., 131 ff.); hence it must be due to the effect produced by the two formations taken conjointly, and this effect is none other than the unnatural accent *sed ab éa, sed ut ágas*. In other words, we have a

It is interesting to note that in Czech also, which is a quantitative language but has developed besides an initial stress accent, "dans les mots du type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ les trois syllabes sont indépendantes, et l'intensité, très forte sur la première, devient faible sur la seconde pour disparaître sur la finale" (Vendryes, l. l., 132). So far as regards ancient testimonies upon the character of the Latin accent, I may add that *Vendryes and similar writers are perhaps mistaken in their statement that the Romans of the best period have absolutely identified the Latin accent with the Greek. On the contrary, Quintilian*, XII 10, 33, *appears to state that the Latin accent differs from the Greek in a quality of hardness or rigidity (rigore quodam), i. e., as I propose to show more fully in another place, in (comparative) inflexibility (of pitch)*.

[1] Such occurrences in procell. prove against the doubts of Birt, Rhein. Mus. 51, 253, that *út illum* is a genuine Latin accent; cf. TAPA. XXXIV 75. The explanation there offered still seems to me essentially correct, though the *definite oxytonesis of the pronouns* should be more stressed, i. e. *illúm, omnés* hence *ut illum, sed ómnes;* cf. my forthcoming article in TAPA. 1904.

[2] No real exceptions occur in Poe. 1259 ut hīc páter-est; Hec. 198 quod hŏc génus-est; Ci. 5; Per. 851; St. 704.

legitimate procel. in *ubi is óbiit*, Au. 15, where the accent recedes three syllables, but not in *ubi is óbit*, where it recedes only two; in *quod in ópere*, Hau. 73, but not in *quod in ópus*, etc. Such a formation as *sed ab êa* occurs only in anapaests, as Poe. 1183 neque ab iŭvĕn|tute ſbi; Ep. 541; Cas. 163, etc. The true formation of the procel. is seen in As. 143 ea sí erant; 818 nisi quídem illa; Poe. 1069 tuos ís erat; Mo. 182; Tri. 516; And. 858 (Ahlberg, pp. 154, 160); the remaining 42 examples are cited TAPA. XXXIV 77.

A second proof is afforded by collecting all the single examples of tribrach groups of the form ⏑, ⏑ ⏑; for the method of measurement, cf. TAPA. XXXIV 78. In general, a recessive *primary* accent is alone admitted by Pl. in these groups; I have observed only five or six exceptions, two of which belong to the first foot, viz., Ps. 881 nam ego ſta; Poe. 839 nisi e⁵rus. Also Au. 789 ſta di ſáciant. || Ét mihi i⁴ta di ſáciant; Mer. 655 si ſd fore i³ta sat (so B, other MSS forte); probably phraseological is Mi. 362 mihi quóque pol ſta-vidétur, cf. ſta-vidétur, Cas. 360. Hau. 599, often mſhi vidétur, etc.; Poe. 705 is scanned by Leo and ed. min. quid itá?, with *syllaba anceps* at change of speaker; cf. Luchs, Hermes VIII 114. In the effort to form legitimate verse-closes, however, Plautus and later poets (p. 265 above) much more frequently disregard the *secondary* accent of these groups, in the third foot from the end of both senarius and sept., viz., Men. 267 *in Épi*damnó duís, cf. *mălĭtiosé* tamén, Mi. 562; Au. 105; Ba. 1065; Men. 316; Mi. 1168; Ps. 434; 878; Ru. 116; 1230; Tri. 618; 679;—very rarely in any other foot, as Cur. 341.

To illustrate the recessive accent of the various word-orders, I have used the ten plays Amph., Asin., Aul., Bacch., Capt., Men., Mil., Poen., Rud., Trin. The examples may be classified as follows:

I. PRONOUN + NOUN.—(a) Demonst., interrog., relative and indef.: híc homo Am. 402; Cap. 793; Poe. 606; 1214; Tri. 892; 963; 1027;—híc equos Ba. 943; 944;—híc adulēscens Ba. 3; Poe. 96;—quís homo Am. 309; 625; 1121; Mi. 615; Ru. 870; Tri. 1176;—quís erus Am. 362;—quí homo Au. 790; Men. 301; Tri. 305;—quí erus As. 658;—quíd opus Mi. 636; 754;—siquíd opus As. 117[1];—quód itĕr Enn. trag. 231.—(b) Pos-

[1] Also Ep. 288 néque opus; cf. Mi. 920. Ps. 349 quód opus (edd. opust); Poe. 436 quíd opus (so A; edd. opust). With *est* we have equally often *séd*

sessive[1]: Mi. 127 méum erum Athénis; 1174 méum opus; Poe. 393 méa inimíca; 1127 o mí ere; Tri. 1110 méo ero amícus; Tru. 215 méa era; 213 méa era apúd nos; 800 túa era; often mí homo, And. 721, etc. (*Total* 34.)

II. PREPOSITION + NOUN OR PRONOUN.—Mi. 879 ín opus (in ópus, in 1st ft. Vid. 75);—ín Epidámno Men. 49; 70; 380 (bis) (in Épidamnó in verse-close Men. 267, cf. p. 267 above);—Ru. 818 cúm erŏ | huc; Ep. 306 égo agrūm | ín agrŏ | Attico; Tri. 305 áb ineúnte; 1019 áb aliéno; Men. 186 ín eo utérque; Mi. 1405 ád eam ut írem. (*Total* 11.)

III. S.-I. CONJUNCTION OR PRONOUN + NOUN.—Am. 452 quód erus; 974 ét era; Au. 278 út erus; 288 séd erus; cf. 826 ábi ere; Ba. 872 úbi erus; Cap. 223 sí erus; 1005 séd erus; ib. ét erus; Men. 1076 tú erus; Mi. 451 át erus; Poe. 264 quía erus; 589 quóm ero amánti; 826. 894 quám erus; Ru. 119 úbi erus; 347 néque erus; 1074 quód erus; cf. 1052. Tri. 617 ó ere. [Other examples in Pl. of ⏑, *erus* are Au. 680; Mi. 859; Mo. 881; 1043; Per. 29; 259; 613; Ps. 1028;—*sed erús* occurs Am. 291; Cap. 241; Per. 514; Ps. 1150; Ru. 345;—*sed érus* only in the 1st ft., Poe. 839, and in Hec. 799 meam e^{s}rus, where it is justified by the sense, cf. méum erum.] Au. 230 úbi onus; Poe. 857 át onus; Cur. 160 út anus; Ba. 936 séd equos; Cas. 811 sí equos; cf. Mi. 464 néque eques; Tru. 130. Per. 221 quó iter;—Poe. 1202. Tri. 123 quód homo;—cf. Men. 325. Mi. 684 tú homo; Mi. 966 quía aduléscens; Tri. 871 quíd aduléscens; Men. 75 módo aduléscens; Ba. 1042 vél ut amátor; Cap. 773; Mi. 25; 431; 600; 601; Am. 599 dúm apud-hóstis; As. 852; 867; Ba. 388; Men. 561; Mi. 662; Poe. 339. (*Total* 47.)

IV. S.-I. CONJUNCTION OR PRONOUN + PRONOUN.—Demonstr. pronoun: úbi ea Ba. 203; 472; Mi. 686;—út ea Mi. 346; Poe. 1015; Tri. 1168;—Cap. 970 át ea; Ru. 1081 ét ea; cf. Cap. 942; 774; Mi. 900;—for other examples, v. A. J. P. XXV 148, n. 2. No real exception is Cap. 329 ut éa-quae; Ba. 554, read orárem | u^{t}t ei, with admissible hiatus. (*Total* 11.)—(b) Personal: *ego*, exclusive of *ego sum*, *ego me*, etc., receives an accented prefix 156 times in the 10 plays, viz., *án*, *át*, *dúm*, *ét*, *éum*, *id*, *ídem*, *íta*,

opus-est (Cap. 894; Mi. 705; 765; Ps. 1255, etc.) and *sed ópus-est* (Am. 956; Cas. 427; Ci. 111; Mi. 795, etc.)

[1] For this more frequent position of the poss. *before* the noun, v. Nilsson Pronom. collocat., p. 12.

ítem, nám, néque, nísi, quám, quási, quid, quód, quém, quoi, quó quóm, séd, sí, tám, úbi, út, vél, etc., also *pól.*[1] The frequent collocations *tíbi ego* and *míhi ego* (Kämpf, l. l. 17; Mahler, De pronom. collocat., 49 ff.) occur 14 times (tibi egó 2ce, viz., Au. 45; Tri. 515), cf. Mi. 331:

Míhi ego vídeo, míhi ego sápio, < míhi > ego crédo plúrumúm.

Cases due to analogy, such as vír ego (Am. 813), bónam ego (Poe. 303), tûam ego (Tri. 59), scío ego (Cap. 326; Mi. 1325; 1343;—in all 8 times in Pl., cf. Kämpf, l. l., 4) occur 12 times. Against these 182 cases of the type *séd ego*, we find only 12 cases which are ambiguous, admitting either *sed égo* or *sed egṓ*. In 7 of these cases (Am. 933; As. 838; Au. 45; Ba. 965; Men. 463; 484; Tri. 515) we should clearly scan *sed egó*, since *egō* is accepted as an occasional scansion by the best authorities (Lepperman, De corrept., 9; Klotz, Grundz., 52; Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, p. 260); in the 5 remaining cases (Au. 811; Ba. 78; Cap. 1000; Mi. 1429; Ru. 464), it is possible that the subject-pronoun, prefixed to the *verb*, forms with it a quadrisyllabic group, i. e. *égo scio*[2], like *méus pater, méus erus*, hence quod e'go-scio, Mi. 1429. [Égo sció occurs in Pl. 8 times, never ego scío, viz., Ep. 663; Mer. 453; 888; 889; Mi. 1429; Per. 588; Poe. 1238; Ps. 391;—so égo voló 5 times, viz., Cas. 359; Ci. 112; 645; Mer. 460; Mi. 1255;—and in general the type néque scio (inclusive of ego s.) occurs 14 times, néque volo 23 times, the one exception being only apparent, viz., Per. 190 séd-ita vólo te.]

All these combinations, as well as *etea, etille, utipse*, etc., are not seldom written together in the Pl. MSS, e. g. *polego* (B or C): Mi. 526; Poe. 1289; St. 108, etc. Note further that *quid ego, quid ille, quippe ego* take precedence over the *composita quidni* or *quinni* (v. examples in Niemeyer on Mi. 1120), *quidiam* (Ep. 281 quid ego iam, cf. Leo, Nachr. d. Gött. Ges., 1895, p. 425), *quippini* (Ps. 895 quippe ego te ni), *quidnunc* or *quinnunc* (Ep. 148 quid tu nunc? patierin?, where Seyffert's punctuation, Stud.

[1] The citations for 3 plays are: Cap. 102; 310; 312; 556; 640; 660; 821; 827; 839; 879; 886; 899; 901; 934; 961; 962; 995;——Mi. 197; 246; 289; 305; 371; 433; 526; 640; 652; 771; 780; 804; 1120; 1148; 1160; 1206; 1281; 1311; 1328;——Ru. 158; 238; 333; 435; 450; 454; 466; 566; 608; 732; 842; 844; 860; 964; 970; 1006; 1025; 1028; 1048; 1072; 1134; 1297; 1388; 1411. (*Total* 60.)

[2] For the regular orders *égo ago, égo agam*, cf. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 54.

Pl., 18, quid tu? nunc patierin? is unnecessary); Pl. uses the formula qui[1]d ego núnc faciám in trochaic verse (Mi. 305; Mo. 371, etc.), but in iambic verse he avoids *quid égo* by shifting the order to quid nún[1]c ego fá[2]ciam (Mer. 712; Ba. 857), cf. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud., 55. How strong the attraction of conjunctions is for *ego* may be seen from As. 232: *at ego* est etiam prius quam abis quod *volo* loqui; Poe. 924; 1208; Ru. 964; Mi. 352; Eu. 142. Still another proof may be given that these combinations are in a certain sense *composita* (cf. Greek τρεισκαίδεκα, etc.): Even in those cases where *ego* is most strongly emphatic from the meaning of the sentence, the accent still falls invariably upon the prefix. E. g. Men. 1085 f. Nón egó.|| Át egŏ; And. 563 tibi ita hóc vidétur; át ego nón posse árbitror; Am. 436; 438; 439; 813; Au. 734; Ba. 81; Cap. 310; 934; 961; Men. 439; Mi. 246; 433; Poe. 334; Ru. 566; 964; 1006; 1025; 1411; Tri. 1162; Tru. 946 f., etc.; Hec. 850; Eu. 1086; Lucil. XXVI 16 M.—For somewhat similar uses, cf. the English accents 'fór-me', 'wíth-me', 'gíve-me', 'dówn-town', 'ánd, sir', 'nóbody', 'ánybody', 'I wánt to know', 'The fool hath said, There ís-no God'.

In the quadrisyllabic groups, *sed ego-me, ego-te*, etc. (TAPA. XXXIV 87, 90), both accents are admissible. The medial accent occurs 8 times: Am. 800; Au. 217; Ba. 886; Cap. 575; Men. 148; 299; Poe. 701; Ru. 1055;—the initial accent is twice as frequent: As. 827; Au. 584; Ba. 149; Cap. 631, etc. Similarly ◡́, *ego-sum* occurs 14 times: Am. 374; 438; 992; 1021; 1029, etc.; ◡, *égo-sum* occurs 4 times: Ba. 949; Men. 302; Poe. 1377; Tri. 447; cf. ego hómo-sum, As. 490. For this treatment of *egosum* as a single word, cf. the position of the interrogative *-ne* Mo. 362: séd-ego-súmne infelix, which Kämpf, l. l., 43, would needlessly emend.

V. S.-I. CONJUNCTIONS AND PRONOUNS + PRONOM. ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS.—(a) *Ibi, ita:* Poe. 1132 quíd ibi;—quíd ita Ba. 87; 680; Tri. 884, v. also Luchs, Hermes VIII 114;—séd ita Per. 190; 839; St. 579; Hau. 941;—án ita As. 505; Tri. 307;—Am. 572 íd ita; Au. 492 sí ita; Cap. 622 át ita; Mi. 616 pól ita; 1120 ní ita; 1356 ét ita (so ed. mai., but MSS ét si|íta); Tri. 311 té ita; 343 út ita; St. 92 quía ita; cf. Mi. 466 án utrobíque. Note ut ibí As. 709; at íta-me dí ament Mi. 501 (TAPA. XXXIV 89); for 3 exceptions, v. p. 267.—(b) *Ubi, uti:* séd ubi Am. 504; Ru. 707;—Am. 413 ét ubi; Au. 198 quí

ubi; Ba. 49 tíbi ubi; 84 égo ubi; Cap. 234 íd ubi; 290 súo ubi; Men. 10 nísi ubi; Mi. 946 nequíd ubi; cf. Am. 9 éa uti; cf. 598; cf. the writing *itauti* in Inscrr. (Act. fratr. arv. a. 86, l. 44; a. 87, 1, l. 35). Scan sed ubí Au. 439; Ba. 685; Men. 299; Poe. 1131; Ru. 465.—(c) *Eni(m)*, with prefixes *át, ego, et, id, ita, neque, quia*, etc. (19 times): Am. 266; 410; 666; 694; 759; 1034; As. 33; Ba. 457; 993, etc. In other cases the scansion is not *sed énim*, but *sed enim*, cf. the verse-closes Per. 62 nĕque ĕnĭm decĕt, and Eu. 797 quíd ăgĭs? tacĕ. (*Total* 42.)

VI. PRONOUNS (SUBJECT OR OBJECT) + VERB.[1]—Quíd agis As. 297; Au. 536; Men. 138; Mi. 170; 178; 276; 1139; Poe. 862;—age siquíd agis Ep. 196; Mi. 215; Per. 659; St. 715; 717; Tri. 981;—quíd agĭt Ru. 592; Tri. 55;—quíd (quód) agat Men. 465; Mi. 205; Tri. 865; 1007; Enn. tr. 185;—ídagĭt Tri. 699 (itagit B); Enn. tr. 186;—see further TAPA. XXXIV 81, and, on the frequency of *ago* with prefixed pronom. object, cf. Lodge, Lex. Pl., p. 80; Thesaurus L. L., p. 1378;—quíd aïs Am. 364; 848; As. 104; 371; 521; Cap. 577; 612, etc. (21 times in 10 plays);—ecquíd aïs Poe. 364;—quíd aït As. 884; Poe. 1024;—quís aït Cap. 480;—cf. tíbi (síbi) aït Men. 1108; Poe. 1018;—Am. 450 quó agis té; 473 quám amat; Au. 467 úbi erat háec;—cf. Ba. 1143. Phor. 435 tíbi habe;—Cap. 285. 983 quíd erat eí;—Men. 90. Tri. 339 quód edit; Men. 166 quíd olet; Mi. 588 íd adimátur; 863 quo té agis; 1123 quód agis; 1190 út eat; 1431 quís erat; Per. 98 quód eat; cf. Ru. 502 tíbi erat; 1027 tú abi; 1297 quí habet; Tri. 1078 té agis; 1084 ís habitátum huc. (*Total* 64.)

VII. S.-I. CONJUNCTION + VERB.—Sí eris As. 228; Cap. 959; 968; Tri. 677 (?); 1068;—úbi eris (erit) Ba. 757; Ep. 279; 423; 656; Tri. 191; And. 684; Caecil. fr. 97;—[other examples of ⏑, *eris, erit* are Cas. 215 (?); Ci. 48; Ep. 291; 298; Poe. 1228; St. 710; Tri. 388; Tru. 362; 883;—the three foll. are legitimate

[1] I have included in these examples all those forms like *amat, erat, habet, amet, agat, edit* (followed by an initial vowel), which were, to be sure, not actually short in Pl.'s time (Müller, Pl. Pr., 58 ff.), but which were soon afterwards completely shortened, since they could easily have been used as short under the Brevis Brevians law. Examples of *aïs* (cf. Fleckeisen, Jahn's Jahrb. LXI 19) are included for the same reason. Cases of *ero, ago, emo*, etc., are not included, viz., Tri. 1062 quíd ago; Ps. 997 íd ago; Men. 106 néque edo néque emo; Ba. 78 is either sci[1]ŏ quĭd ăgo. Ét pol (ed. min.), or better: sci[1]o<ego> quíd ago. Et pól ego (ed. mai.)

procell. : As. 110 ŭbi ĕrĭs ŭbiquomque; Per. 469; Tri. 714, cf. Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, p. 282; also Terentianus 2357 is erĭt anapaéstus (Müller, Res Metr. 172.)] séd aperítur Cap. 108; Cas. 779; Men. 108;—Am. 962 séd age; cf. As. 327. Per. 606 áge age; Ba. 702 nísi ut amétis; Tri. 169 ét inhiávit. (*Total* 15.)

VIII. ADVERB + VERB.—The adverbs *bene*, *male*, *ita*, *mage*, *pote*, *sat*, *domi*, etc., form virtual *composita:* As. 173 mále agis; Tru. 846 béne agis; [false is Au. 658 *ed. min.* male ágit < hic >; Leo male égit];—sât agit As. 440; Hau. 225;—As. 844 mále habet; Men. 801 béne habet; 386 mâge amet; Mi. 232 béne amet (on the formula ita mé di béne ament, v. Hauler on Phor. 165);—Mi. 191. 194 dómi habet, cf. the frequent dómitiónem, as Lucil. XXVI 34. Virtual *composita* also are *beneolet* (cf. beneolentia, Hieron.), *maleolet*, *poterit*, *beneerit*, *maleerit*, *saterit*[1] (cf. Mart. Cap. V § 539 sat eritque), *satscio* (cf. hauscio), *maletractat* (maletractatio, Arnob.); v. also Hauler's note, Phor. 788, on *beneparta* (mei patris beneparta) used substantively like *benefacta*, *benedicta*, and for cases of *bene agere*, *male agere*, *sat agere*, v. Lodge, Lex. Pl., p. 79 f.; of rare occurrence here are the tmesis-forms, e. g., Syr. sent. 332 male sécum agit; Pl. Ep. 696 béne hoc habét; Mo. 709. Similarly *mage amo* (*mageamo*) is almost as genuine a compound in Pl. as *mavolo;* for, of the 10 cases in which the form *mage* occurs, 6 involve this combination (Leo, Forsch., p. 264). The full form mâgis-amo also occurs (Mo. 231; Mi. 1263, etc.), just as *sátis-habet* and *sátis-scio* are used by the side of the usual *sáthabet* (13 times) and *sátsciŏ* (14 times), both of which observe an invariable order in the dramatists.[2] With the full pyrrhic forms also (*bene*, *male*, etc.) we have always the recessive accent, as in *bénefacis*, *bénevale* (Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 82), *bénevolo*, *bénemerens*, etc.; thus, according to Ahlberg's collection, the dramatists have 15 examples of procell. like *bene fácitis*, *male fácitis* (trisyllabic verb), but not one example of *bene fácis*, *male fácis* (dissyllabic verb). We find instead always *béne facis*, etc., with the single exception that the less frequent and less fixed secondary accent does not always

[1] Cf. the writing satest Tru. 22; 542; 644 (B), saterat Poe. 458 (B), satesse Per. 686 (C); also iterant (edd. ita erant) Mo. 640 (BC), cf. itast.

[2] Scarcely an exception is Ru. 292 id *sat est* habendum; improbable is the usual correction in Au. 187: sat hábes (MSS satĭs habes).

recede, e. g., St. 117 *male fáci*|undíst; Inc. tr. fr. 160. In view of these facts, the frequent tmesis-forms (Ritschl, Opusc. II 721, Anm.) and the separate orthography of the republican Inscrr. (Corssen, Ausspr. II² 887) are far from determining the question of the accent.

IX. Analogical Influence of Traditional Orders.— Some examples have been already cited above (pp. 268, 271); in addition we may refer to this class the foll.: Au. 6 míhi avos; 64 quóque habet;—Au. 680. Mi. 859 mé erus; Cap. 148 égo aliénus;—Men. 502. Mi. 427 míhi odiósus; Men. 661 túa ut opínor; 675 síbi inimícus; Mi. 99 míhi aduléscens; 225 hanc rém age; 332 mé homo; 741 tám in amíci; Poe. 874 cíto homo; Ru. 733 ví agis; 1404 pálam age; Tri. 51 túa agit úxor (A); 93 ád inimíci; 311 té ita; 388 túom erit. (*Total* 20.)

Finally, the recessive accent is clearly illustrated by those cases in which several examples of its use occur in the same verse. E. g.

Cap. 1005: *Séd erus* éccum ante óstium, *ét erus* álter éccum ex Álidé.

Mer. 744: Nam *qui amat quód amat sí habet, id habet pró cibó.*

Cf. Tri. 980 (*is eras, qui eras,* quí tum *nón erás*); Mo. 1100 (*quód agas, id agas*); Poe. 867 (*quód edis, quód ames,* acc. to P.); Per. 592 (*quíd ita? quíd enim?*); Mi. 352 (*séd ego quód ago*); St. 539. 44. 46. 49. 52. 53 (*quási ego* 6 times), etc.

That it long continued in use may be seen from the cases of hiatus which the dactylic poets permit after unaccented monosyllables (monosyllables in thesis), cf. L. Müller, R. M.², 371f. E. g. Lucil. I 32 M. quăm hŏmó; XXX 24 quŏ ĕám; Verg. Ecl. 8, 108 án quĭ ămánt; Cat. 97, 1 mé dĭ ămént; Hor. S. 1, 9, 38 sí mĕ ămás; 2, 2, 28 nŭm ădést, etc.

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III.—NOTES ON THE FIRST BOOK OF THE AENEID.

8 quo numine laeso, 181 Anthea si quem iactatum ventis videat. The indefinite adjective in v. 181 is certainly best explained by attributing to it an adverbial force, such as belongs to *nullus* and to temporal adjectives. The variant *qua* gives the meaning; Mr. Page, who points out the incorrectness of the paraphrase *sicubi* (which would make *quem* = local *qua*), himself renders by 'it may be.' But this phrase introduces a notion of alternatives which cannot be expressed by *qua*. The *si quem* of v. 181 is equivalent to the *si forte* of v. 375; in II 81 the adverbial adjective *aliquod* is strengthened by the addition of *forte*. Passages which I have not found cited for this use of the adjective are Ov. M. IX 8 f. and Stat. Th. II 359 f.

Wagner argued for a like value of the interrogative adjective in v. 8. The passages cited by him fall (omitting Catal. 8 (10), 10, where the text is doubtful) into three classes; 1) E. VI 80 f., G. II 271, IV 505, A. II 322, III 337; 2) A. IV 429, VI 466. In these two classes more recent editors generally reject or disregard the interpretation of the pronoun as adverbial, which is in some cases impossible, in the rest at least unnecessary. Then 3) Cic. Rep. I 56. 36, imitabor ergo Aratum qui . . . a Iove incipiendum putat. Quo Iove? aut quid habet illius carminis simile haec oratio? Another example of the same usage is Cic. de Or. I 22. 104, est enim apud M. Pisonem Peripateticus Staseas Quem tu mihi, inquit Mucius, Staseam, quem Peripateticum narras? and in Greek Plat. Rep. I 330 B, *πότερον δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Κέφαλε, ὧν κέκτησαι τὰ πλείω παρέλαβες ἢ ἐπεκτήσω; ποῖ' ἐπεκτησάμην, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες*; The earmarks of this colloquialism (in Latin perhaps, to judge by the places where it is found, a literary and borrowed colloquialism) are two: the use of a pronoun where we should employ an adverb, and the association of this pronoun with a word repeated after the interlocutor. As the repetition and the colloquial environment are wanting to the Virgilian passage, the parallel is inexact and there is no ground for taking the adjective in other than its proper sense. That *numen* can = *voluntas* has been sufficiently shown by Henry, though some of the passages adduced by him require a different interpretation. Kvíčala objects

(against Weidner) that *numen* signifies "nur das gesammte Willensvermögen", not "eine einzelne Willensäusserung"; it is equally true that *voluntas* leans more to the abstract side than do Eng. "wish" and Ger. "Wunsch". Such expressions as "what's your will", or "ich habe einen Wunsch", would normally be rendered by the Latin verb; it is, therefore, only what we expect to find that Cicero, R. A. 50. 145, qua in re tuam voluntatem a me laedi putas?, prefers an adverbial to an adjectival interrogative. But abstract shifts easily to concrete; that a *quam tuam voluntatem* would not have been impossible is shown by Caes. B. C. III 109, quid esset suae voluntatis, which is a very good parallel to V. A. II 123, quae sint ea numina divom.

148 ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est seditio. The use elsewhere of *saepe* after a word of comparison (*qualis* A. V 273, *ceu* ib. X 723, *ut* G. II 279, Cic. Cat. I 13. 31) makes it reasonable to associate the adverb here with *veluti* and to assume that it and the preceding prepositional phrase have exchanged places in their respective clauses—a transposition scarcely more violent than that of *deinde*, v. 195, or that admitted by Ovid in M. IX 707, neque erat ficti nisi conscia nutrix. And if in Ter. Hec. 307 we adopt the reading of Dziatzko, non maxumae sunt maxumas quae interdum iras iniuriae faciunt, this offers a like example of double transposition (rhetorically, indeed, more effective and eased by the general frequency of the incorporation of the antecedent).—But the comment of Servius, saepe autem ut fieri solet, seems to have influenced not only some Virgilian editors, but also Munro in his note on Lucr. V 1231 f., nequiquam, quoniam violento turbine saepe correptus nilo fertur minus ad vada leti: "Lucr. does not mean to say 'in vain, since he often perishes none the less'; but what he means is this, 'since in every case a man perishes none the less for all his prayers, as we see by various examples'; *saepe* therefore means *id quod saepe fieri videmus;* though less marked it has essentially the same force in such passages as II 85 and IV 34, where *cum saepe* means *cum ut saepe fit;* III 912 (hoc etiam faciunt)[1] ubi discubuere tenentque pocula saepe homines, i. e. ut saepe fit." But in this last passage the main clause simply straddles the subordinate clauses, and the adverb, belonging rhythmically to *homines* and by signification most naturally to *faciunt*, helps to draw the two together and to make us feel the prime pertinence of the

[1] These words are omitted in Munro's citation.

former as in the first instance subject of the latter. Giussani's comment, "saepe vale per tutta la scena discritta", seems to imply that he regards it as belonging to all three verbs; this is syntactically difficult and, like Munro's interpretation, throws the emphasis where it is less needed; the querulousness of men is the essential element, the conviviality is merely incidental. In V 1231 Munro's rendering of *saepe* seems to attribute to Lucretius the exaggerated statement that they who pray must perish; the fact that destruction often follows on a prayer for preservation suffices to prove to the Epicurean the general uselessness of prayer. In IV 34 there is obviously no need for departing from the ordinary interpretation of the adverb; in II 85 the rendering *ut saepe fit* would answer excellently and might be admitted if there were otherwise any evidence, or any syntactical probability, that this or any other adverb could be so paraphrased. But the adverb which modifies the verb may be resolved only into a principal clause (for various forms of such resolution in the case of *saepe* cp. Pl. Most. 108, Ter. Hec. 308, Lucr. I 897); the adverb can be resolved into a subordinate, always a relative, clause only when it stands as attribute to a substantive, as in the examples cited in Kuehner, II p. 165. Here, indeed, it is usually the substantive that, being in apposition, has the value of a relative clause and carries the adverb along with it, as in V. A. I 21, populum late regem=*qui late regeret;* more rarely the adverb alone represents the clause, as in Liv. I 17, 4, multarum circa civitatum=*quae circa erant.* We must then seek for Lucr. II 85 f., nam cum[1] cita saepe obvia conflixere, an interpretation which shall not violate the syntax of the adverb. Munro's translation—"For when during motion they have, as often happens, met and clashed"—brings *obvia* into close connection with *conflixere;* the fact that the adjective is often associated with verbs which express the notion of going suggests that we should here connect it with *cita*, which expresses the beginning of going. If we punctuate, nam cum, cita saepe obvia, conflixere, we shall have a participle to which will belong the value not of a temporal but of a relative clause, and to which the adjective will stand in a predicative relation; and the participial clause may be paraphrased by *quae saepe ita cita sunt ut obvia essent*, "which often have been so set in motion (are moving on such lines) as to meet."

[1] *Cum* is, of course, a conjecture, but, I believe, universally accepted.

156 curruque volans dat lora secundo. Henry agrees with Servius in explaining *secundo* by *obsequenti*, understanding, however, as object not the impossible Servian *Troianis*, but *Neptuno* or *aurigae*. That the adjective may have this value, is true, but must be demonstrated from other examples than Henry's. The transitive *secundare* of Prop. III (IV) 21. 14 has no place here; it is to be explained from Servius on A. III 36, secundarent . . . prosperos facerent. But Tac. A. II 24, secundante vento, shows an intransitive *secundare = secundum esse*[1]; and the adjective shows the metaphorical notion of *obsequium* in Sall. Iug. 14. 19, omnia secunda et oboedientia sunt; that we have here a pleonasm, in which the second adjective explains the first, and that *secunda* is not to be rendered by *prospera*, seems to be a natural inference from the context. We have a *re obsequi* in Pl. As. 496, secunda mihi facis, a *verbis obsequi* in Sall. Iug. 65. 3 hominem secunda oratione extollit ("i. e. quae illius sententiae non adversaretur, sed secundum eam esset, eique adularetur ac blandiretur" Kritz), in Ov. A. A. I 584, nec dubites illi verba secunda loqui, and Liv. II 38. 1, audientes secunda irae verba; so, too, in Enn. A. 307 M., 194. 14 B., secunda loquens in tempore, beside which passage are to be set Ter. Haut. 827, obsecundato in loco, and Ad. 994, haec reprehendere et corrigere me et secundare in loco. This last seems to be the only passage where the simple verb = *obsequi*, and the form is preserved only by Donatus; the Terentian manuscripts exhibit the more usual *obsecundare*, which spoils the metre. Donatus offers two explanations: vel in melius convertere vel obsequi; the second is confirmed by the contrast of *secundare in loco* with v. 990, quia non iusta iniusta, prorsus omnia omnino obsequor.

This metaphorical sense is, however, too remote from the context of the Virgilian passage; with *currus* the adjective is most naturally felt to have its primitive sense of motion. So, in fact, most commentators take it; Conington's remark, "the idea in *secundo* is that of easy gliding" expresses the general view.

[1]So, at least, according to Lewis and Short, s. v.; but as Tacitus is more given to developing new usages than to retaining old, it is possible that he may employ the verb absolutely on the basis of *secundare iter, aquas* (Ov. Her. 13, 136), or the like. The question cannot easily be determined from the few examples: Draeger says: "*secundante* in derselben Verbindung bei Justin 26. 3. Sonst dichterisch und im Spätlatein"; but the last part of his remark seems to apply only to the better known transitive verb.

The provenance of this signification is commonly explained by regarding *curru secundo* as analogous to *secundo flumine*, *vento*, and the like. But in those phrases the implied object of the verbal adjective is always the subject of the main action, and the adjective itself denotes not, as Henry says, "seconding you, going in the direction you wish," but simply "following"; V. G. III 447, (aries) secundo defluit amni ("drifts down with the stream behind him"), gives the type. To this type *curru volat secundo*, whether *curru* be taken as ablative or as dative, does not conform; neither chariot nor horses follow the driver.[1]

It is out of place to cite, as Conington and Forbiger do, the elaborate *vela secunda dare*, which Ovid (A. A. II 64, Fast. III 790) employs in two distinct senses, and with which is to be compared V. A. III 455, sinus implere secundos; only a complete departure from the primitive meaning could allow the adjective to be combined with these substantives, and its force is exerted on the complex of verb and substantive, not on the latter alone. On the other hand, Conington's citation of A. VI 146, namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur, is, as Forbiger says, apt, and indeed offers the only logical explanation. Gossrau says: "*curru secundo*, celeri vel qui facile equos sequitur"; the second of his alternatives is the right one, for there is no way in which the adjective can gain the meaning "swift" attributed to it by Heyne. The examples given in Lewis and Short of *sequi* denoting an easy yielding to a tractive force, all have, or imply, *manum*, or an equivalent, as object; but another mode of traction is expressed in Ov. Met. IV 54, lana sua fila sequente, and is implied, though without a definite suggestion, in the absolute use of the verb, ibid. I 647, si modo verba sequantur (both passages cited by Henry, but not pertinent to his interpretation). Of course, in this view *curru* must be ablative, as indeed it must be according to any other interpretation of the adjective than that of Servius and Henry.

[1]Perhaps an exception to the type occurs in Sall. Iug. 19. 3, secundo mari prima Cyrene est. Wirz (Jacobs[8]), indeed, seeks to make this conform by explaining: so dass das Meer mitfolgt, d. h. zur Seite des Reisenden bleibt". It seems to me difficult to assume such a meaning for *sequi*, and easier to believe that Sallust simply did violence to the adjective in aiming at a variation from the normal *secundum mare*. Such a use as that in Caes. B. G. VII 58, secundo flumine iter facere coepit, where a march along the bank is meant, may have helped him to the new term, but is not parallel; for Labienus was actually marching down the river.

455 f. artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem miratur. Neither Ribbeck's *intrans* nor Peerlkamp's *mirantur* has found general acceptance; and against the reading of cod. Bern. 184 pr. m., *intra se*, there stands such an overwhelming mass of testimony, that Deuticke, not convinced of its correctness, admits it only in default of a better.

For *a. m. inter se* Servius offers the explanation: hoc est, habebat artificum comparationem; Servius Dan. adds: 'inter se' autem inter se certantium, vel aliquid tale. Each of these explanations has found modern adherents, and either is conceivably possible; both lack confirmation by parallel passages. Mr. Page, adopting the former, says: "*Artificum manus inter se similes, dissimiles*, would be ordinary Latin; so would *a. m. inter se mirabiles*, and so why not *a. m. inter se miratur?* For *miratur* put *mirabiles putat*, and all is clear". But the expression *inter se mirabiles* is so far from being ordinary that no example of it seems to occur; and while it is not incredible that *inter se* should contain the idea of comparison (which is not contained in *miror* and its derivatives), this also lacks confirmation by examples. The notion of rivalry, read into the prepositional phrase by Servius Dan., is found in Tac. H. III 29: acerrimum tertiae septimaeque legionum certamen; et dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliaribus eodem incubuerat. Obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent, etc. Here the meaning of *inter se* is shown by the preceding *certamen* and by the situation; in the Virgilian passage there is no word pointing to the idea of rivalry, and the situation, while not altogether averse from that idea, does not inevitably provoke it.

A third explanation is that offered by Siebelis (Gymnasialprogr., Hildburghausen, 1845), *artificum manus inter se operantium*, which is essentially the same as those of Kappes and Schrader (quoted by Forbiger) and of Metzger (Philol. XXXV p. 563), who translates by "die arbeiter die einander in die hände arbeiten". In their brief treatment of the matter both Siebelis and Metzger (probably also Schrader, whose view I know only through Forbiger) are open to the criticism passed by Kvíčala on Kappes of having failed sufficiently to consider the nature of the expression *inter se*, which, says Kvíčala, "nur mit einem solchen Substantiv verbunden wird, welches den Begriff der Wechselseitigkeit schon in sich trägt ferner kann man sagen *amor inter se* u. dgl., weil man auch sagt *amare inter se*, aber

laborare inter se ist nicht zulässig, und ebenso wenig *labor inter se* oder etwas ähnliches". This statement, while too sweeping, defines correctly the normal use of the phrase in question, the nature of which, as well as the exceptions to the norm, it is worth while to consider with care.

The combination formed by *inter* with a pronoun that may be understood in a reciprocal sense (*nos*, *vos*, *se*) is employed, in the first place with verbs or verbal substantives, the action of which involves two persons, each of whom is necessarily alike agent and "patient": *Seius et Titius inter se contendunt* = *Seius cum Titio et Titius cum Seio contendit;* and the relation remains the same, though less sharply defined, if only one object and one subject are expressed, as in *Seius cum Titio contendit.* It is further employed with words in which such reciprocity, while not inevitably contained, is readily suggested by the nature of the action; the sentence *Seius cum Titio loquitur* may limit speech to Seius and leave Titius a *persona muta*, but it also allows us to infer the exchange of words which is definitely expressed by *Titius et Seius inter se loquuntur.* Finally, in *Seius Titium amat* the action runs only one way and there is no scope for inference; but the current which sets from personal subject to personal object is potentially reflexible, and we thus easily arrive at a *Seius et Titius inter se amant.*

With verbs, the action of which is directed toward no object, or toward one that is not personal, there can be no true interaction; if such verbs are nevertheless sometimes accompanied by *inter se* etc., this seems to be, in the main, because of the intimate relation between *inter* and *cum.* In associating with verbs of the type of *loqui*, *coire*, *contendere* the latter preposition, forced beyond its primitive signification of mere accompaniment, comes into close touch with *inter*, which again sometimes follows *cum* back to its own ground. This process yields such forms of expression as the following, distinct exceptions to Kvíčala's rule:

Lucr. II 29, inter se prostrati in gramine; ibid. 76, inter se mortales mutua vivunt (cf. Cic. C. M. 14. 49, secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere, where Reid cites Tusc. I 31. 75, Pers. 4. 52); id. V 959 f., neque ullis moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti (cf. V. A. II 453, pervius usus tectorum inter se, where the verbal substantive *usus* has the value of a passive verb); Cic. Fam. IX 3. 1, ne nostra nobiscum aut inter nos cessatio vituperetur (with *nobiscum* cf. Prop. III (IV) 23. 15, cessabimus una;

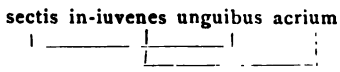
but Cicero does not remain content with the notion of simple companionship, which is all that the verb properly admits); de Or. I 1. 2, ad eas artis celebrandas inter nosque recolendas; Sall. Iug. 41. 2, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant[1]; V. G. I 301, mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant; ibid. IV 174 = A. VIII 452, illi inter sese magna vi bracchia tollunt.

This last example furnishes direct proof that a *laborare inter se* is not impossible; beside it we may set Iuv. 3. 264, haec inter pueros varie properantur and over against it Ter. Haut. 126 f., pro se quisque sedulo faciebant quo illam mihi lenirent miseriam. As *pro se quisque* expresses individual action, so *inter* (and that, as the Juvenal passage shows, not with a reciprocal pronoun only) expresses joint action. In the following passages the phrase *ipsi inter se*, by a further development, denotes the action of two persons toward each other as contrasted with their common action toward a third person; Liv. I 56. 11, ut (Sextus) ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri iubent, ipsi inter se, uter prior matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt; Cic. Clu. 43. 122, censores denique ipsi saepe numero superiorum censorum iudiciis non steterunt; atque etiam ipsi inter se censores sua iudicia tanti esse arbitrantur, ut alter alterius iudicium . . . rescindat. Cicero's phrase is the bolder of the two, since the close association of *inter se* with an expressed nominal subject gives it an air of being independent of the verb.

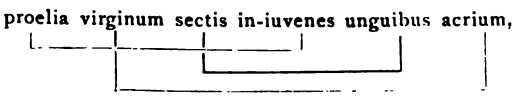
With a substantive not otherwise having verbal force *inter se* occurs in Liv. XL 8, cum vultus inter vos minime fraternos cernerem, where, however, it depends not on the substantive alone but on the complex of substantive and adjective; it is the notion of manner contained in the attribute that imparts to the substan-

[1] Wirz (Jacobs[8]) on Sall. l. c. §5, res p., quae media fuerat, dilacerata, comparing Liv. II 57. 3. dum consules tribunique ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio, distractam laceratamque rem p., says: "Das *media fuerat* enthält eine kurze Wiederholung von §2 *placide mod. inter se rem p. tractabant;* die beiden Staatsgewalten hatten früher den Staat als ein gleichsam zwischen ihnen liegendes Gemeingut betrachtet, das weder ganz in den Händen der einen, noch in denen der andern Partei war." But *res media* (= *in medio sita*) is not *res communis*, and it is the latter idea that is required by *tractabant*, which does not correspond to the Livian *ad se trahant* and *distractam*, but to *administrabant*. Kritz interprets rightly: "*Inter se* communionem imperii significat, ita ut et senatus et populus rem p. capesserent." Cf. Liv. IV 56. 12, si quando promiscui honores, communicata res p. esset.

tive the verbal quality, which it acquires in the same manner, and in like connection with a prepositional phrase, in Hor. C. I 2. 39 f., acer et Mauri peditis cruentum voltus in hostem. Editors are indeed wont to refer to this passage from C. I 6. 17 f., proelia virginum sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium, by way of illustrating the use of *acer in* c. acc.; but the sense clearly demands that *acer Mauri voltus* be regarded as equivalent to *Maurus acriter intuens*. It may, in fact, seem doubtful whether *acer* ever takes the construction thus attributed to it; no other examples than these two appear to be cited, and in C. 6 it is quite possible to connect the preposition with *proelia*, which would easily admit it through its relation to *pugnare*. This interpretation appears to me preferable on account of the closer connection which would thus be effected between *proelia virginum* and the following words; instead of the comparatively simple interlinking in



we should have the more elaborate



very like in form to C. III 11. 26 f., cited by Professor Smith, Introd. § 111 as an example of the manner in which "two groups are sometimes linked together by the connection of their interior words".

The passages which I have cited to illustrate the exceptional use of *inter* have received, so far as I know, little attention from commentators, evidently because of their simplicity; with a verb, or a phrase having verbal quality, the meaning of *inter se* was so easily felt that no one was at the trouble of defining it. That Virgil's lines, on the other hand, stirred up discussion, is due in the first place to the habitually concrete character of *manus*. Even in metaphorical expressions, such as *extremam manum imponere* and *manus afferre*, that substantive retains its primitive value, and is felt as a vivid physical substitute for the abstract *cura* or *vis*; cf. Cic. Off. II 4. 14, where upon the phrase, sine hominum opera, there follows the more forcible variation, sine hominum manu atque opera. The only passage I have found, in which manus loses force, is Quint. X 1. 97, nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse. Here it is weakened by the addition of the prepo-

sitional phrase and by its coordination with an abstract, *nitor*, to which it is not related in sense and of which, therefore, it cannot be the concrete expression; the result is that it is reduced to the level of *opera* or *labor* and becomes in effect a verbal substantive. The fact that the word rarely undergoes such a development may be the reason why many commentators on our passage have explained *manus* and *operum laborem* as concrete in sense; so Heyne, Henry, Kappes, Gebhardi, Page. No doubt such a meaning is quite admissible for *manus*, as it is frequent with *labor;* Mr. Page refers to II 306, sternit sata laeta boumque labores, where he cites V 359, artes="works of art", VI 683 manus="exploits"; a very close parallel would be Mart. IV 39. 2 ff., et solus veteres Myronis artes, solus Praxitelis manus Scopaeque solus Mentoreos habes labores. But with this interpretation it is impossible (and here Henry and Kappes are much at fault) to take *inter se* as modifying the substantives; without a verbal notion, expressed or implied, there can be no preposition. It is, therefore, here not *laborem* that is as concrete and nominal as *manus*, but *manus* that, under the influence of *laborem*, becomes verbal and abstract; and for understanding *operum laborem* we must compare not G. II 155, adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem (i. e. *opera labore exstructa*), but A. I 507 f., operumque laborem partibus aequabat iustis (i. e. *laborem qui in operibus faciendis adhiberetur*). Virgil's expression is complicated, and its sense obscured, by the two genitives; the subjective *artificum* is most easily felt as a possessive with *manus*, the objective *operum* as belonging only to *laborem*, and this tends to draw apart the accusatives, which the poet aimed at blending into a single conception by means of *inter se*. That this phrase was intended to bring together the two substantival groups, Kappes seems rightly to have felt; their fusion is, however, closer than his interpretation would allow, and the dominant element is the last, the distinctly verbal, substantive. As in Quint. l. c., so here *manus* is weakened by the proximity of the preposition; the weakening is less obvious, because the preceding genitive is so easily misunderstood. From what seems to me the correct paraphrase of this tangled sentence I should omit *manus*, or should at most admit it as a subordinate element, an instrumental: *artifices (manibus) inter se in operibus faciendis laborantes miratur.*

737 summo tenus attigit ore. The modern interpretation of these words seems to be uniformly that of Heyne: "*summo ore*

tenus, primis labris degustavit". The evident objection to this is that *ore* in the text is made to depend on *tenus*, while in the paraphrase it is treated as an instrumental with the verb, such as we have in Cic. de Or. I 19, 87, ne primoribus quidem labris attigisset, Cael. 12. 28, qui primoribus labris gustassent . . . et extremis, ut dicitur, digitis attigissent, and N. D. I 8. 20, primis, ut dicitur, labris gustasse. The possible equivalence of *summo ore* to Cicero's *primis labris* is shown by Prop. IV (V) 7. 10, summaque Lethaeus triverat ora liquor, and Sen. Ep. 10. 3, non a summis labris ista venerunt; but there is no parallel for such an expression as *tenus ore attingere* in the sense here required, nor could there well be, since *tenus* can apply only to the thing or part touched, not to that which touches. We must, therefore, separate the instrumental *ore*, which belongs with *attigit*, from *summo*, which is here a substantive and sole object of *tenus*: 'She touched with her mouth as far as the surface'. A pendant which helps to explain is Hor. C. III 15, 16, poti faece tenus cadi; and the prepositional phrase expresses the same idea as is rendered (in metaphorical relations) by an adverb in Lucr. III 261, summatim attingere, and by an adjective in Nep. Pelop. 1. 1, si tantummodo summas (virtutes) attigero. Such a separation of the two ablatives seems to be implied in the Servian notes: *summo tenus usque ad labra.* attigit ore et verecundiam reginae ostendit, etc. But Servius Dan. also confuses the point reached with the instrument.

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IV.—THE LANGUAGE OF TRAGEDY AND ITS RELATION TO OLD ATTIC.

Numerous treatises on the dialect of tragedy have appeared during the last half-century, but some phases of the question are still inadequately treated and some important truths do not appear to have received sufficient recognition. It is the purpose of this discussion to supplement the results already obtained by a presentation of some facts not yet noted, and to endeavor to establish from the facts at hand the proper deductions concerning the subject as a whole. Two parts of the tragic diction, the forms and vocabulary, have been here considered, and both have been viewed from a comparative standpoint. The comparative table of Ionic and Doric forms in the trimeter of the three tragedians throws, it is thought, some new light upon the following points: the origin of the alien forms and the indebtedness of Athenian to Dorian tragedy, the influence of the Doric and Ionic writers at Athens upon Athenian tragedy, and the fallacy that the use of un-Attic forms was due to the demands of metre. The comparative statistic of Attic and un-Attic words in the early Ionic and Attic inscriptions, and in the tragic, Ionic and Attic writers shows quite clearly the relation of the tragic diction to Ionic as well as Attic; while the study of the vocabulary of Aeschylus demonstrates plainly the relation which the diction of the dialogue bears to that of the chorus, the reasons for the disposition of words in the dialogue or chorus, and the explanation of the striking difference between the structure of the tragic trimeter and that of comedy.

The Epic or Ionic coloring of the dialogue is well known and has been the occasion of extensive comment.[1] The presence of Doric forms also has been noted, but so far their occurrence has received comparatively little attention, although these forms are

[1] The best discussions of the dialectic forms are by Gerth, Curt. Stud. 1, 2, 193 ff., and by Smyth, Ionic Dialect, 74 ff.: the most convenient compilations of the forms and their occurrence are by Gerth, l. c., Koster, Studia tragico-Homerica (1891), Franklin, Traces of Epic Influence in Aeschylus (1895), Wittekind, Sermo Sophocleus (1895), Uhlmann, Propriet. sermonis Aesch. (1881–1892). Some earlier works of value are mentioned by Smyth, l. c., p. 74.

sufficiently numerous to impart a decided Doric tinge to the trimeter.[1] This may readily be seen by a comparison of some of the Doric forms with a like number of so-called Epic-Ionic forms.

Ionic Forms.[2]	Aesch.	Soph.	Eur.	Doric Forms.	Aesch.	Soph.	Eur.
ξεῖνος		10	2	Ἀθᾱ́να	4	6	1
ἐξεκείνωσεν	1			γᾱμόρος	2		
εἰλίσσω			6	γᾱπότος	3		
εἵνεκα	2		4	γᾱτόμος	1		
εἶν		1		γᾱπόνος			1
μοῦνος		13		γᾱθούσῃ (em.)	1		
γούνατα		1	4	γᾱπονεῖν			1
δουρίλῃπτος		1		γᾱ́πεδον (em.)	1		
δουρίπηκτος	1			δᾱρός	3	1	5
δούρειος			1	δᾱ́ιος	3	1	
ξύνουρος	1			ἑκᾱτι	7	3	30
μουνῶπα	1			νᾱ́ιος	3		1
Θρῄξ[3]		1	13	νᾶμα	2	2	8
Θρῄκη	1		7	νᾱρός	1	1	
Θρῄκιος	2		15	ὀπᾱδός	1		10
καταιβάτης	1		1	ὀπᾱ́ων	3	2	6
κλαίεσκον (?)	1			κυνᾱγός		1	5
Total	11	27	53	Total	35	17	68

From this table, which contains most of the so-called Ionic forms, it appears that the Doric forms are largely in excess of the Ionic, that Aeschylus is most Doric and Sophocles most Ionic. No adequate treatment of this Doric element has as yet been given, so that an analysis of these Doricisms, together with an explanation of their presence and of the excess in Aeschylus, seems to be required. This Doric element may be divided into five classes:

[1] Barlen, De vocali ᾱ pro η in trim. discusses most fully the Doric element, but he has restricted his work to such forms as show long α. A number of other Doric forms have been overlooked by all writers on the subject.

[2] It has been difficult at times to determine how often a given form occurs, as the editors by no means agree. However, it is a trivial matter whether Aeschylus has 11 or 12 Ionicisms and 32 or 34 Doricisms; the important thing is to know whether the Doric forms are much more numerous than the Ionic forms or not.

[3] Θρῄξ and congeners, which constitute the bulk of the Ionicisms in Eurip., are mainly in Hecuba (11 times) and the spurious (?) Rhesus (18 times).

a) Local forms[1] (mainly Sicilian) as *γᾱμόρος*, *μασθός* (cf. Kühner-Blass, I p. 157), *ἁρμοῖ* (Ah. 385), *μελλώ* (Ah. 389), *μᾶ* (ch.), *ἀδελφεός* Sept. 576 (Ah. 71, 123, Gerth, l. c., 232), *θήν* (Ah. 384), *ἔσσομαι* El. 818, *ἔσσεται*, OC 1118, *μέσσος*, *θεόσσυτος*, *δορυσσόον*, *ἐσσύθη* (Ah. 99 on forms with *-σσ-*), *πόρπαι* (Sicilian acc'd to Wilamowitz, H. F. II 229); local words, as *ἀσχέδωρος*, *λιτροσκόπος* (Ah. 391), *Παλικοί*, *κόνταβος* (cf. Weber, Anacreontea 87), *λάταξ* Soph. fr., *βασσάρα* (cf. Et. M. 190, 58, Hesych. s. v.); and some terms apparently Spartan or Cretan, as *ἑβδομαγέτᾱς* (Gerth, l. c., 265), *ἔφορος* (ch.), *κάσις* (possibly *κασίγνητος* and *κασιγνήταις*), *οἰκεύς*[2] and *ἀγέλαι*.[3]

b) Military or hunting terms, as *λοχᾱγός*, *κυνᾱγός*, *κυνᾱγία*, *ποδᾱγός*, *συγκυνᾱγός*, and *λοχᾱγέτης*.

c) Forms which have the Doric *ᾱ* as *γᾱ-* compounds, the forms above in the Doric column, and *ἁμός*, *λᾱός* (cf. Kretschmer, KZ XXXI, 290), *νᾱός* (Ah. 51) *τιμᾰορος* (cf. Wackernagel, KZ XXVII, 263, XXVIII, 132), *βᾱλός* (Hom. *βηλός*), *βᾶτε* (Kühner-Blass, II, 380), *ἱκετᾱδόκος*, *ποινᾰ́τωρ*, *ποινᾱσόμεσθα*, *νοθᾱγενής*, *αὔδᾱσον*, *θοινᾱσόμεσθα*, *θοινᾰ́τωρ*, *θοινᾱτήριον*, *νᾱμέρτεια*, *πόρπᾱμα*, *προσπορπᾱτός* (ch.), *πόρπᾱσον* (Küh.-Blass, § 238, 3), *λεοντοβᾰ́μων*, *δίβᾱμος*, *ἀγησίλᾱος* fr., and *πεπᾱμένῳ*.

d) Scattered forms, many of which are found in other dialects, as *-σσ-*, *-ρσ-* (Kühner-Blass, I, 147), *σύν*, *ξυνός* (Arcad. and Argive), *πέδοικος* Aesch. fr., *ποτί*, *τοί*, *ἐγών* Aesch. Suppl. 740, *σφέ*, *σφίν*, *σφός*, *πτόλις* and compounds, *κέαρ* (so in Pindar but *κῆρ* in Homer), *ποταίνιος* (Phot.), *ἄσσιστα* (Laconian inscr.), *αἰέν*, *αἰεί*, generally emended to *ἀεί* (Ah. 378–9), *χείρεσσι* (Ah. 229), *πόλεος* (Ah. 236), *ἀοιδή*, *ἀείδω*, *ἀεικής*, *ἀείρω* (Ah. 193), *νόον*, *πυρπνόου*, *διάπλοον*, *καλλιρρόου*, *ὀρεσκόου* (Ah. 194), *πωλεύμεναι* (Ah. 214), *ἔκρυφθεν* (Ah. 317),

[1] The references Ah. are to Ahrens, De Dialecto Dorica, on which I have relied mainly for the forms of the Doric dialect. In this article no attempt has been made to determine the dialect of any form for myself.

[2] The form *οἰκῆος* in Solon cannot be taken as authoritative. As Smyth, l. c. 68, observes, "an οἰΚΕΟς might readily have been transcribed *οἰκῆος* because this word was antiquated even in Solon's time". It is very probable that this law of Solon was taken from Crete, as the word is Cretan (Gortyna code), and the form *οἰκεος* is the Doric genitive (cf. Ah. 233, 236), so that neither word nor form can rightly be considered either Ionic or Attic.

[3] Of these terms *ἀγέλαι* and *οἰκεύς* were common in Crete, *ἀγέλαι* and *κάσις* in everyday use at Sparta. As designations of the whole body of Spartan youth they were prominent constitutional terms of the most powerful state of Greece, and doubtless as well known at Athens as "ephoroi" or "satrap": *κάσις*, like *ἔφορος*, in tragedy can be drawn only from Sparta.

χρύσεον (Ah. 121, 194), χαλκέου, βρέτεα (Ah. 235), δήριος, φύσιος (Ah. 231), ἔσταν (Ah. 317), etc.

e) Apocope and possibly some cases of psilosis (Ah. 353, 36–7).

The assignment to the Doric dialect of such of the above forms as occur in the epos is due to reasons presented below. Of these Doric forms, those of class a owe their appearance in tragedy partly to Aeschylus' residence in Sicily, partly to subject-matter,[1] but mainly, I believe, to dithyrambic or choral poetry. Those of class b, on account of the military supremacy of the Spartans,[2] may have been in vogue in Attic as early as the time of Thespis, but the statement of Phrynichus, οἱ μὲν τραγικοὶ ποιηταὶ . . . δωρίζουσι, τὸ η εἰς α μετατιθέντες, κυνᾱγός, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . τὸ η φυλάττουσιν, οἷον κυνηγέτης, would indicate that the tragedians made use of these well-known forms solely to give, by means of the ᾱ, a Doric tinge to the trimeter. Most of the forms of class c appear to have been chosen for no other reason than to give a Doric coloring. In the use of these forms the "necessities of metre" manifestly had no influence, for the Doric and Ionic or Attic forms were metrically equivalent. It may then reasonably be supposed that the same aesthetic reason prompted the use of the other forms of this and those of the remaining classes. The query which naturally arises here, why the Doric forms were used in preference to the Attic, finds its answer in the reply to the question why Doric ᾱ appears in the chorus.[3] The presence of so many forms can hardly have been due to Aeschylus' residence in Sicily, nor to possible association with Pindar. Some support is given to this view by the excess of Doric forms in Aeschylus, but it is reasonably certain that the rules for tragic composition were formulated long before he left Athens, and it is not at all probable that the effect upon Aeschylus of his stay among the Dorians could have given a permanent coloring to such an artistic production as tragedy.[4] The Doric tinge of the trimeter

[1] The influence of the subject-matter is seen also in the use of Egyptian βᾶρις in the Supplices, τιάρα in the Persae, and in the new words of the Bacchae, βάκχευσις, βάκχευμα, βακχεύσιμος, etc. Cf. Hermann, Opusc. II, 101–2, on the foreign air of the Persae.

[2] Cf. Lobeck, Phrynichus 430, Hoffmann, Gr. Dial. III, 308.

[3] "In den Chorgesängen der Tragödien ein stilvoll abgedämpfter Dorismos an die alten Zusammenhänge mit der dorischen Lyrik mahnte". G. Meyer, Gr. Gr[2]. p. 3.

[4] The strongest Sicilian influence upon tragedy is probably that of Stesichorus. "Erzählte er (Stech.) die Mythen in lyrischen Versmassen und liess

must be explained, I believe, in the same way as the Doric coloring of the chorus, viz., as a royalty to a Dorian invention. Some form of the dialogue seems to have existed in the dithyramb. Suidas, s. v. *Ἀρίων*, says: *λέγεται . . . ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας.* To the same effect is Aristotle's statement, Poet. c. 4: *καὶ ἡ μὲν(τραγῳδία) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον.* Whatever the origin of the dithyramb "its elevation to the rank of artistic poetry" as Haigh, Tragic Drama, p. 16, notes, was due to the Dorians. "The Dorian stamp is upon all choral poetry in its language, rhythm, and metre"[1], and there is no reason to suppose that the dithyramb formed an exception to this rule. The connection between the Doric dithyramb and Attic tragedy seems clearly established,[2] and Arion[3] as well as Epigenes were by common tradition counted as the first of the tragic poets. The common statement that "in Greek literature different kinds of composition adhered generally to the dialect in which they started" (Rutherford, New Phryn. Introd., p. 3) is exemplified in tragedy, and the Doric color of the choral odes is generally ascribed to the imitation of a Doric original. In my opinion Doric ā must have the same significance in the dialogue as in the chorus, and the Doric tinge is an acknowledgment by the Athenians of their obligation to a Doric creation. It is not reasonable to suppose that the Attic tragedians, if they had introduced the dialogue into tragedy, would have given such a Doric cast to the speech of epic characters and to the iambic, that is, Ionic metre.

Since, then, it is generally conceded that Athenian tragedy is a development of Dorian originals, it is surprising that *-σσ-*, *σύν*, *ποτί* and other forms of class d should have been called Ionic. These were native Doric forms. As such they would of course appear in choral poetry, and are no more epic in the dithyramb than in the Doric prose inscriptions. Why, then, should they be called Ionic in the Attic dithyramb or in the choral (Doric) odes

sie von Chören an den religiösen Volksfesten vortragen . . . so dass (seine Gedichte) auch in Attica vielverbreitet und namentlich von den Tragikern vielbenützt wurden". Christ, Gr. Literat. (1890), p. 136.

[1] Smyth, Greek Melic Poets, xxiii.

[2] Cf. Haigh, l. c., 25. Schaefer, De Dorismi in trag. Gr. usu, p. 3, says: "Ceterum non potest dubitāre quin tragici in eligendis Dorismis aliquatenus dithyrambicorum secuti sint auctoritatem".

[3] On Arion see Christ, Gr. Lit. (1890) 135, Haigh, l. c., 16 ff., and Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.

of tragedy? That some of these forms also appear in Homer does not make them any less Doric. This agreement enabled them to serve a double purpose, in that they are appropriate to the heroic characters of tragedy, and at the same time show a deference on the part of the tragedians to Doric originals. All the alien forms of tragedy, as Gerth, l. c., p. 268, has shown, are found in Doric choral poetry. Many of these alienisms never appear in Homer. Here is agreement with the one and disagreement with the other. If the epic influence upon tragedy is so strong that *ποτί* and *-σσ-* cannot be called Doric, how comes it that the tragedians in striking opposition to Homeric usage employ *βᾱλόν*, *ἕκᾱτι*, *δᾱΐος*, *γᾱτόμος*, etc.? Or why the frequent use of Doric *νίν*[1] to the exclusion of epic *μίν*? These usages show clearly that to the tragedians Doric was the important dialect.[2] According to the law of Greek literature already mentioned Athenian tragedy should show some of the characteristic forms of the Dorian originals. It is not credible then that the tragedians who had received *ᾱ*, *σσ*, *ποτί*, *σύν*, etc. in choral poetry, should retain of these only *ᾱ* as a mark of indebtedness to the Dorians, reject by some occult means the other Doric forms, and then import the same forms from Ionia. In these professed imitations or developments of Dorian originals it is not necessary to prove that the borrowed forms are Doric. The burden of proof rests with those who hold that in such a tragic form as *θαλάσσᾱς* the ending may be Doric but the sibilants are Ionic. In all the works on the dialect of tragedy I have failed to find any reason for such a view. So long as *ᾱ* stands in the chorus, so long should *-σσ-*, *σύν*, etc. remain as memorials of the Doric origin of tragedy.[3] This applies also to apocope which is a mark of Aeolic and Doric as contrasted with Ionic and Attic. Kirchhoff, according to Smyth, Ionic Dialect, 273 n. 1, believes that the instances

[1] Smyth, Ionic Dialect, p. 445, n. 2, says *νίν* was doubtless Old Attic, for what reason I do not know. The form occurs about 65 times in the trimeter of Sophocles.

[2] If it be asked why *ξεῖνος* and *μοῦνος* or *Θρῇξ* appear in tragedy, it may be said in reply first, that these forms are found in the Doric lyrics and may rightly appear in tragedy as imitated forms; and secondly that Doric occasionally shows *ει* and *ου*. Cf. Ahrens, 190, *κεινός*, *Ξεινιάδας*, etc.

[3] Kirchhoff, acc'd to Smyth, p. 306, holds that the presence of *σσ* is due to textual corruption, and Fick, BB XIV 253, would change *σσ* to *ττ* in Attic writers. If these views are correct, all other Doric forms should be eliminated from tragedy.

of apocope in the Attic poets are survivals of a period when Attic had not yet developed an artificial objection to its presence. Rather is it a mark of the dithyrambic poetry, the practices of which poetry, tragedy was free, or was forced, to imitate, and to some extent an evidence of the long residence of Aeschylus among a people who used it freely. There is no reason for regarding it in tragedy as an imitation of Homeric rather than of Doric usage.

The extent and importance of the Doric element in tragedy is thus made apparent, and it appears, I believe, that the Doric coloring of the dialogue was designed to be but little less than that of the chorus. Koehler, De Dorismi . . . apud Aesch. necessitudine, p. 4, finds that some parts of the choral odes were composed without a single Doric form. In Ag. 40–102 there are, according to Haigh, Tragic Drama, 367, only four Doricisms, and in the parodos of the Antigone only four in 27 lines. But the Doric of the chorus is in a way differentiated from that of the dialogue. In the latter the Doric tinge is obtained by the use of Doric words and of ᾱ for η in the stem, whereas the chorus exhibits the Doric cast most strikingly in the ending. The aesthetic effect in the dialogue was obtained in more limited ways, and this restriction seems to have been due to the use of the iambic metre. The iambics of the new Ionic, approaching as they did so closely to prose expression, could not tolerate so many of the forms of Dorian poetry as could the metres of the choral odes.[1] η was a characteristic feature of the Ionic iambics, ᾱ a mark of the dithyrambic dialogue. The old race strife which broke forth was settled by a compromise, the use of Attic ᾱ after ε, ι and ρ, with an occasional form of Doric poetry for aesthetic effect.

In addition to the Doric forms, tragedy contains a few cases of psilosis, some twenty cases of the omission of the augment,[2] some half dozen Aeolisms, a few doubtful Ionisms as above and some fifty forms called poetic,[3] which can hardly be assigned to any dialect. Gerth, Curt. Stud. I 2, 268, as seen above, noted that all the alien forms of tragedy are found in choral poetry. This coin-

[1] On the rhythms of the dithyramb cf. Smyth, Melic Poets, p. lv.

[2] Cf. Lautensach, Gram. Stud. zu den Gr. Tragikern und Komikern (1899) 181.

[3] These are mainly verb forms as πίτνω, μίμνω, nine aorists like εἰκαθεῖν, ἀνασχεθεῖν, φάος, φαεσφόρος and ὑπαί, ἠδέ, ἰδέ, αἶα, γαῖα, σφάς, ἦμιν, πολλός, αὖτε, etc.

cidence explains satisfactorily the use of these few Ionic and Aeolic forms by the tragedians. It is true that these forms are quite appropriate to the heroic characters of tragedy, but the presence of such personages merely rendered more acceptable the continuance in tragedy of some characteristics of the Dorian models, that is, the use of an occasional epic form.[1] It is held also that plagiarism and the Ionic source of the iambic metre affected the tragic diction. Quotations from the Ionic poets[2] occasioned at most the use of a few poetic words or forms, and the iambic metre merely served to restrain the use of the Doric forms. Rutherford, as we have seen above (p. 289) rightly remarks that "in Greek literature different kinds of composition had a tendency generally to adhere to the dialect in which they started", and Smyth, Ionic Dialect, p. 69, (also Wittekind, l. c., p. 3) suggests that the Ionic source of the iambic metre should then have given an Ionic coloring to the dialogue. That the rule however was not inviolable is shown by the fact that there is no Ionic coloring in the dialogue of comedy. Here the characters employ the dialect appropriate to them, and neither metrical considerations nor earlier models avail to force inappropriate speech upon any character. For this reason the iambics of comedy do not show an Ionic coloring or a Doric cast. The tragedians however adhered to the practices of choral poetry, putting, strange to say, Doric forms into the mouths of epic personages, because they found already well-established a Doric-epic speech. This form of speech which was eminently appropriate in such poetry as the Stesichorean versions of epic tales, precursors of tragedy, had become familiar at Athens, and was retained in the Attic dithyramb and tragedies without objection on the score of propriety. In no other way is it possible to explain the use of Doric forms by the epic characters of the dialogue. Where comedy, as in the chorus or the paratragedic parts, had precedents, there also was

[1] "Stesichorus created a High-Doric dialect by combining epic with Doric". (Smyth, Melic Poets, p. 258). The epic element in lyric poetry is generally admitted, so that a discussion here is unnecessary. Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr. (1900) p. 19, and the works there cited: G. Meyer[3], p. 3: Farnell Greek Lyric Poetry, p. 77. On the union of epic and lyric elements in the drama see Zarncke, Die Entsteh. der Gr. Literaturenspracl.en, pp. 5–8, Azelius, De Assim. syntact. apud Soph. (1897) p. 1; and on the influence of Stesichorus on tragedy, Christ, Gr. Lit. p. 136, Mahaffy, Gr. Lit., I 1, 225, Smyth, Melic Poets, p. 258.

[2] Cf. Clemens, Alex. Stromat. VI, p. 738 (Pott), Donaldson, Theatre, pp. 56, 59 n. 1, Verrall, JHS I, 260, II 179.

adherence to earlier practices. Another thing which may have affected Athenian poetry was the presence at Athens of Anacreon, Simonides and Lasus at the very time when tragedy was being developed on Attic soil. Gorgias seems to have influenced strongly Attic oratory[1] at a time when Athens was the literary center of Greece, and it is quite possible that at an earlier time when the literary and political position of Athens was insignificant, the presence of such a poet as Anacreon would have appreciably affected Attic literature, had it not been that his influence was restricted and ultimately eclipsed by the popularity of the Dorian lyric, possibly by the favor shown the choral songs of Simonides and Lasus. However this may be, Dorian poetry prevailed. Anacreon left Athens but the Dorian remained. The presence of the latter can hardly have been without effect upon Attic poetry. Lasus was at Athens during Aeschylus' infancy and down to the time when the latter began his poetical career. By reason of his innovations in music,[2] his position at the court and his nationality, his commanding position in the dithyramb—even being called its inventor,[3] and his personal association with the first tragedians, he was, I believe, a determining factor in the form of Attic representations of Doric inventions. How he affected the language of tragedy cannot now be determined, but it is probable that his presence and activity in the dithyramb tended to preserve the Doric element of the earlier models. Such influence as the Ionic poetry may have exerted upon the early tragedians was further minimized by the subsequent removal of Aeschylus to Dorian territory. The Ionic element in Sophocles, as seen above, is much greater than in Aeschylus, and this is quite possibly due to the fact that when the former was subjected to Ionic influence—by association with Herodotus,[4]—there was no counteracting influence. Thus early did Dorian supremacy assert itself at Athens, and it is singular that the forms of literature in which the Athenians became espe-

[1] Cf. Wilamowitz, Phil. Untersch., VII 312. Maass, Hermes, XXII 566 f. Blass, Att. Bered. I 56 f. Nieschke, De Thuc. Antiph. disc. takes, and I believe properly, an opposing view.

[2] Cf. Plutarch, De Musica, 29.

[3] Schol. to the Birds, 1403. For the facts concerning Lasus see Christ, Gk. Lit. (1890) p. 157, Smyth, Melic Poets, p. 299.

[4] Cf. OC 337 and Hdt. II 35 (Cf. Jebb, ad loc.), Ant. 905 and Hdt. III 119 etc., Haigh, Trag. Drama, 136, n. 2.

cially pre-eminent, the drama and oratory, should have been developments of Dorian originals.

These circumstances explain that foreign air in the tragic diction which was noticed by Herodian who says: *περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας* 497 (L): *οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, οἱ γὰρ τραγικοὶ ποιητικαῖς λέξεσιν εἰώθασι κεχρῆσθαι.* But Rutherford in the Introduction to the New Phrynichus, pp. 3–4, maintains that "the basis of the language of tragedy is the Attic of the time when tragedy sprang into life ... It must however be remembered that the tragic poetry of Athens contained words, expressions and metaphors which it would be ridiculous to employ in other species of composition or in the course of ordinary conversation"[1]. It is difficult to speak soberly of the last statement, which seems however to be rather a careless expression than an accurate representation of his position. The fallacy of Rutherford's theory is very clearly shown by the testimony of the surviving monuments of Old Attic. This matter has received most recently a thorough treatment by Smyth, Ionic Dialect, p. 66 f., who finds that not only was old Attic free from the characteristic Ionic forms *η* after *ε, ι, ρ, ου* for *ο, ευ* for *ου, ει* for *ε*, but that such forms as *ξεῖνος* and *μοῦνος* are pure Ionic and never existed in Old Attic at any period[2]. The inscription from Sigeum which is little later than 600 B. C. shows the two dialects were differentiated at that early period, and is a severe criticism of the theory that Attic speech two generations later was still Ionic in form and vocabulary. But Haigh, Tragic Drama, p. 365, regards Rutherford's view as beyond dispute, so that further consideration of this theory seems demanded. Rutherford could hardly have put forth this view, if he had known the extent of the foreign element in tragedy. In Aeschylus alone there are, I estimate, about 5800 poetic or so-called Old Attic words. It is not possible that so many words survived for centuries in the colloquial Attic, but as soon as they were extensively employed in tragedy—and certain parts of comedy too—as soon as litera-

[1] If the language of tragedy is to throw any light on Old Attic, it must be reliable, viz., pure, otherwise it will be impossible to distinguish Old Attic forms from Epic and Doric importations, or from Aeschylean and Euripidean inventions. Haigh, l. c., p. 366, attempts to select epic and Old Attic words, but there is of course no basis for such selection.

[2] Un-Attic forms of foreign names and in metrical inscriptions require, of course, no discussion. On the foreign element in Athens see Plato, Crat. 406, Lys. 223 A, and for a general discussion of this element, Kretschmer, KZ XXIX 381ff.

ture developed they forthwith dropped out of use. Such a theory is wholly at variance with the principles of the conservation of language, and requires evidence of the most convincing kind to substantiate it. On the contrary, Rutherford offers only the statement that the language of tragedy has many points of resemblance to the language of Herodotus and Hippocrates, and therefore is Old Attic[1]. If this reasoning is valid, one may prove in the same way that the Doric element in the chorus is a survival in Attic of the language in vogue when Attic and Doric had not yet separated[2], or that the numerous Attic forms in Herodotus are survivals from the period when Ionic had not yet separated from Attic. It is necessary first to prove that these alien forms could not have crept into tragedy or Ionic in any other way. But Herodotus and Hippocrates are rather questionable authorities for determining matters of dialect. The ancients noticed their use of *ὀνόματα γλωσσηματικά*[3]. Both were Dorians who traveled extensively, both are said to have been in Athens, and the works of both have a decided Attic coloring. Rutherford refers indifferently to both the spurious and the genuine works of Hippocrates, although it is impossible to see how the usages of certain divers medical writings of Hellenistic or Roman times are of any value in determining the character of 6th century Attic. Herodotus was called the Thurian by Aristotle[4] and Pliny says the history was composed at Thurii. Naturally there would be some resemblances to tragic diction in this *Θούριος* (*Ἀθηναῖος*) *λογοποιός*, but these are in a measure signs of Athenian residence and association with the tragedians. The theory of Rutherford then is based largely on the diction of a tragedian who lived for a time and wrote some of his works among Dorians, and on that of a

[1] Schulhof, Attic, Ionic and Tragic, pp. 1, 6, 7, holds that the basis of the language of tragedy is to be found in Archilochus and Simonides of Amorgos.

[2] The review of Old Attic by Smyth, l. c., also refutes clearly Barlen's claim that Old Attic abounded with forms showing Doric ā. Barlen's theory is more objectionable than Rutherford's, for the view of the latter is based on the fact that Ionic and Attic were at no very early date one dialect, whereas Attic and Doric separated long before Attic and Ionic became distinct dialects.

[3] Cf. Rutherford, p. 161, and on the epic element in Hdt. Mure, Gr. Lit. IV App. q, Hoffmann, III 186, and the works and grammarians cited by Smyth, 80. 91.

[4] Cf. Christ, Gr. Lit. (1898) p. 328. The title "Thurian" indicates not so much long residence, as Strabo holds, but renown acquired while a resident there. A man is called after the scene of his achievements, not after the scenes of his inactive life.

Dorian who lived a long time and possibly revised his whole history among Athenians. The value of deductions from such facts is apparent.

This matter of foreign residence and its effect upon purity of speech is of importance in the study of ancient authors. The Greeks themselves in passing judgment upon the dialect of any one took into consideration foreign residence, and a glance at the Greek writers shows the need of such action. Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Aristophanes wrote among Athenians and their speech is comparatively pure. The Greek of the men who traveled or wrote among foreigners is markedly irregular and impure. Xenophon and Aristotle need but a mention. Thucydides and Andocides present many divergences from the Attic norm; Herodotus, Hippocrates and Solon[1] present a hopeless confusion as to dialect. Campbell in the Introduction to his Plato notes that the poetic element increases in the later dialogues when the philosopher is more exposed to the influence of Magna Graecia. The language of Xenophon differs in many respects from the Attic norm, and Rutherford very properly refuses to accept as authoritative Attic all his usages. The same treatment should certainly be applied to all writers who transgress in the same way and for the same reason. It is apparent then that not every word and form on Attic soil are to be accepted unconditionally as old Attic, and those who would on the strength of a few isolated forms reconstruct old Attic are rearing an inverted pyramid, and that too on a very insecure apex.

It remains to speak of one more theory concerning the occurrence of alien forms in Greek tragedy, viz., the influence of metrical considerations. Smyth, Ionic Dialect, p. 76 says that "the necessities of the trimeter, not the requirements of emphasis, decided the question as to whether the Ionic or the Attic form should be admitted." Jebb, OR 1418, expresses the same sentiment. This theory would refute Rutherford's view of the source of the alien forms of tragedy, but the influence of the metre seems to be greatly exaggerated. Dialectic forms and words are not employed in the dialogue of comedy, although the

[1] Thucydides and Solon are possibly affected also by earlier works in their respective lines of composition. The occurrence of σσ in Thuc. and Antiphon may be ascribed to the influence of the usages of Ionic historical writers or to the Sicilian rhetoric, but I believe that the foreign residence of the one and the anti-democratic tendencies of the other made them more ready to accept the usages which prevailed in all Greek literature.

metre was the same. But one poetic form, the ending *-μεσθα* is ever admitted into comedy. Furthermore the presence of *γᾱμόρος*, *γᾱτόμος*, *δᾱρός*, *ἕκᾱτι*, *βᾱλόν*, *ἴθυνεν*, *φάεννος* = *φαεινός*, and many similar forms is sufficient evidence that metrical demands were not the determining factor in the selection of forms. *γᾰ-* is used in the dialogue but *γη-* in the chorus. Editors would not tolerate this variation for a moment were it not for the testimony of the grammarians. *ξεῖνος* and *μοῦνος*, *αἶα* and *γαῖα* are used for the same reason as *γᾱμόρος* and *γᾱτόμος*, *δᾱρός* and *βᾱλόν*. There were then no exigencies of metre which were superior to aesthetic considerations, and the diction of tragedy is not determined by metrical necessities, but results from a free selection of forms which show at once an appreciation of the need of suiting the speech to the character, and above all a knowledge of indebtedness to foreign originals.

No less striking than the results obtained by a comparison of the Doric and Ionic forms are those obtained by a comparative study of the tragic vocabulary. Some attention has been given to the vocabulary of a few Greek writers, but the results have been relatively of little value because of lack of comparison with others. The abnormal character of the tragic diction may readily be seen by a comparison with that of other writers. In every author the words considered are taken in alphabetical order.

Of 500 words from Aeschylus 383 are un-Attic[1] or 76 per cent.
112 " " Antiphon 10 " " " 9 "
120 " " Hipponax 26 " " " 22 "
100 " " Thucydides 22 " " " 22 "
96 " " Archil. iamb. 23 " " " 24 "
143 " " " any metre 44 " " " 31 "
100 " " Herodotus 26 " " " 26 "
400 " " Attic Inscriptions prior to 445 B. C. 10 are rare or 2½ per cent.
123 words from Ionic Inscriptions prior to 445 B. C. 10 are un-Attic or 9 per cent.

From this table it appears that the vocabulary of the old Ionic inscriptions was very similar to that of old and classical Attic.

[1] By un-Attic words is meant here poetic, rare or dialectic words. It is not likely that any two persons would arrive at exactly the same results in this work, but I believe that the relative results, which is the important thing, would agree. By far the greater number of words can readily be assigned to the poetic or prose column, so that there is not much chance for disagreement.

Moreover Hipponax, Herodotus and Archilochus[1] (in his iambics) are about as close to the speech of Lysias as is the latter's contemporary, Thucydides. This is the more surprising as Archilochus was called 'Ομηρικώτατος.[2] Herodotus by reason of the scope of his history would naturally employ many strange terms, while Hipponax, many of whose fragments are preserved by the lexicographers, merely on account of some peculiar form, was noted for his use of unusual words, and the delvers after curiosities in language found in him a rich field.[3] It is clear then that Ionic, although clearly separated from Attic, is quite close to this dialect but in a very different way, however, than Rutherford imagined. In the following poets a greater divergence from the Attic norm is shown.

Of 139 words	from	Anacreon		62	are	un-Attic	or 44	per cent.
119	"	"	Simonides Am.	50	"	"	" 42	"
105	"	"	Homer	80	"	"	" 76	"

Anacreon's iambic poetry has perished, so that little knowledge of Ionic is to be gained from his works in this metre[4]. Simonides' fragments show that he paraphrased or copied rather loosely the Hesiodic epic, and this explains the large number of poetic words in his poems. Of the 80 un-Attic words in Homer 44 are epic, 29 are poetic and 7 appear rarely in prose, so that Homer may be called essentially non-Ionic as well as un-Attic.

The peculiar character of the tragic diction is shown very clearly by these comparisons. It is in respect to vocabulary about as far removed from Attic as is Homer, and apparently is as unlike Ionic as it is unlike Attic. Exclusive of proper names the approximate number of words in Aeschylus is 7700. At the same ratio as above about 5800 words would be poetic. It is manifest that these words could not, as Rutherford asserts, have been drawn from the Attic of Thespis' time. Three causes seem to have combined to differentiate the speech of Aeschylus from that of the Attic and Ionic writers, his residence abroad,[5] his peculiar

[1] This study of Archilochus' vocabulary appears to substantiate Smyth's view of the epic element in elegy as against Hoffmann, who holds that the epic element in the earlier elegists, Archilochus and Callinus, is altogether absent.

[2] Cf. Laeger, De vet. epicorum studio in Archil. . . . Hippon. reliquis conspicuo (1885) p. 7; Deuticke, Archil. Pario quid in graec. litteris sit tribuendum.

[3] Cf. Bergk, Gr. Lit. II 330, and Smyth, Ionic Dialect, p. 46.

[4] For his vocabulary see Weber, Anacreontea (1895).

[5] On this point cf. Macrobius, Sat. V 19, 17; Athen. XV 89; Eust. Od., p 1872 Plut. de exil. 13.

genius,[1] and the usages of dithyrambic poetry. The first cause is of least importance, and has been considered above. The second cause brought out those "horse-crested", "high-paced" words, and inspired Aristophanes to call Aeschylus *ἀγροποιός . . . κομποφακελορρήμων*, but although this gave a certain unique character to his speech, it was relatively of little importance even in his case, and is merely an incident in the tragic diction as a whole. The great part of the foreign element is undoubtedly due to the third cause. Aristotle, Rhet. III 3, says that compound words were the especial prerogative of the dithyramb,[2] and Aeschylus appears to have utilized the privilege to the fullest extent. Todt, De Aesch. vocabulorum inventore, finds 1100 new words in the extant plays, possibly 14,000 such words in the complete works. Verily Aeschylus was a *ποιητὴς ἰδίων ὀνομάτων*.[3] The life of these words was for the most part coextensive with that of their creator, but the precedent had been established, and the liberties taken with the Greek speech were continued by the later dramatists. Over 1000 words appear for the first time in Sophocles,[4] and about 850 in Euripides.

The relation which the diction of the dialogue tragedy bears to that of the chorus is shown very clearly by the following comparison. Of 500 words considered 383 are poetic, and of these un-Attic words 134 are found in the dialogue only, 160 in the chorus only, 60 in both dialogue and chorus and 29 in fragments. The total number of poetic words in the dialogue is 194, and in the chorus 220 with the 29 from the fragments to be divided pro rata. So evenly distributed are the un-Attic words that it is clear the tragedians did not observe any distinction in the diction of

[1] Cf. Vita of Aeschylus, Dionysius 2, 10, Epicharmus, Schol. Eum. 626, Quintil. X, I, 66.

[2] These seem to abound in lyric poetry. "As an inventor of striking compounds Stesichorus is the precursor of Pindar". Smyth, Melic Poets, p. 258.

[3] Homer in 706 Teubner pages employs about 6700 words (estimate); Aeschylus in 276 Teubner pages employs about 7700 words.

[4] On the diction of Sophocles cf. schol. ad. OC 1648; Diog. Laert. IV 3. 7; Kuenstler, De vocibus apud Soph. primum obviis, and similar titles by Schindler, Kriebitzsch, Schulz, Kotsmích, Jasper, Juris; Ludewig, De dictionis Soph. ubertate, and similar title by Schmidt; and Campbell Intr. to his Sophocles. For Euripides see Schirlitz, De serm. trag. per Eurip. incrementis, Funck, De praep. . . . in Eurip. probato, Curt. Stud. IX 113, Mommsen, Lehre von den Gr. Praep. (1895) p. 76. Many barbarian words also appear in the tragedians, as *κινάκης*, *μαγίς*, *σινδών*, etc.

the choral and spoken parts. This fact is also demonstrated by a table showing the disposition of synonyms[1] in Aeschylus. Attention is desired here especially to the location of words with the metrical scheme ∪ —, and ∪ ∪ —.

Prose Words.	Dial.	Ch.	Poetic Words.	Dial.	Ch.	Prose Words.	Dial.	Ch.	Poetic Words.	Dial.	Ch.
ἀγαθός	3	15	ἐσθλός	5	5	ἀκόλουθος	0	0	ὀπαδός	1	0
σοφός	12	2	κεδνός	5	9	θεράπων	0	0	ὀπᾱ́ων	3	0
ἀληθής, -ές	8	2	ἐτήτυμος	0	1	θεράπαινα	0	0	ἀμφίπολος	0	0
ἀψευδής, -ές	4	2	ἐτῡ́μος	0	4						
			ναμερτής	1	0	πᾶνυ	0	3	πάγχυ	1	0
ἀληθῶς	3	1	ἐτῡ́μως	0	3	πάντως	6	3			
			ἐτητύμως	2	0	ἱμάτιον	0	0	φᾶρος	4	1
μέλας (μέλᾱνος)	6	11	μελάγχιμος (only in gen. Dat.)	4	1	ἱκέτης	5	6	ἐφέστιος	4	0
			κελαινός	4	5						
ἀθάνατος	0	5	ἄφθιτος	3	0	ἄνωθεν	4	3	ἀνέκαθεν	0	3
ἐφήμερος	3	0	ἐφημέριος	0	1	κάτω	5	2	ἔνερθε	3	2
ποταμός	6	8	ῥέος	3	1	κεφαλή	1	0	κάρᾱ	12	9
ῥεῦμα	2	2	ῥέεθρον	2	1				κράς	5	2
ῥοή	2	0	νᾶμα	2	0				κρᾶτα (Soph.)	6	3
ῥόος	0	1							κρᾶτα, τὰ (Soph.)	1	1
γενεᾶ	0	4	γένυα	6	3	δίδῡμος	0	6	δίπολος	0	1
γονή	1	1	γένεθλον	3	1	διπλοῦς	8	6	δίφυιοι	0	1
γόνος	2	1	τέκνωμα	1	0	δισσός	2	1			
			φίτυμα	1	0	διπλασιος	0	0			
ἀμφιβόλως	0	1	ἀμφιλέκτως	1	0				πέλω	often	
ἀμφιλόγως	0	1				εἰμί	often		τελέθω	0	4

It is apparent that words were not assigned to the chorus by reason of their poetical nature, nor to the dialogue because of their prosaic character. Metre determined the placing of the words, but was not, as seen above in the case of the forms, the cause of their introduction into tragedy. A well-known rule of early iambic structure is here revealed, that the anapaest was abhorred by the trimeter. Here is to be obtained also, I believe, the explanation of the great difference between the structure of the tragic trimeter and that of comedy.[2] In Aristophanes there is one

[1] I have followed Schmidt's Synonymik der Gr. und Lat. Sprachen, and Dindorf's Lex. Aeschyleum. Absolute exactness in this sort of work is of course impossible, but it is hoped that the above words are in the main equivalent.

[2] The ancients distinguished four kinds of iambic trimeter, *τραγικός, κωμικός, σατυρικός, καὶ . . . ἰαμβικός.* Cf. Christ, Metrik p. 340.

anapaest to every 2½ verses; in Aeschylus there are 53 anapaests to some 4500 iambic verses,[1] and here the anapaests are mainly due to proper names.[2] The difference in the structure of the iambics of tragedy and comedy was due to the rules concerning dialect and vocabulary. To tragedy was allotted freedom in diction, but the strict construction of early iambic verse was enforced. Comedy was restricted to Attic forms and words, but as compensation for purity of diction, freedom of metrical construction was allowed. Epic words are freely used by Archilochus, but there is more strictness in regard to resolution and the use of anapaests. The Attic element is greater in Euripides and so is the number of anapaests. Metrical license then was the price of dialectic purity.

It remains to treat of the vocabulary of the Old Attic speech. Keil, Die Solonische Verfassung, p. 59, greatly errs in holding that there was a very great difference between 6th and 5th century Attic. His contention is based on the speech of Aeschylus which he says was grounded in 6th century Attic, the authentic remains of the laws of Solon, and the inscriptional words *ἱερουργοῦντες*, *ζακόρους*,[3] *ὄνθος*, *ἱπνίνεσθαι*, *θωᾶν*; CIA IV 3, 18, p. 138; *θωᾶν ἐπιβαλεῖν*, *δήμου πληθύοντος*, CIA I 57; *διχομηνία*, CIA I, 1; *ἀπόπαξ*, I 286, 288; *οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ ἔργῳ*, IV I 27 a; *ἐπιώψατο*, *ἐπιοφθέντες*, II 948; (about 300 B. C.). The first reason is a mere opinion unsupported by facts, and has been shown to be without foundation. The other reasons will be considered in reverse order. *ἐπιώψατο* and *ἐπιοφθέντες* by reason of their date cannot be tolerated in this discussion. How the use of a word about 300 B. C. proves that it became obsolete about 500 B. C., or indicates the character of 6th century Attic it is impossible to see. But admitting that Keil's notion about the other words is correct,—it certainly is not,—even then his theory of 6th century Attic is clearly erroneous. It is a fact commonly known that in every author there occur a certain number of rare or uncommon words. In five plays of Aeschylus there are 488 words found nowhere else,[4] approximately 700 such words in the extant plays, or about 9 per cent of his vocabulary. In Thucydides 3 per cent, in

[1] Cf. Rumpel, Philol. XXVIII 610, XXV 549.

[2] *Ἀγαμέμνων* six times, *Πυλάδης* three times, etc.

[3] *ζάκορος* was probably brought into Attic along with some foreign cult. In Nikander, Alexiph. 217, the term is used of the devotee of Cybele. On foreign deities at Athens see Müller's Hdb. V 3, p. 127–8.

[4] Cf. Mitchell, Frogs, 802.

Antiphon 2 per cent, and in Anacreon 10 per cent of the words are not used by other writers.[1] The words mentioned by Keil form about 2 per cent of the words in the prose inscriptions prior to 445 B. C. Allowing from 2 per cent to 10 per cent as a legitimate number of odd words for each author or set of writings, there is not much left to indicate any remarkable change in the Attic speech. But Keil's interpretation of the isolated occurrence of these words is arbitrary and erroneous. In the consideration of these terms it must not be forgotten that new words came into Attic after Draco's time because of the troubled economic and political conditions, the influx of foreigners, of foreign literature and religious observances. The words quoted by Keil are all found after 500 B. C., and it is not clear why they are regarded as a relic of former rather than evidence of new usage. All that can reasonably be inferred in this matter is this: Whenever a word of common meaning as *ἀπόπαξ* = *σύμπαν*, *ἱερουργοῦντες* = *ἱερεύς*, *θωᾶν* = *ζημιᾶν* or *τιμᾶν*, is not found in epic, new Ionic or Doric, the presumption is that it belongs to the new speech. Such words as *ὄνθος*, *ἰπνεύεσθαι* "to bake in an oven", because of their meaning are necessarily uncommon in literature, and cannot therefore be said to be old words which became obsolete shortly after the 6th century. Specifically the facts about these words are as follows: *θωᾶν*, *ζακόρους*, *ἰπνεύεσθαι*, *ἱερουργοῦντες*, *ἀπόπαξ* and *διχομηνία* are found only in the Attic inscriptions or lexicographers, and therefore are to be regarded as new forms in Attic. The same is true of the additional forms not quoted by Keil, *παραιβάτης*, CIA I 5 1; *ὀλείζων*,[2] I, 1, *τριττόαν βόαρχον* I, 5. Of the other words *θωή* is found in Homer twice, possibly in Archilochus once (em.), in the covenant between Oeanthia and Chaleion, and is apparently an unpopular word in all the dialects, although from its meaning it might be expected to appear frequently. *πληθύω* is common in the later Attic and is manifestly a new word. The expression *οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ ἔργῳ* in the oath which the Chalcidians swear to the Athenians is possibly a Chalcidian formula added to the regular Attic *οὔτε τέχνῃ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ* (cf. Thuc. V 47, 2; 47, 10), inserted as a sop to the Ionic covenanters in imitation of the epos or for additional sanctity. No one will deny that each century witnessed some changes in the Attic speech, but it is unwarranted to assert that all rare 5th century

[1] I have considered here 100 words in alphabetical order from each author.

[2] Brugmann, Gr. Gr. (1900) p. 569 regards *ὀλείζων* as a late form.

inscriptional forms are a survival from hoary antiquity, in common use in the 6th century, but obsolete soon afterwards. So far as can be judged the majority of them are new words.

In Lysias several of the old laws are quoted to show that some words were formerly in use that are not found in later times. These are *ἐπιορκήσαντα* = *ὀμόσαντα*, *ἀπίλλει*, *δρασκάζειν*, *πολοῦνται οἰκῆος*, *ποδοκάκκη*, *πεφασμένον*, *στάσιμον* = 'money at interest'. Nearly all of these words are confined to Solon, whose language is properly subject to suspicion. The laws are the works of a traveler who spent the years of his youth in foreign parts in contact with tradespeople where a foreign idiom is most noticeable, and peculiarities of dialect best acquired. There can be no doubt that if Solon was away from Athens in early life and again in later years, his speech would have a foreign air. It is significant that Solon himself recognized this truth, his statement on this point being preserved in fragment 32.[1] That he borrowed laws from abroad is conclusively shown by the statement of Herodotus, II 177: *Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται.*[2] Of the terms quoted by Lysias which are found elsewhere than in Solon *πολίομαι* meaning "to upturn with the plow" (polare agros of Ennius) in the active occurs in Hesiod, Op. 4 60: as meaning "to walk" is found only in tragedy, so that it can hardly be called an old Ionic-Attic word. *οἰκεύς*, which appears in Homer and Sophocles, is a common term in the Gortyna code, and its presence in Solon is probably due to the adoption of a Cretan law. The most notable Solonian words are *ἄξονες* and *κύρβεις*. The former is probably an Attic but its fellow is demonstrably an imported word. Theophrastus derived it *ἀπὸ τῶν Κρητικῶν Κορυβάντων*, and Apollodorus also says it was an invention of the Corybantes.[3] These priests were the Phrygian devotees of Rhea in distinction from the Cretan Curetes and

[1] The laws of Charondas were written in verse and said to have been chanted in Athens. Plutarch, Solon III mentions the claim that Solon's laws also were composed in verse.

[2] Headlam, JHS XIII 50–69 finds some notable similarities between the procedure of the Gortyna code and Draco's law of murder, which was said to have come from Crete. But the law of Draco preserved on the *πρῶτος ἀξων* CIA I 61 is very like later Attic. On the old term *κωλακρέται* cf. Gilbert, Gr. Const. Ant. (trans. 1895), p. 114 note.

[3] Cf. also *κύρβις* = *κυρβασία*, the distinctive Asiatic hat, and Cretan *Κύρβαντες*.

the Idaean Dactyli.[1] The term κύρβις may have been obtained by Solon from Crete, but its origin appears clearly to be in the East.[2] It is quite possible that the failure of the Athenians to understand the meanings of Solon's statutes may have been due in part to the number of foreign expressions in them. Solon then cannot be taken as a criterion of old Attic. In Demosthenes, 630, 28 occurs an un-Attic word: τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἀποινᾶν, μὴ χρήματα πράττεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἄποινα ὠνόμαζον οἱ παλαιοί. Plato's use of ἄποινα, Laws IX 862 C, Rep. III 393 E has no weight. Rutherford l. c. overlooks the fact that the word in the Republic is in a paraphrase of the Chryses' incident of the Iliad, and the use in the Laws, in a conversation between a Spartan, a Cretan and Athenian ξένος is hardly more reliable. The Ionic status of the word is equally uncertain. Herodotus uses it twice, but this may be due to his Dorian extraction and he is by no means a model of dialectic purity. Pindar employs the term frequently, and this indicates the source from which the word got into tragedy and the laws. Philochorus, fr. 94 (Müller, FHG I 399) has preserved an old law derived possibly from Cleisthenes: τοὺς δὲ φράτορας ἐπάναγκες δέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὀργεῶνας καὶ τοὺς ὁμογάλακτας, οὓς γεννήτας καλοῦμεν. ὁμογάλακτες is manifestly a "poetic" term, probably of late formation, which was unsuccessfully introduced for the older and also later common term γεννῆται. Rutherford, Phrynichus, p. 24, in his discussion of ὀργεών and kindred forms, completely misconstrues the facts. The words are post-Homeric, exceedingly rare except in 4th century Attic, where they are used by Lysias, Plato and often by Isaeus, who wrote a speech entitled Πρὸς Ὀργεῶνας.[3] Yet Rutherford finds in this evidence that the forms were a survival from Ionic-Attic, were in common use in Attic before 500 B. C., and became obsolete shortly afterwards. This is a flagrant misinterpretation of the facts. But in spite of their Attic use the words are probably no more Attic than Renascence is native English. The verb ὀργιάζω represents the Oriental type of worship and the forms were doubtless im-

[1] It is significant that the laws on the Κύρβεις at Athens were set up in the sanctuary of the Phrygian goddess.

[2] Despite Busolt, Gr. Gesch. II (1895) 291. On the etymology of the word cf. Roscher, Lex. Mythol. 2. p. 1607, and Wilamowitz, Aristotles und Athen, p. 45 Anm.

[3] In the 4th century a private cult of the Orgeones existed by which Cybele was honored in conformance with Phrygian observances. Cf. Curt., Das Metroon in Athen, p. 9 ff.; Roscher, Lex., Myth. 2, p. 1655.

ported along with the orgiastic cults of Bacchus and Aphrodite from the East with whom they were often associated. These things show very clearly the doubtful character of the strange terms in the old laws. It is impossible here to consider each law which has been preserved. Scores of references to the early laws have been collected by Telfy, Corpus Juris Attici, and Schelling, De Solonis legibus apud oratores Atticos. These laws exhibit regularly common Attic forms and words. Schelling, p. 6 holds that obsolete words and dialectic forms were expunged from the laws because "nulla in iis flexio reperitur, quae formis dialectae Ionicae aut antiquioris Atticae similis sit; occurrunt ubique recentioris dialecti declinationes. Et quod ad ipsa vocabula attinet, vix unum aut alterum paullo obsoleto invenire quis possit". But the bilingual inscription from Sigeum which dates from Solon's time, and the other prose inscriptions of the same early period, effectually dispose of the notion that the laws of Solon, if written in current Attic, must contain a mass of peculiar forms and words.

This survey of the language of tragedy and its relation to old Attic seems to establish the following conclusions: The alien forms are drawn from Doric poetry. The large number of un-Attic words is due in part to the adoption of the vocabulary of the dithyramb, and in part to the formation of new words after the manner of dithyrambic poetry. The presence of the large number of Doric forms in the dialogue seems to substantiate the statements above quoted that the Dorians had developed some form of dialogue before tragedy was cultivated on Attic soil. The diction of the dialogue is essentially the same as that of the chorus, the slight difference being due to a little greater restriction in the use of alienisms in the former on account of the use of the iambic metre. Words are assigned to the chorus or trimeter for metrical reasons, but alien forms are not introduced into tragedy metri gratia. Moreover the tragic diction is far removed from Ionic as this appears in Hipponax and the early inscriptions, and this divergence indicates also that the alienisms were drawn from another source. In short the language of tragedy commemorates the influence of the Dorian genius upon Athenian literature.

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V.—CICERO'S APPRECIATION OF GREEK ART.

What was the attitude of Cicero toward those material works of art which we are wont to consider among the crowning glories of ancient Greek civilization?

From the time when he first came to Rome the young student was constantly in close touch with Greek culture. Among the teachers of his early days at the capital were Phaedrus the Epicurean, an Athenian[1]; Diodotus the Stoic, who even lived in Cicero's own house in the greatest intimacy with the young orator, and who afterward died there[2]; Philo, the leader of the Academic School, who came to Rome from Athens during the Mithridatic war[3]; Molo of Rhodes, who came to Rome in the interest of the Rhodian State during the dictatorship of Sulla[4]. He was *doctus sermones utriusque linguae*, and his training in declamation was more often in Greek than in Latin, both because of its superior style, and because he could thus better avail himself of the correction of his Greek masters[5]. His letters abound in Greek quotations and phrases, and the greater number of his essays are based upon Greek originals. He was born, too, forty years after the sack of Corinth, and when, some ten years afterward, he came to Rome, he must have had daily before his eyes many of the famous works of Greek artists. It was a time when the artistic possessions of the East were the objects of the passion for collection on the part of rich amateurs, and when the palace and the villa at Rome, if not indeed the public square, were beginning to be filled with costly specimens. Again, at the age of twenty-eight, Cicero, for purposes of recreation and study, left Rome for a two years' absence in the East. Six months of this period was spent at Athens, the most famous center of culture of the time, and the remainder at various seats of intellectual activity in Asia Minor[6]. Lastly, the term of Cicero's quaestorship was passed in Sicily, itself filled with monuments of Greek art, monuments with whose location and character he had good reason, at least later, to become familiar; for it was three years

[1] Fam. XIII 1, 2; Att. XVI 7, 4. [2] Brut. 90, 309.
[3] Brut. 89, 306. [4] 90, 312. [5] 90, 310. [6] Brut. 91, 314-316.

after the expiration of his term of office that there occurred the prosecution of Verres, who had succeeded him in the island, for maladministration; and the fourth book of Cicero's second *actio* against Verres is called *De Signis* because of the numerous examples of theft of statues which are cited in it.

These facts indicate beyond all question a great predilection on the part of Cicero for the Greek language and for Greek intellectual products as manifested in the art of literature. In regard to the other forms of Greek art, with which in this paper we are more particularly concerned, they prove nothing, and possess significance only in that they create a presumption that he learned to understand and enjoy all phases of Greek art. Whether this presumption is true or false must be determined by a more minute examination of Cicero's works[1]. This yields the following results.

If the historian of ancient art were absolutely dependent upon Cicero for information, his history of ancient painting would present the following names: Apelles, Aglaophon, Polygnotus, Zeuxis, Timanthes, Parrhasius, Nicomachus, Aetion, and Protogenes. From information derived from sources elsewhere than in Cicero, we may arrange them chronologically as follows: Aglaophon and Polygnotus, of the early fifth century; Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and Timanthes, of the later fifth century; Nicomachus, Aetion, Apelles, and Protogenes, of the fourth century. Such a history could tell its readers that Apelles was of Colophonian origin[2], lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was his favorite painter[3]; that he was of great renown; that his most

[1] The subject of Cicero's attitude toward art has been treated by Koenig, Diss. De Cicerone in Verrinis artis operum aestimatore et iudice; by Stahr, in an essay in his Torso II² pp. 209-230, Braunschweig, 1878; by Goehling, Diss. De Cicerone artis aestimatore, Halle 1877; and by Sandys pp. lxxi-lxxiv in the introduction to his Orator, Cambridge, 1885. Both Koenig and Stahr credit Cicero with more knowledge and enthusiasm in matters of art than he really had. Sandys and Goehling are substantially agreed in denying that Cicero possessed more than a superficial knowledge of art. The treatment of Goehling is the only one of the four which aims to present evidence in full from the whole body of Cicero's works, and in it he lays most emphasis on Cicero's deficiency in knowledge of art. My own paper was completed without reference to any of these works, and before I had access to them. In it the emphasis is laid on Cicero's lack of enthusiasm for Greek art rather than on his deficiency in knowledge of it. This, of course, is not to say that Cicero was not possessed of a fair amount of taste in ordinary matters, as for example, in the furnishing of his villas.

[2] Or. III 7, 26. [3] Fam. V 12, 7.

famous work was a painting of Venus for the people of Cos, of which he finished only the bust, leaving the remaining parts only begun, and that such was its excellence that no painter ever dared to attempt its completion[1]; that he was classed among those who attained absolute perfection[2]; that a saying of his was "that too much was a greater offense than too little, and that those painters were culpable who did not recognize the limit"[3]. Of Aglaophon such a history could say that he was among those who were perfect in their art;[4] of Polygnotus, Zeuxis, and Timanthes, that they used no more than four colors, and that their drawing was admirable;[5] of Zeuxis alone, that he was of Heraclea,[6] and perfect in his art;[7] of Parrhasius, that he enjoyed great fame;[8] of Nicomachos, that with Aetion, Protogenes, and Apelles he was classed as perfect;[9] of Aetion, that his painting had great charm;[10] of Protogenes, that he painted an Ialysus,[11] which Cicero saw at Rhodes.[12] It could tell its readers of a painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, in which Agamemnon was represented with head veiled,[13] of a painting of Paralus at Athens,[14] and of the fact that the possession of treasures of painting and sculpture was common to all the cities of Greece and Asia.[15] There is only one of these names dated, that of Apelles; the dates of the others could not even be conjectured without other aid than is afforded by Cicero. There is one item of interest on process, that concerning the use of not more than four colors by Polygnotus, Zeuxis, and Timanthes. There is one criticism of technique, that concerning the excellent drawing of the same masters. On the whole, what Cicero has to give us is a number of names of famous painters known from other evidence to have lived in the fifth and fourth centuries, with very commonplace and superficial comment, and with no utterance which has even a tendency to convince us that he cared for the art of painting to any degree worthy of the name of enthusiastic admiration.

Let us now examine what our author offers on the subject of sculpture. Of sculptors whom we know to have lived in the fifth century, there are mentioned, of the early part, Calamis, Cana-

[1] De Off. III 2, 10; Fam. I 9, 15; Verr. IV 60, 135; Or. 2, 5.
[2] De Or. III 7, 26; Brut. 18, 70. [3] Or. 22, 73. [4] De Or. III 7, 26.
[5] Brut. 18, 70. [6] De Inv. II 1, 1.
[7] De Or. III 7, 26. Cf. Acad. II 47, 146. [8] Tusc. Disp. I 2, 4.
[9] Brut. 18, 70. [10] Parad. 37. [11] Att. II 21, 4.
[12] Or. 2, 5; Verr. IV 60, 135. [13] Or. 22, 74. [14] Verr. IV. 60, 135. [15] Ibid.

chus, and Myron; of the last half, Alcamenes, Phidias, and Polyclitus. Of fourth century sculptors there are the names of Lysippus, Praxiteles, Scopas, and Silanion. The names of of Polycles and Myrmecides, the former the author of a Hercules, the latter a *minutorum opusculorum fabricator*, both of uncertain date, are also mentioned.[1] The works of Canachus, we are told, were too rigid to be considered natural;[2] those of Calamis were rigid, but at the same time less unyielding than those of Canachus.[3] Myron excelled in art, together with Polyclitus and Lysippus, but all three were dissimilar in style.[4] While his works were not entirely truthful, no one would hesitate to call them beautiful;[5] a work of his gave pleasure comparable to that afforded by the Bellum Punicum of Naevius.[6] Mention is made of the bronze cow of Myron at Athens,[7] of a bronze Hercules in the possession of Gaius Heius, at Messina, said to be Myron's,[8] and of a fine statue of Apollo at Agrigentum, with the name of Myron inscribed in very small silver letters on its thigh.[9] Of Alcamenes we are told that his Hephaestus at Athens, represented standing and lightly draped, showed the lameness of the god, but in a way not displeasing.[10] Comparatively frequent mention is made of Phidias, nearly always as illustrating supreme excellence.[11] Nothing more perfect of its kind exists than the works of Phidias;[12] the statues of Zeus and Athena are his highest creations;[13] a statue of Phidias is approved the instant it is seen;[14] the artist wrought his own likeness into the shield of the Athena Parthenos;[15] the great statues of Phidias were not likenesses of human beings whom he had contemplated, but there was dwelling in the soul of the artist a noble ideal of beauty, and it was toward the imitation of this ideal that he directed his hand.[16] Polyclitus is mentioned in a group of three, of which the other two are Zeuxis and Phidias, all of whom were great masters.[17] He is named again in company with Parrhasius.[18] Certain works of his were bought, or seized, by Verres, and ac-

[1] Att. VI 1, 17; Acad. II 38, 120. [2] Brut. 18, 70.
[3] Ibid. [4] De Or. III 7, 26. [5] Brut. l. c.
[6] Ibid. 19, 75. [7] Verr. IV 60, 135. [8] Verr. IV 3, 5.
[9] 43, 95. [10] De Deor. Nat. I 30, 83.
[11] De Or. 17, 73; Or. 2, 5; and passim. [12] Or. 2, 8.
[13] 2, 5 and 9. [14] Brut. 64, 228. [15] Tusc. Disp. I 15, 34.
[16] Or. 2, 9. [17] Acad. II 47, 146; De Finn. II 34, 115.
[18] Tusc. Disp. I 2, 4.

companying them were also works of Praxiteles and Myron.[1] The Doryphorus of Polyclitus is coupled with the Zeus of Phidias as an example of the supreme in art;[2] and the same statue served as a model to Lysippus.[3] Certain canephoroe in Messina were attributed to him,[4] and there was also a group by his hand consisting of Hercules clad in the lionskin, with the Hydra.[5] In the series of early sculptors of which three—Canachus, Calamis, and Myron—have been named, Polyclitus formed a fourth, seeming to Cicero to represent the perfection of the development of his art.[6] His statues arouse speechless admiration.[7] Lysippus himself was the favorite sculptor, as Apelles was the favorite painter, of Alexander the Great,[8] and executed a bust or statue of the famous ruler.[9] Together with Myron and Polyclitus, Lysippus was preëminent in his art.[10] Praxiteles receives bare mention, complimentary, of course. A marble Cupid of his was in the possession of Gaius Heius in Messina, and was perhaps after the famous Cupid of the same author at Thespiae.[11] Verres' estimate of its value at HS CIↃIↃC, at which he forced Heius to part with it, is ridiculed by Cicero, who exclaims: "Have we not seen a statue of bronze of no great size go at auction for HS 40000?"[12] The Venus of Cnidus is mentioned, without the name of Praxiteles.[13] Scopas is mentioned but once, with the implication that he is one of the foremost in his art.[14] There is mention of a Sappho of Silanion, of great elegance, elaborateness, and perfection, which stood in the Prytaneion at Syracuse, and was stolen by Verres.[15]

As a result of this examination of Cicero's mention of sculpture and sculptors, it may be noted: (1) that the names he employs are fairly representative of the history of sculpture during the fifth and fourth centuries: if we should add the names of Cresilas and Paeonius we should have before us all the very famous names employed by the historian of ancient sculpture, and the addition of a half dozen less important names would give us a very complete list of all Greek sculptors who were well known; (2) that Cicero's knowledge of sculpture seems to be called into play more often than his knowledge of painting, and that he seems to

[1] Verr. IV 6, 12. [2] Or. 2, 5. [3] Brut. 86, 296. [4] Verr. IV 3, 5.
[5] De Or. 16, 70. [6] Brut. 18, 70. [7] Parad. 37. [8] Fam. V 12, 7.
[9] Acad. II 26, 85. [10] De Or. III 7, 26. [11] Verr. IV 2, 4; 60, 135.
[12] Verr. IV 6, 12; 7, 14. [13] 60, 135.
[14] De Div. I 13, 23. [15] Verr. IV 56, 125.

have greater familiarity with it—a fact, however, which calls for no special comment, since it is entirely natural, considering the relative importance of the two arts in antiquity and the relative endurance of their monuments; (3) that there is slightly more critical knowledge of sculpture displayed than of painting. The comparison of the work of Daedalus with the plays of Livius Andronicus, and of early sculpture as represented by Myron with early literature as represented by Naevius; the mention of Canachus, Calamis, Myron, and Polyclitus as a series whose works represent the course of the development of sculpture (and Cicero's criticism of Canachus' work as too rigid to be natural, is the only criticism of the style of that sculptor which has come down to us); the statement that Phidias' model was the ideal which was indwelling in his soul—such utterances as these betoken some appreciation of the qualities of archaic art, of the history of its development, and of the nature of the artist's inspiration. The amount of such criticism, however, in comparison with the total mention of sculpture and sculptors, is small, and there is little to indicate more than a very ordinary familiarity with or love for the art of sculpture.

As to architecture, what our author says about that as an art is a negligible quantity; and as to other fields of art, if we mention some few references to Corinthian ware, which was very highly prized at the time[1], to Delian ware[2], one reference to Boethus[3], and one to Mentor[4], both celebrated toreuticians, we shall have completed our list of Cicero's references to Greek art. It appears, then, that it is practically only sculpture and painting with which we are concerned.

If we take the number and variety of names and works of sculptors and painters mentioned by Cicero as indicating a general knowledge of those arts, we must at the same time keep in mind the fact that, with very few exceptions, none of the references betokens anything more than superficial knowledge or interest. All of them, with the exception of those in the Verrine orations, are introduced for purposes of illustration, as is natural enough, for Cicero is not writing primarily for the purpose of giving information regarding art. They are part of the writer's stock in trade for purposes of illustration. "Nam Q. Hortensii admodum adulescentis ingenium, ut Phidiae signum, simul aspec-

[1] Verr. II 34, 83; IV 1, 1; Pro Sex. Rosc. 133; etc. [3] Ibid.
[2] Verr. IV. 14, 32. [4] IV 18, 38.

tum et probatum est"—such is their manner. They are commonplaces in art. In the Verrine orations alone is the case different, for there the orator is enumerating works of art stolen by Verres.

The use of these names and facts, then, is but one of Cicero's many rhetorical devices. In him the orator and writer swallowed up everything else; knowledge was to be acquired, not for its own sake, but that it might be available to grace his composition. "Legendi etiam poëtae, cognoscendae historiae, omnium bonarum artium doctores atque scriptores legendi et pervolutandi et exercitationis causa laudandi, interpretandi, corrigendi, vituperandi, refellendi; disputandumque de omni re in contrarias partis, et quicquid erit in quaque re quod probabile videri possit, eliciendum [atque dicendum]; perdiscendum ius civile, cognoscendae leges, percipienda omnis antiquitas, senatoria consuetudo, disciplina rei publicae, iura sociorum, foedera, pactiones, causa imperii cognoscenda est; libandus est etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis facetiarum quidam lepos, quo tamquam sole perspergatur omnis oratio": such is the catalogue of intellectual accomplishments demanded of the ideal orator[1]. Not for their own sake are they to be acquired, however; poetry and art are only stepping-stones for the orator, and Cicero's knowledge of them was regarded by himself as an instrument, and so used. It is significant that his most ornate passages referring to artists and their works are found in his essays, especially in those written on rhetorical subjects, and that in the orations and letters, where we have a right to look for utterances of a more personal nature, there is almost a total absence of such reference.

But it must at the same time further be observed that, even if the use of this knowledge is a rhetorical device, it does not preclude the possibility of Cicero's having had an appreciation of the art he mentions. We have already seen, however, that there is little in the content of his references to prove any special liking for the arts. Let us see what he himself has to say on the subject of his own knowledge and taste. Speaking in the fourth Verrine oration, at the age of thirty-six, of a statue of Hercules at Agrigentum, he says: "Ibi est ex aere simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me vidisse pulchrius, tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intellego, quam multa vidi".[2] This assertion that his knowledge of works of art was

[1] De Or. I 34, 158, 159. [2] Verr. IV 43, 94.

not in proportion to the number he had seen might be a modest disclaimer of what little knowledge he felt he did possess; or it might be a bid for the favor of his art-despising Roman audience; or it might be the truth. The sum of evidence indicates that it is the truth, and that Cicero's knowledge of art was slight.[1] Considering the opportunities he had enjoyed, we must conclude that works of art had exercised little influence upon him. We may add to this another utterance which seems to be the expression of a personal opinion. In the fifth Paradox, where he discusses the thesis that all wise men are free and all fools are slaves, Cicero ranks as among vilest slaves those who take too much delight in statues, paintings, Corinthian ware, embossed silver, and magnificent edifices: "atque in pari stultitia sunt, quos signa, quos tabulae, quos caelatum argentum, quos Corinthia opera, quos aedificia magna nimio opere delectant. Aëtionis tabula te stupidum detinet aut signum aliquod Polycleti; mitto unde sustuleris, quo modo habeas: intuentem te, admirantem, clamores tollentem cum video, servum esse ineptiarum omnium iudico. 'Nonne igitur sunt illa festiva?' Sunt; nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus. Sed, obsecro te, ita venusta habeantur ista, non ut vincla virorum sint, sed ut oblectamenta puerorum."[2] Further evidence of Cicero's taste is found in the fact that in the early sixties when Cicero had become a rich man and was fitting out his Tusculan villa, the sculptural equipment in which he invested consisted in Herms, Hermathenas, and signa Megarica, or statues of Megarean marble, which he commissioned Atticus, who was in Athens at the time, to get for him.[3] They were merely for ornament, accompanied by no artist's name, and of no artistic importance. Again, in a letter of uncertain date to his friend, M. Fadius Gallus, who had purchased certain statues for him, but had made a mistake in his selection, Cicero wrote: "prorsus enim ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero: tu autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quattuor aut quinque sumpsisti."[4] Here again the context shows that the statues were desired only for purposes of ornamentation in connection with the palaestra of Cicero's villa. He had as little interest in the acquisition of works of sculpture

[1] This is also the conclusion of Goehling.

[2] Parad. V 2, 36–38.

[3] Att. I 1, 5; 3, 2; 4, 3; 5, 7; 6, 2; 8, 2; 9, 2; 10, 3; 11, 3.

[4] Fam. VII 23, 2.

for their own sake as he had in the acquisition of knowledge of sculpture for its own sake.

Thus by word and act does Cicero confess his lack of interest in and appreciation of Greek art. We may go still further, however, and employ the *argumentum ex silentio*. This is usually dangerous, I am aware; and if Cicero had left nothing but his essays and orations, I should not think of concluding, from his brief and formal mention in the field of art, that he had no appreciation of it. But Cicero has left us a thousand pages of letters, of which three-fourths are written to intimate friends to whom he lays bare all his thoughts; and in all this correspondence, which extends from 68 to 44, there are three references to Greek art of the good period, and of these, two are in letters which are not addressed to his most intimate friends, and which are as formal and rhetorical as any of his essays.[1] The third is in a letter to Atticus and is a mere illustration.[2] Such silence concerning the famous monuments of art known to the world of his time, monuments which he had abundant opportunity to see, and in the very sight of which he sometimes wrote to his most intimate friend Atticus,[3] can only mean that Cirero had no enthusiasm for things of that kind.

To sum up: Cicero was keenly appreciative of Greek thought as manifested in Greek literature. As to those products of Greek genius which were manifested in the arts, he has nothing to say of architecture, refers a few times to Corinthian and Delian bronze work and vases, and speaks only of the arts of sculpture and painting, as though he were familiar with them. While his equipment of knowledge regarding these two arts may have been greater than is apparent in his pages, it is altogether likely that it was very superficial; and it is certain that his use of it sprang rather from the instinct of the stylist than from the enthusiasm of the lover of art.

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[1] Fam. V 12, 7; I 9, 15. [2] Att. II 21, 4. [3] Att. V 10, 5; VI 9, 5.

VI.—THE ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE IN THE EPISTLES OF CICERO, SENECA, PLINY AND FRONTO.

In another article we discussed the use of Chiasmus in these writings,[1] and here we shall consider the use of the ablative absolute, following the same lines as in the discussion of the ablative absolute in Livy. The latter differs widely from the others in the rhetorical elaboration of his sentences, and for this reason there are marked differences in the use of the ablative absolute. Many of the letters in these collections were written with a direct view to publication, but in those written on the spur of the moment, the writer did not take time for introductory elaboration and had little need for the ablative absolute. In Seneca the normal sentence is so short that there is room for little more than the finite forms of the verb. The Panegyricus of Pliny, though not an epistle, is not more artificial than some of the letters, and is included so as to give a view of Pliny's complete work. As the absolute construction is merely a substitutive element, its use varies in different writers, and the frequency of occurrence is to a considerable extent dependent on the occurrence of those primary forms of statement for which it may be substituted, and for this reason, as it generally expresses temporal relations, it is used with greatest freedom in historical compositions where it helps to prevent an excess of temporal clauses. Compared with Livy these writers do not use the construction freely, the number for each form being as follows:

	Perfect.	Present.	Adjectives.	Nouns.	Total.
Cicero,	430	171	73	67	741
Seneca,	106	81	15	2	204
Pliny,	160	90	18	11	279
Fronto,	51	28	2	4	85
	747	370	108	84	1309

[1] Chiasmus in the epistles of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny and Fronto. Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, pp. 339–352.

These figures, however, are not rigidly exact, for in some instances—not sufficiently large to call for a separate listing—we have placed under 'Adjectives' the occurrence of a single noun with an adjective and present participle, as in Cic. ad Att. 16, 7, 3 quibus invitis et dissuadentibus profectus sum. There is also a limited number of other instances in which two forms of the verbal term have been used and these have been put under the first in the statement. As all these writers were to a great extent considering facts falling immediately under their notice, the large number of present participles in the ablative absolute is not surprising. The proportion is the lowest for Cicero, and the highest for Seneca, though in the entire number there is but one noticeable feature,—the occurrence of *dis volentibus* in letters written to Fronto (p. 72, line 5 Naber; 88, 17; 94, 16); of *dis faventibus* (56, 21); and of *dis iuvantibus* (56, 17; 70, 20; 80, 11; 81, 10; 83, 3; 91, 2; 88, 7; and 101, 6), only the last two being in letters written by Fronto.

There are no marked differences in the use of perfect participles excepting of deponents. Of these, the ablative absolute is in Cicero limited to *mortuo:* ad Att. 2, 19, 3 m. plausu; 2, 19, 4 Cosconio m.; 12, 20, 2 vivone . . . an mortuo (twice); 14, 17, 6; 16, 16 A, 7; 12, 22, 2 num Clodia D. Bruto consulari, filio suo, mortuo vixerit; ad Fam. 7, 9, 2 quod huc properes, nihil est, praesertim Battara mortuo. Seneca has *ortis* 122, 8 inde ortis radicibus quo improbe cacumina egissent; and *passis* 74, 2 aliquam p. infamiam. Pliny has a different class: 5, 16, 1 filia minore defuncta; 6, 20, 2 profecto avunculo; 9, 12, 1 iuvene digresso. Fronto has *profecto* 209, 13 Lucio ab urbe necdum etiam tum p.; *mortuo* 160, 10 Alexandro morbo m.; *orto* 209, 7 tumultu o.; and perhaps 7, 5 ortis vaporibus.

Ablatives absolute composed of pairs of nouns are most freely used by Cicero, especially *consul* and *auctor*. Seneca has the latter 44, 6 populo a.; and 107, 9 quo auctore. Pliny's list resembles Cicero's, but Fronto's is different: 55, 3 me vade, me praede, me sponsore, celeriter te in cacumine eloquentiae sistam; 115, 15 quem ego facile, et omnibus spectantibus, et te, si spectaveris, teste revincam.

The adjectives most commonly occurring are *invitus*, as in Cic. ad Att. 5, 21, 9 quod et illo et me invitissimo fiet; *integer* 9, 10, 8 "Tum poterimus deliberare non scilicet integra re, sed certe minus infracta quam si una proieceris te"; *salvus:* Sen.

117, 1 ego nec dissentire a nostris salva gratia nec consentire salva conscientia possum; *vivus:* Cic. ad Att. 9, 7, 1 sic enim video, nec duobus his vivis nec hoc uno nos umquam rem publicam habituros. Fronto has salva sanitate 164, 2; and invalido adhuc corpore 84, 21.

The ablative absolute of neuter forms is avoided, though Cic. has *sortito* ad Fam. 8, 8, 8 (quoting from a senate consult); and Seneca *tranquillo* 85, 34 . . . t. enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est; cf. Livy 24, 8, 12 quilibet . . . t. mari gubernare potest.

In its general aspects the ablative absolute in these writers may be characterized as isolated, unextended and undivided. There are some exceptions to this characterization but most of the examples occur singly, are composed of one noun and one participle or equivalent, and do not have the parts separated.

1. (a) There is occasionally a passage in the letters of Cicero in which two ablatives absolute are introductory to the main statement, as in ad Att. 1, 13, 2 idque admurmurante senatu neque me invito esse factum; 7, 17, 2 violata iam ab illo re publica illatoque bello; ad Fam. 10, 3, 2 omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna; ad Fam. 4, 4, 3 nam et ipse Caesar accusata 'acerbitate' Marcelli (sic enim appellabat) laudataque honorificentissime et aequitate tua et prudentia repente praeter spem dixit se . . . negaturum. An instance of three ablatives absolute is found ad Fam. 1, 9, 14 recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar rebus maximis gestis . . . adiungeretur; and in the letters of his correspondents 10, 32, 1 (Pollio) Balbus quaestor magna numerata pecunia, magno pondere auri, maiore argenti coacto de publicis exactionibus, ne stipendio quidem militibus reddito duxit se a Gadibus; 12, 15, 1 (Lentulus) quod cum pertimuisset Dolabella vastata provincia, correptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis omnibus crudelissime denudatis ac divenditis celeriusque Asia excessisset. Cicero uses four ad Att. 4, 18, 5 confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla praeda, imperata tamen pecunia exercitum ex Britannia reportabant; and Plancus the same number ad Fam. 10, 21, 4 (Plancus), duobus iam consulibus singularibus occisis, tot civibus pro patria amissis, hostibus denique omnibus iudicatis bonisque publicatis. A slightly different extension of the participial statement is found in a letter from Dolabella ad Fam. 9, 9, 2 illi non posse contingere . . .

pulso Italia, amissis Hispaniis, capto exercitu veterano, circumvallato nunc denique, quod nescio an nulli umquam nostro acciderit imperatori. Cf. in Cicero's letter ad Fam. 11, 18, 2 etenim, cum te incluso spem maximam omnes habuissent in tua virtute, florente Antonio, quis erat, qui quicquam timeret profligato illo, te liberato. Especially noticeable are the ablatives in Cicero's exultation ad Fam. 1, 9, 16 cumque Metellum unius tr. pl. rogatio, me universa res publica duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus omnibus *magistratibus*, te ferente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus hominibus incumbentibus, omnibus denique suis viribus reciperavisset.

Pairs of contrasted ablatives absolute are occasionally found: ad Att. 6, 1, 2 illo imperante exhaustam esse ... provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus nummum nullum esse erogatum; 7, 9, 2 suscepto autem bello aut tenenda sit urbs aut ea relicta ille ... intercludendus; 8, 15A, 2 (Balbus) incipiam sperare ... auctore te, illo relatore ...; 9, 14, 2 nihil Curionem se duce facere, quod non hic Sulla duce fecisset; 14, 10, 1 di immortales, quae tum opera effici potuerunt laetantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus! ad Fam. 4, 9, 2; 6, 6, 6 quiescente me ... manente me.

(b). Repetition of the ablative absolute is not frequent in Seneca: 51, 7 interrupto cursu rerum omissoque bello; 86, 17 amputatis radicibus, relicto tantum capite ipso; 83, 7 vento silvam verberante et ceteris sine intellectu sonantibus. Three occur in succession 9, 18 capta patria, amissis liberis, amissa uxore; 9, 16 qualis et Iovis, cum resoluto mundo et dis in unum confusis paulisper cessante natura adquiescit; 95, 15 firmis adhuc solidisque corporibus et facili cibo nec per artem voluptatemque corrupto. The successive ablatives are contrasted 117, 1; 77, 8 quemadmodum coena peracta ... sic peracta vita.

(c). The usage of Pliny is like that of Seneca though in two passages *data opera* is practically subordinated to the accompanying ablative absolute: 3, 17, 2 data opera tabellario misso; 7, 12, 6 data opera cursore dimisso. 1, 8, 15 sic, quod magnificum referente alio fuisset, ipso qui gesserat recensente vanescit; 3, 14, 3 sublatis oculis agitatoque corpore; 3, 16, 5 satiata siccis oculis composito vultu redibat; 6, 16, 19 spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho; 10, 41, 4 intercepto rege mortalitate an desperato operis effectu; Pan. 22 te viso, te recepto; 9, 28, 5 dicente me, audiente te; 10, 84, 1 contractis omnibus personis ad idem

negotium pertinentibus, adhibitis Virdio Gemellino et Epimacho, liberto meo, procuratoribus, ut aestimatis etiam iis quae contra dicuntur quod optimum crediderit statuatis. 3, 9, 22 quibusdam absolutis, pluribus damnatis atque etiam relegatis, aliis in tempus, aliis in perpetuum.

(d). Fronto has the following instances of repetition: 68, 9 calceis detractis, vestimentis positis; 120, 12 possum ... excedere, magno operae meae praetio percepto, magnoque monumento ad aeternam gloriam relicto; 115, 15; 55, 3.

2. The extension of the ablative absolute by the repetition of one of the parts, either noun or participle, is of more frequent occurrence than are complete ablatives absolute repeated, and the noun is repeated less frequently than the participle.

(a). Only a few instances were noticed of the repetition of the noun by Cicero: ad Fam. 1, 9, 16; 1, 9, 19 deis hominibusque adprobantibus; ad Quint. Frat. 2, 4, 1 dis hominibusque plaudentibus; ad Fam. 4, 4, 3; 7, 3, 5 amisso exercitu et eo duce; ad Att. 10, 8 B, 2 (Caesar) tu explorato et vitae meae testimonio et amicitiae iudicio ... reperies. The participial element is repeated much more freely: ad Att. 2, 16, 4 re consulta et explorata; 5, 20, 3; 9, 1, 3 remotis sive omnino missis lictoribus; 10, 13, 3 ego autem nec retentis iis confectam rem puto neque amissis desperatam; ad Brut. 1, 2, 1 scripta et obsignata iam epistula; ad Fam. 1, 4, 1 nisi perfectis aut reiectis legationibus; 6, 2, 2 si armis aut condicione positis aut defetigatione abiectis aut victoria detractis civitas respiraverit; 8, 8, 4 saepe re dilata et graviter acta et plane perspecta Cn. Pompei voluntate; 12, 15, 1; 12, 25a, 1; 12, 30, 2; 15, 4, 10 omnibus partibus urbis disturbatis aut incensis. Ad Att. 3, 15, 6 quo modo autem iis, quos tu scribis, et de re dicentibus et, ut referretur, postulantibus, Clodius tacuit? 3, 15, 7 inspectante et tacente te; 4, 18, 3; 6, 3, 4; 7, 9, 2; 12, 13, 1 non mehercule indulgente me, sed tamen repugnante; ad Brut. 2, 4, 2 repugnante et irascente Pansa; ad Fam. 4, 3, 1; 7, 23, 4 illo et absente et insciente; 12, 12, 2 te hortante et auctore; cf. ad Att. 5, 5, 2 quod auctore te velle coepi, adiutore consequar. Ad Fam. 1, 9, 6 te quidem ipso praedicatore ac teste; ad Att. 2, 1, 7; ad Att. 5, 12, 1 inde Gyarum saevo vento, non adverso; 9, 10, 8; 16, 7, 3.

(b). The noun or pronoun is comparatively more freely repeated in Seneca than in Cicero: 14, 12 aliis Pompeium offendentibus, aliis Caesarem; 95, 70 aliis Caesareanas opes, aliis

Pompeianas foventibus; 26, 5 remotis strophis ac fucis; 108, 12 relictis ambiguitatibus et syllogismis et cavillationibus et ceteris acuminis inriti ludicris; 115, 3 hinc iustitia, illinc fortitudine, hinc temperantia prudentiaque lucentibus; 81, 16 salva pietate ac fide. Repeated participles are but little more commonly used: 74, 25 salvis liberis quam amissis; 86, 17 circumcisis ramis et ad unum redactis pedem; 113, 29 modo occiso amico, modo amisso; 114, 6 sollicita urbe at armata; 65, 7 hominibus laborantibus, intereuntibus illa nihil patitur; 79, 3 nil flammis adolentibus, sed tantum vi remissa ac languida refulgentibus; 110, 10 nolente rerum natura et abscondente; 18, 4 ebrio ac vomitante populo; 53, 1 quamvis dubio et impendente caelo; 114, 22 illo sano ac valente; 74, 2 hic amissis liberis moestus, hic sollicitus aegris, hic turpibus et aliquam passis infamiam tristis.

(c). The extended absolutes in Pliny have for the most part either present participles or adjectives: 4, 19, 4 non artifice aliquo docente sed amore; 9, 13, 16 petentibus matre eius et vitrico; 8, 4, 5 proinde iure vatum invocatis dis, et inter eos ipso cuius res opera consilia dicturus es. 2, 17, 2 salvo iam et composito die; 3, 4, 1 and 6, 13, 4 integra re . . . peracta; 6, 16, 12 ibi, quamquam nondum periculo adpropinquante, conspicuo tamen, et cum cresceret, proximo. 2, 17, 21 specularibus et velis obductis reductisve; Pan. 32 quippe discretis quidem bonis omnium sua cuiusque ad singulos mala; sociatis autem atque permixtis singulorum mala ad neminem; 56 quod alii domitis hostibus, tu contemptis merebare.

(d). Fronto has the following: 43, 6 clausa iam et obsignata epistula priore; 134, 20 absente Victorino et domino fratre meo.

3. There is little of interest in the separation of the parts of the abl. abs. by intervening words. These are generally closely associated with one of the parts of the abl. abs., and in only a few instances are explanatory phrases admitted as in Cic. ad Fam. 15, 15, 2 te, ut opinor, ipso legato ac deprecatore; 15, 10, 1 aspernante, ut confido, senatu; Sen. 94, 13 specie quo non oportet trahente; Pliny 3, 4, 2 accepto, ut praefectus aerarii, commeatu; 7, 1, 6 atque ita spe balinei, cui iam videbar inferri, placide leniterque dimissa ad abstinentiam rursus . . . animum vultumque composui. Fronto 87, 15, dimisso iam, ut cognosco, eo; 115, 15 te, si spectaveris, teste. The incorporation of the subject of the principal statement is unusual: Cic. ad Fam. 10,

15, 2 (Plancus) quibus rebus ego cognitis; Pliny 4, 15, 3 quibus ille despectis; and in quoted lines of poetry 6, 10, 4 pulso qui Vindice; and 7, 4, 6 his ego lectis.

Most instances of separation are by a single word, as in Cic. ad Fam. 16, 15, 1 scripta iam epistula; ad Att. 14, 12 1 accepta grandi pecunia; ad Fam. 11, 13, 4 hac re mihi nuntiata; 15, 4, 9 magna multitudine hostium occisa; 12, 1, 1 interfecto enim rege; 15, 15, 2 amissis autem temporibus. Sen. 78, 23 renovat fracta insuper glacie; 94, 5 illo quidem obiecto operam perdidit; 104, 10 ne tutis quidem habebitur fides consternata semel mente. Pliny 2, 17, 12 inclinato iam die; 5, 9, 4 peractis tamen negotiis; 9, 28, 5 adpositis quidem usuris; 10, 119, 1 mutata enim condicione; 6, 20, 6 quassatis circumiacentibus tectis. Fronto 226, 17 manu comminus conserta; 90, 4 sedatis tibi doloribus; 174, 6 sed lectis concilii commentariis.

Instances of separation by more than one word result from the introduction of a particle with one or more words closely related to the abl. abs., or of a compact group of two or more words: Cic. ad Fam. 10, 32, 1 ne stipendio quidem militibus reddito; 13, 19, 2 explorata vero eius incolumitate; ad Att. 3, 23, 1 lege enim ab octo tribunis pl. promulgata; 6, 7, 1 me quidem certe multum hortante. Pliny 3, 9, 19 excepta tamen Classici uxore; 6, 22, 4 corrupto enim scribae servo. Fronto 15, 5 causa denique Romam remissa quid eveniet?

The following will illustrate the introduction of compact groups of words: Cic. ad Att. 1, 13, 1 caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis; 6, 3, 5 renovato in singulos annos faenore; 3, 15, 6; 7, 9, 2 illo exercitum vel per senatum vel per tribunos pl. obtinente; ad Fam. 4, 9, 2; 5, 17, 3 omnibus officiis amicitiae diligenter a me sancteque servatis; 7, 33, 1 gregalibus illis, quibus te plaudente vigebamus, amissis; 12, 15, 1; 12, 25 A, 1 re publica Antoniano quidem latrocinio liberata; ad Att. 16, 16 B, 8 omnibus enim rebus magna cura, multa opera et labore confectis; ad Brut. 2, 4, 1 datis mane a. d. III. Id. April. Scaptio litteris; ad Att. 4, 17, 4 obnuntiationibus per Scaevolam interpositis singulis diebus usque ad pr. Kal. Octobr., quo ego haec die scripsi, sublatis populo tributim domi suae satis fecerat. Sen. 83, 23 victa temporum locorumque difficultate; 94, 28 natura vim suam exercente: 98, 9 amisso optimae indolis filio; 120, 7 retento armorum victricium decore; 99, 21 remota omni lugentium scena; 115, 4 evocante ipsa voltus benignitate; 102,

28 tot sideribus inter se lumen miscentibus; 78, 11 ipsis per quae cupimus, fatigatis, ac deficientibus. Pliny 6, 5, 3 omisso contra dicendi tempore; 7, 33, 9 missis ad me gravissimis litteris; 10, 26, 3 exornata quaestoris mei dignitate; 10, 100 certante commilitonum et provincialium pietate; 2, 14, 4; 5, 6, 34 finito vario illo multiplicique curvamine recto limiti redditur; Pan. 34 relictaque post tergum totius generis humani securitate maereret. A few instances from Fronto (87, 14; 115, 15; 120, 13) have already been quoted in other connections, and here we need simply call attention to the noticeable freedom of arrangement in the 'Arion', 237, 3 magnis divitiis per oram Siciliae atque Italiae paratis; 237, 15 sociis inde consulto per navem ceteram dispersis.

A participle in the singular is found with a double subject ad Att. 1, 16, 12 Catone et Domitio postulante; and 4, 14, 2 maxime autem rogo, rebus tuis totoque itinere ex sententia confecto nos quam primum revisas; Fronto 134, 23 absente Victorino et domino fratre meo. The subject is omitted ad Att. 15, 6, 4 obsignata iam Balbus ad me Serviliam redisse; and occasionally when it is the antecedent of a relative statement: Seneca 108, 27 omissis ad quae devertimur; 124, 23 relictis in quibus vinci te necesse est; cf. 25, 2 excepto eo quod adhuc peccare erubescit. Pliny 2, 17, 2 peractis quae agenda fuerint; 2, 17, 7 ibi omnes silent venti exceptis qui nubilum inducunt; 5, 11, 3 peracto quod proxime promisisti; and the neuter participle absolute with dependent statement 8, 1, 1 iter commode explicui, excepto quod quidam ex meis adversam valitudinem . . . contraxerunt.

The ablative absolute follows the main statement relatively much more frequently in the letters than in the work of Livy, and without indications of individual preferences. Nearly all the occurrences express temporal relations, though there is occasionally an instance which has a causal or conditional force, or, when used with adversative statements, is concessive. A few examples of each will be quoted: ad Att. 1, 18, 3 adflicta res publica est empto constupratoquo iudicio; 5, 11, 6 non enim dubitabat Xeno, quin ab Ariopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non posset; Sen. 66, 33 magna habebunt discrimina variante materia; ad Att. 3, 24, 1 sin velint nostra causa, nihil posse se invitis; 8, 12B, 1 nos disiecta manu pares adversario esse non possumus; 2, 3, 1 Valerius absolutus est Hortensio defendente; ad Fam. 16, 12, 2 ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante nihil esse bello civili miserius. In some passages the abl. abs. is used

co-ordinately with other forms of ablative statements: ad Att. 3, 15, 3 quod profecto cum sua sponte tum te instante faciet; ad Fam. 9, 8, 2 mihi vero cum his ipsis vix, his autem detractis ne vix quidem; 3, 12, 3 de tempore nihil te invito, nihil sine consilio egissem tuo; 13, 16, 3 suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est profectus. Sen. 86, 20 et vidi non tantum mense Februario positas, sed etiam Marte exacto. In these the ablatives are parallel, while there is a modifying ablative element ad Fam. 7, 30, 1 quo mortuo nuntiato sella sublata est.

Particles with the Ablative Absolute.

The use of particles with the ablative absolute as if it were a clause, is much less developed in the epistles than in Livy, and in Cicero is limited to compounds of *si* excepting ad Att. 9, 6, 4 mene . . . cum bonis esse quamvis causa temere instituta?; 16, 13a, 1 veniam quo vocas, modo adiutore te; and ad Fam. 16, 12, 4 videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi modo ut urbe salva: *nisi* ad Att. 1, 16, 5 non esse venturos n. praesidio constituto; 11, 24, 4; 12, 35, 1; 13, 27, 1; 13, 31, 3; 15, 13, 7; 15, 20, 4; ad Fam. 1, 1, 1; 1, 4, 1; 2, 16, 2; 16, 1, 1 ut prorsus n. confirmato corpore nolles navigare; *quasi* ad Att. 14, 14, 6 q. iam recuperata re publica; 15, 3, 2 me velis scribere q. a Bruto habita oratione, cum ille ediderit; ad Quint. Frat. 2, 3, 2 hora fere nona q. signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt; cf. ad Fam. 15, 15, 2 illo q. quodam fatali proelio facto. Seneca uses other particles but has fewer examples: *nisi* 84, 11 n. ratione suadente; *quamvis* 53, 1 q. dubio et impendente caelo; *tamquam* 11, 8 ut sic t. illo spectante vivamus et omnia t. illo vidente faciamus; *velut* 83, 21 v. aliquo turbine circumagente totam domum. These particles are used with the most freedom by Pliny: *nisi* 2, 17, 22 n. fenestris apertis; 2, 14, 3 n. aliquo consulari producente; 3, 9, 12 n. illo nocente; 7, 1, 3; *quamquam* 6, 16, 12 q. nondum periculo adpropinquante; 10, 33, 1 q. via interiacente; 10, 120, 2 q. inconsulto te; and with the dative 10, 54, 2 quod q. invitis et recusantibus minus acerbum erit leviore usura constituta; *quasi* 1, 23, 3 q. eiurato magistratu; 8, 10, 2 q. paratis posteris; 9, 15, 2 rationes q. me absente negleguntur; Pan. 54 q. prolatis imperi finibus; and with one part of the abl. abs. 10, 61, 2 relicto q. margine. *Tamquam* is similarly used 8, 14, 16 sic peracta re t. adhuc integra; and with the entire abl. abs. 3, 5, 13 t. aliqua lege cogente; *velut* 10, 59, 1 v. audita utraque parte.

The Ablative Absolute in Correlative and Contrasted Statements.

In some of the instances already given the repeated ablatives are antithetic, but rarely are they emphasized by the use of particles with complete ablatives absolute, or with the repeated parts of one: Ad Att. 13, 28, 3 etsi invito me tamen eodem me auctore profectus est; ad Fam. 12, 3, 2 me quidem favente, magis quam sperante; ad Att. 2, 7, 4 non abiectis sed ereptis gubernaculis; 4, 16, 5 neque patronis suis tam libentibus quam accusatoribus; 9, 1, 3 remotis sive omnino missis lictoribus.

Ablative Absolute Represented in the Main Statement.

(a). The subject of the abl. abs. is the subject of the following verb in Sen. 24, 5 si id te faciente patiaris; Pliny 2, 17, 9 plerisque tam mundis ut accipere hospites possent; Pan. 65 iurat in legem attendentibus diis; nam cui magis quam Caesari attendant; Fronto 55, 3 me vade sistam; and also of a parenthetic clause ad Att. 1, 17, 6 quin mihi nunc te absente non solum consilium, quo tu excellis maxime deest; 16, 13a, 1 veniam, quo vocas, modo adiutore te; ad Fam. 6, 6, 6 susceptum bellum est quiescente me, depulsum ex Italia manente me, quoad potui. Fronto 115, 15 te, si spectaveris, teste.

(b). The noun in the abl. abs. is repeated ad Fam. 10, 3, 3 unus autem est, hoc praesertim tempore, per tot annos, re p. divexata, rei p. bene gerendae cursus ad gloriam; ad Brut. 1, 15, 8 ego enim, D. Bruto liberato cum dies . . . casu Bruti natalis esset, decrevi, ut in fastis ad eum diem Bruti nomen adscriberetur. *Bellum* referring to different contests is repeated ad Fam. 12, 8, 1 itaque nos confecto bello . . . renovatum bellum gerimus; and 12, 30, 2 qui profligato bello ac paene sublato renovatum bellum gerere conamur.

(c). 1. The ablative absolute referring to the principal subject but connected with a subordinate statement is fairly common: ad Att. 1, 16, 4 me vero teste producto credo te . . . audisse; 5, 19, 3 quod scribis libente te repulsam tulisse eum; 7, 1, 2 videsne, ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus? 10, 8, 8 id spero vivis nobis fore; 13, 47a, 2 me enim absente omnia cum illis transigi malo; 16, 9 et metuo, ne quae ἀριστεία me absente; ad Fam. 2, 16, 6 recordor enim desperationes eorum qui senes

erant adulescente me; 9, 10, 1 de quo etiam nihil scribente me te non dubitare certo scio; 16, 26, 1 non potes effugere huius culpae poenam te patrono.

2. When a pronoun is the subject of the abl. abs. the pronoun referring to it is generally a possessive: ad Att. 6, 1, 7 me ius dicente . . . ex edicto meo; 13, 19, 4 puero me hic sermo inducitur, ut nullae esse possent partes meae; ad Fam. 3, 12, 2 ea, quae me insciente facta sunt a meis; 5, 2, 3 nihil in ea re per collegam meum me insciente esse factum; 11, 28, 4 mea spes me tacente probat; ad Quint. Frat. 2, 3, 3 de me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit. Pliny 7, 11, 4 ut praetore me ludis meis praesederit. Ad. Fam. 4, 9, 2 qui nec te consule tuum sapientissimum consilium secutus esset nec fratre tuo consulatum ex auctoritate tua gerente vobis auctoribus uti voluerit; 5, 8, 5 suscepta defensio est te absente dignitatis tuae; 9, 20, 3 ne ego te iacente bona tua comedim. Plin. 2, 10, 3 enotuerunt quidam tui versus et invito te claustra sua refregerunt; 10, 101 and 103 (Trajan): praeeunte te . . . cognovi litteris tuis; ad Att. 13, 7, 1 ne se absente leges suae neglegerentur; 15, 11, 2 ut ludi absente se fierent suo nomine; ad Fam. 16, 12, 3 neque se iam velle absente se rationem haberi suam; ad Fam. 10, 31, 4 invito illo per illius provinciam legiones ducerem? At times there is a possessive in the abl. abs. and the personal pronoun in the main statement: ad Fam. 1, 9, 10 circumspectis rebus meis . . . summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium; ad Att. 12, 16, 1 te tuis negotiis relictis nolo ad me venire; 16, 7, 2 lectis vero tuis litteris admiratus quidem sum te tam vehementer sententiam commutasse; ad Fam. 1, 7, 3 tum vero lectis tuis litteris perspectus est . . . de te ac tuis ornamentis . . . cogitare; 16, 16, 1 tuis et illius litteris perlectis exsilui gaudio et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. Cf. ad Att. 4, 14, 2 rebus tuis totoque itinere confecto . . . revisas. Other forms of the pronouns also occur: ad Att. 10, 4, 6 me libente eripies mihi hunc errorem; ad Fam. 2, 3, 1 placuit nec cuiquam tuorum quicquam te absente fieri, quod tibi . . . non esset integrum; 11, 24, 1 qui te incluso omnem spem habuerim in te. Pliny Pan. 67 egit cum diis ipso te auctore, Caesar, res publica ut te sospitem incolumemque praestarent; ad Fam. 5, 12, 9 ceteri viventibus nobis . . . nos cognoscant et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur. Pliny 8, 14, 25 tum illi quoque qui auctoritate eius trahebantur

transeunte illo destituti reliquerunt sententiam ab ipso auctore desertam.

3. A pronoun may refer to a noun in the abl. abs.: ad Att. 2, 19, 4 Cosconio mortuo sum in eius locum invitatus; 8, 6, 1 obsignata iam ista epistula . . . sicut dedi (nam eam vesperi scripseram); and a pronoun in the abl. abs. may refer to a noun in the main statement; ad Att. 4, 18, 4 Cato tamen adfirmat se vivo illum non triumphaturum; 5, 21, 9 contendam a Quinto fratre . . . quod et illo et me invitissimo fiet; 7, 9, 2 haberi Caesaris rationem illo exercitum . . . obtinente; 10, 8, 4 in Hispaniis . . . nisi forte iis amissis . . . putas; ad Fam. 10, 24, 5 in familiaritate Caesaris vivo illo; 10, 30, 2 posteaquam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa. Pliny 3, 1, 4 liber legitur; interdum etiam praesentibus amicis, si tamen illi non gravantur; 7, 6, 8 mater amisso filio . . . libertos eius . . . reos detulerat; 8, 4, 5 invocatis dis et inter eos ipso cuius res opera consilia dicturus es.

Similar to the examples given are two instances in which the ablative absolute is used in one of two contrasted statements and a pronoun in the other: ad Att. 1, 4, 2 multo maiorem fructum ex populi existimatione illo damnato cepimus quam ex ipsius, si absolutus esset, gratia cepissemus; 1, 10, 6 si quae parta erunt, non modo te praesente, sed per te parta sint.

4. Ad Fam. 15, 4, 9 Sepyram et Commorim acriter et diu repugnantibus Pomptino illam partem Amani tenente magna multitudine hostium occisa cepimus. *Repugnantibus* is, for Cicero, certainly a bold use of the ablative absolute, and it may be that *iis* has fallen from the text, or that *repugnantes* is the correct reading.

Some of the most marked features of Livy's usage are lacking in these epistles, for the ablative absolute was not, as in Livy, made the object of special rhetorical development. There is but a limited use of the abl. abs. of deponents, of the neuter of participles, of correlatives, with the abl. abs., and of wide separation of the noun and participle. That which is most noticeable, in contrast with Livy, is the occurrence of pronouns which refer to or are referred to by the subject of the ablative absolute. This is incidental to a free use of pronouns, and besides, the ablative construction was to some extent merely a conventional absolute which was at times brought within the range of pronominal relationship, and the occurrence of this feature in the epistles corresponds to the prominence of the personal

element which is the most noticeable in Cicero, and the least so in Seneca.

The occurrences of the ablative absolute in the letters of the correspondents of Cicero and Fronto, and of Trajan to Pliny, have been counted with the others. The writers of a few passages have been indicated, but in general the type of statement is the same, although, judging by a limited number, some are inclined to a freer separation of the parts of the ablative absolute. In the De Petitione there is nothing of interest in the occurrences of the abl. abs., nor in the Seneca-Pauline epistles. The Epistula ad Octavianum, however, has a few features not altogether Ciceronian. Mortua re publica, sec. 7, differs from Cicero, who has only the masculine of this participle, while the separation, sec. 4 duabus legionibus a pernicie patriae ad salutem avocatis, is not parallel to anything in Cicero.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar. By J. B. GREENOUGH, G. L. KITTREDGE, A. A. HOWARD and BENJ. L. D'OOGE. Ginn & Co., Boston and London, 1903.

The task of the reviewer is a pleasant one in the case of a book which, like this, after many years of useful service has been revised by hands both sympathetic and competent. And lest perchance I find myself in the plight of many a friendly critic who discovers when near the end of his task that he has given pages to fault-finding and scarcely a line to praise, I may say at the outset that the work is excellently done, and that the well-tested value and usefulness of the book is correspondingly enhanced.

In looking through the volume somewhat carefully the student of syntax will note with interest some tendencies of the new book with reference to the principles of classification. In order to bring these out more clearly, it may be well to first state and illustrate the methods of classification in common use in our grammars. What may be styled primary classification is of two varieties, formal and functional; the first of these takes as its basis the syntactical form, the second deals with the meaning of the phrase. Thus the genitive may be divided formally into three classes, according as it depends upon a noun, an adjective or a verb, and the genitive dependent on a noun may be subdivided functionally into subjective and objective. In the revised grammar under discussion there is a manifest tendency to make formal classification the foundation of functional treatment. For example, the old edition (266 c) classes the independent concessive subjunctive with the subjunctive introduced by *quamvis*, *quamlibet*, *ut*, etc., making the meaning the basis of classification; while in the new book the subjunctive in dependent clauses is carefully distinguished from the independent use (440). Again, the new grammar brings together all the dependent clauses introduced by *quin* (558-59) instead of treating them in two different places according to the meaning assigned (see the old edition at 319 d, 332 g, and Rem.). Doubtless the changes of this sort would have been more numerous and sweeping had it not been for the desire to retain as far as possible the characteristic features of the earlier edition.

The classes resulting from formal and functional division are arranged in groups by what may be termed secondary classification. This is also of two varieties, logical and historical; the first of these methods produces an arbitrary and convenient scheme designed, e. g., to assist the memory in retaining certain facts; the second attempts to follow the line of historical develop-

ment from assumed original meanings. Logical classification is used most consciously in the grammar of Gildersleeve and Lodge, while that of Hale and Buck lays greater stress on the historical method. On the title page of the Allen and Greenough Grammar stands the legend "Founded on Comparative Grammar," and the original intention was doubtless to make historical classification a characteristic feature. Here again the hand of the reviser was probably stayed through a desire to maintain the integrity of the book; but it is easy to see that the historical treatment is felt to be unsatisfactory. The introductory note on the ablative (398) may serve as an illustration. In the earlier edition (242 n.) it is stated that "the ablative form contains three distinct cases,—the Ablative proper, expressing the relation FROM; the Locative, IN; and the Instrumental, WITH or BY," and the various uses of the Latin ablative are classified with reference to these assumed original meanings; but in the revision that paragraph is altered, "Under the name Ablative are included the meanings and, in part, the forms of three cases,—the Ablative proper, expressing the relation FROM; the Locative, IN; and the Instrumental, WITH or BY. *These three cases were originally not wholly distinct in meaning*[1], ...". I suppose that the last clause was intended primarily as a protest against the all too easy and prevalent assumption of fixed original meanings for case and mood forms, but as a matter of fact it also sweeps away the foundation of the historical classification that follows; for if originally ablative, locative and instrumental forms did not stand definitely for the meanings "from," "in," "with" or "by" respectively, but were used in a somewhat haphazard and shifting way within the general field covered by all these meanings taken together, the foundation stones of an historical classification are lacking, and the meanings "from," "in," etc., become convenient generalizations within which or about which to group the concrete uses of the Latin ablative. Such a classification is really logical rather than historical (in the sense in which that term is used above). The same tendency may be observed also at 436 § 3, where in place of a categorical statement as to the force of the subjunctive and optative in the parent speech (see earlier edition p. 274 § 2), the carefully worded paragraph runs, "Each mood *has*[2] two general classes or ranges of meaning. The uses of the subjunctive may all be classed under the general ideas of *will* and *desire* and of action *vividly conceived;* and the uses of the Optative under the general ideas of *wish* and of action *vaguely conceived.*"

These tendencies to make a formal treatment the basis in primary classification and to discredit the historical method as the dominant note in secondary classification deserve the most serious consideration. The fixed and unchanging character of the results of formal treatment admirably fit them to become the

[1] Italics mine. [2] Italics mine.

basis of further classification, and in view of our lack of certain knowledge concerning the exact meanings originally attached to case and mood forms, it may well be questioned whether theories on that subject should not often be recorded in a footnote rather than made a basis of classification. This whole question really needs a thorough discussion, that the merits of the various methods may be clearly brought to light and that some clear-cut ideas may be formed as to the manner in which they can best be combined. Such a discussion could not fail to be of the greatest assistance to makers and revisers of grammars, and might tend to lessen the needless divergence in matters of classification which is now so prevalent.

That there is needless divergence no one will doubt; e. g. why might not all agree on a formal classification as the basis of the treatment of the genitive? What advantage is there in departing from the three-fold division of the genitive dependent on noun, adjective and verb? Needless divergence in classification (and more so in other matters) is even now a serious matter, and it bids fair to become no less so as time goes on and the newer grammars come into more general use. In the secondary school perhaps less trouble is caused, but even what might be styled legitimate divergence is often a distraction and source of confusion to classes in the early years of the college course. In this connection the revisers of the Allen and Greenough grammar are to be commended for the conservatism shown in the matter of terminology. The few innovations seem to be abundantly justified; for example, the lately discovered Annalistic Present appears at 469 a, and *si* is definitely recognized as a concessive conjunction at 527 c n. 2.

Many other points of excellence in the revision might be mentioned. It is a pleasure to find the ablative with *dignus* and *indignus* classed under Specification (418 b), and *ne* with the perfect subjunctive reduced from first to third place in the enumeration of the ways in which prohibition may be expressed (450). In the treatment of the Deliberative Subjunctive the occasional use of the indicative with like meaning is recognized (444 a n.), and attention is called to the exclamatory and rejecting nature of some of the questions usually brought under this head. As a matter of fact many of them are not in the slightest degree "deliberative," and it might be questioned whether this state of affairs should not be frankly recognized, and a distinctive name assigned to the class. It is with pleasure also that one finds the facts with regard to *cum*-temporal and *antequam* and *priusquam* given in a proper setting and sequence (544 ff. and 550 ff.). In 511 § 3 appears what is perhaps the best and clearest exposition of a very prevalent theory concerning the original form of conditional speaking; and 517 e n. 2, which deals with the history of the contrary-to-fact construction in Latin, is a model of brief and accurate statement. Under the heading of Conditional Clauses of Comparison, 524 a adds important and necessary information

on the subject of tense. These illustrations may serve to show how carefully the book has been worked over. It must not however be inferred that the revisers have allowed themselves a free hand in introducing changes; as a matter of fact they have allowed to stand many things of doubtful value, such for instance as the classification of conditional sentences which separates certain future conditions from others quite analogous in the realm of the present and the past.

The improved type-display is by no means the least important feature of the new book, and it is supplemented by the bringing out into a place of prominence of classes less advantageously placed in the earlier edition. See for instance the prominence given at 440 to the concessive use of the independent subjunctive, and to the Conative Present at 467. It is doubtless through a mere oversight that the (if anything) more important Conative Imperfect (471 c) is not treated in the same way. In this connection may be mentioned what seems to be another slip at 472 n.; apparently we should there read "protases" instead of "apodoses." At 485 c the types have again played the writer false, for there we read "In clauses of Result, the Perfect Subjunctive is regularly (the Present rarely) used after secondary tenses."

It is not enough that a grammar designed for general use should merely record fairly well the facts of Latin; it must also present them in such a way as not to mislead those who would make it a guide to the writing of Latin. Too often this double requirement is lost sight of, with the result that some definitions are either carelessly worded or biased in such a way by some theory (historical or otherwise) that they are as misleading to the student of Latin composition as they are false to the linguistic consciousness of the Romans. Whatever the reason for the original form, the revised Allen and Greenough retains several statements open to objection from this point of view; e. g. 485 g, which reads "The Imperfect and Pluperfect in conditions contrary to fact are not affected by the sequence of tenses." If in this rule "conditions" means "protases," why not say so? As it stands the average student would inevitably think that both protasis and apodosis were referred to, and accordingly treat the pluperfect everywhere the same. Another example is afforded by 516 c "If the conditional act is regarded as completed before that of the apodosis begins, the Future Perfect is substituted for the Future Indicative in protasis, etc." My criticism of this statement is based not on theory but on difficulty experienced in actual practice. Give a thoughtful student this rule and the sentence "If he comes, send for me," and he perchance will see his way clear to writing nothing but *si venerit*, "because the coming is completed before the sending is to begin." To be sure the rule says "regarded as completed" and not simply "completed," but this distinction as applied to the case in hand only shifts the difficulty to another point; for we are then allowed to

write *si veniet*, though the action as a matter of fact is completed before that of the apodosis begins, but should the speaker "regard it as completed," then we are called on to use the form *si venerit*. Surely there is something wrong with the rule. Possibly the writer did not say exactly what he meant. Apparently the meaning intended is that the future perfect is used in protasis when the speaker selects a definite point in the future as the boundary within which the action of the protasis must take place to insure the coming to pass of the action of the apodosis; for instance, "If it shall have been done (e. g. before the beginning of the battle), we shall win." Whether this, without modification, would be an adequate rule for the writing of Latin is a question that I do not here raise.

The importance of this matter of precise definition is so great that I may, scholastica lege, allow myself the use of a third illustration. Section 441 deals with wishes, and lays down the rule, "The present tense denotes the wish as *possible*, the imperfect as *unaccomplished* in present time, the pluperfect as *unaccomplished* in past time." This statement makes no provision for an impossible future wish; e. g. "Would that this stone might turn into gold"—words spoken without the least hope or thought that the thing will come to pass, so that the subterfuge that the thing "is for the moment conceived of as possible" seems to be excluded; though what else is left for the large class of teachers who regard the grammar as the ultimate court of appeal, I do not see. Furthermore "unfulfilled in the present" is a phrase that falls short of the ideal; for we must use the imperfect subjunctive in translating a sentence like "Would that men were by nature good," and yet the unfulfilledness, so to speak, is not a thing of the present alone. The following rule (possibly suggested in part by Bennett, Lat. Gram. App. 365) avoids both these difficulties: "The present subjunctive is used in wishes that refer to the future, while the imperfect gives expression to a regret that something *is* or *is not*, the pluperfect that it *was* or *was not*." This rule is more consistent than the other in that it is based on time throughout, it covers the ground more completely, and its first clause is perhaps truer to Roman linguistic consciousness; it certainly is, if the phrase "wish as possible" was suggested by some theory with regard to an original or fundamental meaning of the subjunctive; for no such factor entered into the feeling of a Roman speaker. To him doubtless the present subjunctive in wishes covered the field left unoccupied by the other tenses of the subjunctive, and that part of the field was naturally the future.

In conclusion I may repeat what was said at the beginning. The work of revision is well and carefully done, and the hope of the publishers that old friends will be retained and many new ones gained ought to be in large measure realized.

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Latin Hexameter Verse, An Aid to Composition. By S. E. WINBOLT, M. A., formerly Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a Master at Christ's Hospital. London, Methuen & Co., 1903, 266 pp.

This attractive little book is designed merely "as a help to fifth and sixth forms at public schools and undergraduates at universities." But it is not, by any means, to be classed with the average work of its kind. On the contrary, it may be read to advantage by any classical scholar.

As a matter of course, the model selected for study and imitation was Vergil. The choice is recommended by the practical experience of generations. Mr. Winbolt, however,—and this is, perhaps, the most valuable feature of his book—is fully alive to the fact that the art of a Vergil cannot be appreciated unless we have the background of it. Accordingly, the historical development has been sketched whenever a knowledge of it illustrates the point under discussion. "The principle adopted," says the author in his preface, "is to aid in the composition of hexameter verse by showing to some extent the development of this literary form, by inferring from the evolution what is the best workmanship, and by hinting how technique depends largely on thought." In other words, the methods as well as the results of scientific research have been made to do their part in a practical manual for the use of students. The plan is one which needs no justification.

One may see that Mr. Winbolt has a good acquaintance with the long series of investigations which, during the last thirty or forty years, have been devoted to the technical development of the Roman hexameter. His book gains much, however, from the fact that he is also an independent investigator. He has made statistics on his own account—as every one must do if he is to acquire a clear and adequate conception of this verse. The concise view of results which, in many cases, he has given us, is a genuine service to the cause in which he is interested. Certainly, a series of comprehensive statements for which the reasons given have been deduced from the genetic development of the hexameter itself and are accompanied by their proof can hardly fail to be as inspiring to a student as it is instructive. Certainly, with such training as a basis, he should be able to study the technique of his author to the best advantage and in time, perhaps, may develop a style which shall be classical and yet reflect his own individuality. Without it, at any rate, the summit of his attainment is likely to be represented by nothing much better than the watery dilution of some model.

Every one, then, will be likely to agree with Mr. Winbolt himself that the subject of verse composition as he has presented it owes a large debt to our knowledge of the growth of the hexameter as a literary form. On the other hand, it is of especial interest to observe that the creditor in this transaction has plainly profited by his investment. Each subject

has derived benefit from the other. The cause of it is to be ascribed, for the most part, to the author's purpose and point of view. It is true, of course, that the hexameter had been thoroughly examined. All the material of a certain sort had been carefully arranged and tabulated. It must be confessed, however, that, meanwhile, not enough, indeed, sometimes, nothing at all had been said of the causes and effects of the various phenomena recorded. This, of course, was not the fault of scientific method. On the contrary, it was rather the fault of those who for different reasons failed to perceive, or else, failed to attain the one legitimate object of scientific method. Statistics are not unlike a bank account. There are some whose interest in research ends with the collection of materials. These are the misers who accumulate a fortune—for the use of others. There are some again who can make money but have no definite idea of its proper use. Such are those who collect statistics but, largely through lack of a thorough and comprehensive training in other fields, fail to interpret the real meaning of them. Mr. Winbolt's book shows clearly enough that, so far as interpreting the growth of the Roman hexameter is concerned, one, at least, of these uncultivated fields had been a practical knowledge of verse composition. He is himself a trained investigator, but he approaches a side of development different from that which was seen by many investigators in the past. His theme is one which has forced him not only to examine phenomena but also to explain their significance. For this purpose, his years of teaching the art of verse composition give him a notable coign of vantage. He has the scholar's point of view. He adds to it, which is quite as important, the poet's point of view. It is one thing to analyze and dissect, another, to imitate and construct. Moreover, the conclusions drawn from the one are sure to affect the interpretation of those which we had previously drawn from the other. For this reason, Mr. Winbolt has been able to make his work fresh and suggestive by unfolding the real meaning and importance of some points which are not infrequently forgotten or ignored. Above all, he has done a genuine service to the study of the hexameter at this particular time in bringing out so clearly the value of his prefatory remark that "technique depends largely on thought." The truth of it, at least, as applied to poets of any distinction, is as undoubted for Latin as for any other cultivated language and, certainly, for the proper interpretation of statistics it is vital.

Mr. Winbolt divides the treatment of his subject into eight chapters, taking up in succession, 'pauses', 'caesuras', 'the beginning of the verse', 'the end of the verse', 'the meeting of vowels, consonants, and composite sounds', 'metrical conveniences', 'rhythmical structures', and 'descriptive verses'. The development of each theme is interspersed with practical hints to the student and appropriate examples of classical usage. Finally, there are a few exercises by way of illustration, and the book closes with a 'theme and variations'.

An extended and minute criticism of the author's exposition of his subject would be confined largely to the discussion of comparatively unimportant questions of detail, the decision of which, one way or the other, could not seriously affect the value and efficiency of his book. Not to transgress the limits of this review, I may merely mention, in passing, two or three points among those by which my attention was arrested in reading.

Mr. Winbolt says that his chapter on caesuras contains debatable matter. One might add that this observation may well be applied to any one's treatment of the subject. I confess that, for my own part, I look upon the law of conflict in the first four feet as the most important element to be considered here. To be sure, the author states it clearly enough (p. 143) in his chapter on the end of the verse, but he makes no particular use of it in his treatment of the caesuras. I have found, however, that nothing illuminates and simplifies the whole question of caesura so much as to begin the treatment of it by emphasizing the general applicability of this law to most of the questions involved. Indeed, I still believe, as I have already said elsewhere,[1] that the observance of this rule, owing to the law of Latin accent, is the most important, perhaps, the principal organ of development in the purely technical history of the Roman hexameter. This is especially true, however, of the caesuras and, above all, of the so-called secondary (masculine) caesuras, the real object of which, in most cases, is to produce that conflict which, with a few definite exceptions, always accompanies them. For instance, to select a single prominent example: the caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον* was always admired by the Greeks. Indeed, in their later poetry, which, by the way, had neither the variety nor the dignity of the Latin form, it was, practically, the rule. In the Roman imitators, on the contrary, it is the rarest of all caesuras, and a marked preference was shown for the penthemimeral. Aside from the good reasons adduced by Mr. Winbolt, this may be explained by the fact that not only does it allow either a dactyl or a spondee in the third foot but, above all, as he himself has observed, that it always produces conflict there. Moreover, with this caesura conflict in the second, and especially in the fourth foot is more easily obtained. Conflict in these feet is produced by making the end of any word but a monosyllable coincide with the ictus. Here, then, we have the 'secondary' caesuras, by one or both of which the penthemimeral is usually accompanied.

This method of applying the law of conflict may seem in a certain sense to be rather mechanical. It is, however, a great help to students, inasmuch as it is a thread which goes far towards carrying us through the labyrinth of usage regarding caesuras, word ends and foot ends, word lengths in various parts of the verse, etc., etc. Moreover, after we have mechanically stated the law of conflict and illustrated the value of it as a test of accepted

[1] Introd. H. L. Wilson's Juvenal, N. Y. 1903, p. lxi.

usage, we may then proceed to the reasons for its existence and, having discussed the principle of variation and other disturbing factors, we may apply our results to the elucidation of exceptional usage.

For these reasons, I am tempted to think that, at least, from the point of view of instruction, it would have been better if Mr. Winbolt's treatment of pauses had been preceded, instead of followed by his chapter on caesuras. In that case, there are certain rhetorical pauses, more especially, of course, those coinciding with the caesuras, which would have been practically accounted for already, or, at all events, the discussion of them would have been considerably simplified. For instance, when the rarity of the caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον* has been noted and explained, the still greater rarity of a rhetorical pause at this point will follow almost as a matter of course.

In the interpretation of statistics, department is quite as important as chronological development. A case in point, perhaps, is Vergil's decreasing use of dactyls (p. 116) in the first foot (E. 65%; G. 63%; A. 61%) accompanied by a corresponding increase of spondees in the fourth (E. 62.8%; G. 71.5%; A. 72.5%). In other words, the gravity of the verse, as we should expect, has increased with each department in succession. The same rule applies to Ovid. The three schemata most frequently used by Homer are DDDD, DSDD, SDDD. Vergil's are DSSS, DDSS, DSDS. The difference, as Mr. Winbolt observes, is, of course, due to the nature of the two languages. But department will qualify, to some extent, his next remark that the difference is one which "Ovid tried in vain to overcome by searching out for use all the dactylic words known to the Latin tongue." If he did so, it was for his elegiac, not his epic hexameter. The proportion of dactyls in his Metamorphoses is less than that which we find in his Heroides nor can the difference be due to anything but department.

Mr. Winbolt enquires in his preface whether the composition of Latin Verse will continue to form a part of the English classical curriculum. Let us fervently hope that it will. At all events, he has chosen the best way of proving its educational importance. We must know our business and improve our methods if we expect to hold our own. Those who disapprove of the intense specialization of these days and believe that it needs the corrective influence of a broader scholarship will find this work an important 'exhibit' in their case. The Latin hexameters written by students and professors rarely find or deserve a permanent place in the Temple of Fame. But the beneficent effect of this training upon the single question of the development of the Roman hexameter, as reflected in Mr. Winbolt's little book, may well give pause to those who have been insisting that the practical value of verse composition is not commensurate with the difficulty of its attainment.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

REPORTS.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN.[1] Volume XXIX.

1. Kempe. A Middle English Tale of Troy. This is the version of the Troy legend preserved in 283 leaves of Laud Misc. MS. 595 in the Bodleian. Miss Kempe discusses the following topics: Manuscript and Authorship; Date; Relation of the Poem to the accounts by Guido and Benoit; The Poem as Illustrative of English Contemporary Life; Style. With this article may be summarized one on the same subject by Wülfing, on pp. 374 ff. of this volume. Besides correcting a considerable number of minor errors in Miss Kempe's article, Wülfing takes issue with her upon certain points, apparently with good reason. This text, known as the Laud Troy Book, was considered by Joly in his study of the relations between Benoit and Guido: his conclusions are unsupported by Miss Kempe, who thinks the poem is derived immediately from Guido, without use of Benoit; but Wülfing discovers some indications in it of acquaintance with the latter. He finds a strong resemblance between the Laud version and the alliterative Troy Book, and important evidence that these two and Barbour's version were related to an unknown predecessor, perhaps in French. Wülfing gives 1400 as an approximate date of the poem, and is inclined to regard it as contemporary in origin with Lydgate's Troy Book (1414–1420). Incidentally he corrects a displacement of lines in the manuscript. He has since completed the *editio princeps* of the text, published by the Early English Text Society.

Bobertag. Pope's Relation to the Aufklärung of the Eighteenth Century. A somewhat prolix analysis of Pope's unsystematic and contradictory ideas upon religion and ethics, based chiefly upon the Essay on Man. Though one of the important men of the movement he appears hardly to be identified with any single phase of it. He seems not to have accepted Christianity as a historical fact, yet he was neither pantheist nor deist, but believed in a personal God.

Among the reviews is a long and excellent discussion, by Logeman, of Jespersen's Fonetik.—Stoffel says of Franz' Shakespeare Grammatik, that it must supersede Abbott's Grammar, notwithstanding its failure to discuss Elizabethan pronunciation and Shakespeare's metre. The review includes some twenty-four pages of corrections and additional illustrations.—Streitberg reviews Osthoff's Vom Suppletivwesen der Indogermanischen

[1] By some oversight the Report of Volumes XXXI and XXXII (A. J. P. XXV 272) preceded instead of following XXIX and XXX.—B. L. G.

Sprachen. 'Suppletivwesen' is a term substituted by Osthoff for 'Defectivsystem', as applied to verbs such as ὁράω, εἶδον, etc.; to feminines formed from stems differing from those of the corresponding masculines, such as *Mutter* corresponding to *Vater*; to comparison of adjectives by different stems (*bonus, melior, optimus*); to the difference of stem between the ordinal and the cardinal of certain numerals (*unus, primus*); finally to pronouns declined on different stems (*ich, mir, sie, er*). Osthoff maintains that these are not defective remnants of originally complete systems or paradigms, but that they have always been defective, and have come by a sort of levelling or organizing process—really a kind of analogy—to supply each other's defects. Streitberg says that Osthoff neglects the earlier and most important stage of the development. A primitive people may have several words each designating a particular phase or method of a certain action, before they are able to invent a general word designating the common action. Thus the Cherokees had as yet no word for 'wash,' though they had words meaning respectively 'to wash one's own head', 'to wash another's head,' 'to wash hands and feet', 'to wash clothes' etc. It will be remembered that 'Suppletivwesen' is usually found among words most frequently used, and those which were most likely to be the ones earliest required. Thus perhaps ἐσθίειν and φαγεῖν, or *bonus, melior, optimus*, may have existed as synonyms, but representing slightly different phases of their common ideas. These differences were such as assisted them in the course of time, by the levelling process, to assume their present grammatical relations to each other, losing meanwhile, in part, or altogether, their earlier distinctions of meaning. In such systems as *sum, fui; am, was*, these distinctions are lost, but in such a case as ὁρᾶν, ἰδεῖν, the difference of meaning is still perceptible.

2. Sarrazin. The Origin of the Diphthongs *ai* and *au* in Modern English. The author attempts to reply to Luick's damaging criticism of his article on this subject, both in Volume XXVII. On pp. 405 ff. of the present volume Luick replies in turn, briefly, but decisively, without adding new material to the discussion.

Richter. An Old Portuguese Version of the Lear Saga. A reprint and translation into German of the story of Lear contained in an extract from a Breton chronicle found in the Livro do Conde de Barcelho, being the fourth of the Livros de Linhagens, and closely related to the Munich Brut. It has no importance with respect to Shakespeare's play.

Kraeger. The German Spy (1738). This is the title of a collection of letters purporting to come from an Englishman in his travels on the Continent, to a friend at home. It contains some account of Bremen and Hamburg, together with divers

allegories and tales. The latter are drawn from a periodical of 1725–1727 modelled upon the Spectator, and using much of its material. Kraeger points out some curious examples of this successive appropriation, in one case the matter borrowed returned eventually to England and appeared in the Connoisseur.

Michelsohn. Brain and Speech. The author traces the evolution of the human nervous system, and discusses the localization of various functions of language and speech in the brain, and the modifications of the surface and structure of the brain which accompany the various degrees of linguistic attainment. The author claims great importance for this kind of physiological study in the science of language—a claim not supported by his article.

3. Blöte. The Origin of the Tradition of the Knight of the Swan among certain English Noble Families. Any claims to descent from the knight of the swan must derive either from one of the three brothers, Eustace of Boulogne, Godfrey, and Balduin, or from Roger of Spain. Such claims in England do not appear before 1300, and consist chiefly in a heraldic use of the swan. The principal claimants were Robert of Tony (d. 1310); Guy of Beauchamp (d. 1316), Edward of Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham; and Thomas of Woodstock (d. 1397), sixth son of Edward III., who alleged his right to the claim through his wife's family, the Bohuns. In each case the claim is late, and, so far as the author can discover, quite unfounded.

Morsbach. Notes on the Havelok. Upwards of a dozen notes in textual criticism.

Lange. Lydgate and Fragment B of the Romaunt of the Rose. An unconvincing attempt to prove, by evidence of style and rhyme, that Lydgate was the translator.

Hempl. English *beach, beck* (n.), *pebble.* The author first attempts to show that *beach, beck* and Germ. *Bach* are the same word. An examination of O. E. *bæċ* and *bęċ* shows that these two forms are really one word wavering between the *a-* and the *i-* declension. It passed into the *i-* declension perhaps through the early and frequently used locative **bæci* of the *a-* declension. From either form the normal modern English development is *beach* (M. E. *bęche*). North English *beck* is from the O. N. cognate *bekkr*. The development of the word proves that neither Sweet's and Kluge's *baki-*, nor Kluge's variant stem **bakki-*, nor **bakja-*, is the stem of the word. As to signification, from the first meaning—'place where water babbles over pebbles'—the development has been twofold: (1) 'pebbly spot in a stream', then, 'pebbles with or without water', then, 'pebbly seashore', 'beach'; (2) 'brook', then, 'stream-course', then, 'ravine'. O. E. *bæċ, bęċ*, the author thinks, mean not 'brook', but 'ravine', and

'pebbly spot in a stream.' *Bak* is a syllable in its origin imitative of the sound of running water, as is the syllable *peb* in *pebble* and its antecedents.

Wülfing, in a review of Keller's Die Litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in Angelsächsischer Zeit, speaks of it as a clear and remarkably suggestive account.—Logeman says that Cushman, in his study The Devil and the Vice in the English Drama before Shakespeare, has not succeeded in defining the character of the Vice, nor in identifying it in specific cases, though his theory that the characters of Devil, Vice, Fool, Clown, and Villain, 'are parallel and of independent origin and function', is probably right. The whole subject needs further study.

A note in the Miscellanea by Hoffmann, on Byron's Giaour, discusses points which were raised by Kölbing in a review of the author's book in Volume XXVI.

Volume XXX. 1. Smith, The Chief Differences between the First and the Second Folio of Shakespeare. Such differences are greater than critics have believed. They are rather syntactical than exegetical, and arose from the publishers' desire to render more 'correct' and bookish the unfettered syntax of the First Folio; in other words, to make a more readable edition. Most of the changes aim to restore concord of subject and predicate, especially by changing a singular predicate into a plural. The author fills ten pages with examples.

Boyle. Troilus and Cressida. An endeavor to show that the love story of the play was written by Shakespeare probably earlier than Romeo and Juliet; that he added the Ulysses story about 1606, when he recast the first three acts of the play; but that he abandoned the play to take up Timon; and that Marston added later the Hector story.

Meissner. Lieutenant Cassio and Ancient Iago. A study of the comparative rank implied by these titles in the time of Shakespeare. It is well-known that the poet for dramatic reasons, reversed the relative rank of these characters as represented in Cinthio, and made Cassio the higher of the two. Meissner finds that the lieutenant stood second to the commander-in-chief, with occasional command of all the troops, and that the ancient, though of lower rank, probably stood high in the important order of standard-bearers, enjoying personal relations of great intimacy with the officer first in comand.

Fernow. On Tempest I. 2. 387–394. In his review of Franz' Shakespeare Grammatik in Volume XXIX Stoffel proposed to restore the punctuation of the First Folio in ll. 389, 390. Fernow defends the modern reading, which dates from Pope.

Luckwaldt. On the Origin of the Boer War.

2. Koeppel. Byron's Astarte. The principal source of Manfred is not Shelley's early novel, St. Irvyne, but a story of incestuous love which appeared in 1802 in Chateaubriand's Le Génie du Christianisme, and in 1805 was inserted in his Atala. Its influence appears chiefly in the character of Astarte, but also in that of Manfred, though the latter is considerably changed and heightened by Byron as compared with its original. The character of the abbot and certain details of the story seem also to have been suggested by the French narrative.

Kölbing. On the History of the Composition of Childe Harold I, II. From Kölbing's literary remains, being the beginning of the introduction to his proposed edition of Childe Harold. The article consists chiefly of contemporary letters and notes bearing upon Byron's revision of the first draft, from which he removed certain blemishes and expressions of extreme opinion. Byron's autograph of the first draft was, in 1832, in possession of Henry Drury of Harrow, but has since disappeared.

Bernthsen. The Influence of Pliny in Shelley's Earlier Works. Shelley read Pliny before he read Spinoza, and certain strongly pantheistic utterances, especially in the Necessity of Atheism, and the Refutation of Deism, are traceable to Pliny's Natural History. Pliny's influence upon Shelley's idea of God is, however, quite superseded by that of Spinoza's profounder and nobler teaching.

Richter. On Shelley's Philosophy (concluded in Number 3). The author first corrects certain errors of method and result in Bernthsen's Der Spinozismus in Shelley's Weltanschauung. She discusses the following topics: Shelley's Necessity of Atheism, Queen Mab, Pantheism, Amor Intellectualis, Intellectual Beauty, Necessity and Free Will, Good and Evil, The State and Society, The Millennium, Immortality. The conclusion is, in effect, that in any case Shelley must, to the end of his life, be regarded as only 'ein Werdender'; 'das natürliche ausreifen und ausklingen ist ihm versagt'. At first he was influenced by English empiricists, especially Locke, and by French materialists, especially Volney and Holbach; later by Plato, Spinoza, and Christianity. The influence of Godwin as an eclectic is at all times perceptible. Shelley so assimilated the ideas which he gathered from others, that each appears in a peculiar form in his works. His pantheism is characterized by his identifying nature, beauty, and love, in one supreme power; his conception of freedom by his insistence upon absolute control over oneself as the true independence, and upon reform of oneself as the necessary means thereto; and his conception of immortality is marked by belief in absorption in nature after death. The article is important for all students of Shelley.

Reviews. Henderson discusses Brown's The Wallace and the Bruce restudied, an attempt to prove these poems mere forgeries. He regrets that so much labor and ingenuity should be rendered futile by the domination of 'a wildly improbable hypothesis'.

In the Miscellanea are the following notes: on Beowulf 1363, from E. M. Wright; on Havelok, from Holthausen; on a XIV. Century Version of the Ancren Riwle, from Paues; on the Authorship of Advice, from Lange; on Mandeville's Fable of the Bees, from Krueger. Wülfing is the author of lexical notes on the following O. E. words: *bewitan*, *circ-hata*, *ealdgefā*, *eodorcan*, *forslæwan*, *gewerian*, *græs*, *onreran* and *unhlidian*, *togeenan*.

3. Holthausen. Contributions to the History of the Phonological Development of Modern English. Four hitherto unnoticed Dutch-English Grammars of the dates 1646, 1664, 1705, and 1758 respectively, and a Portuguese-English grammar of 1762, are described by the author, and the phonological equivalents which they record are given.

Horn. On Modern English Phonology. Notes on the pronunciation in modern dialects, of *tl-*, *dl-*, for *cl-*, *gl-*; *-in*,*-ingg-*, *ink*, for *-ing*.

Koeppel. Omission of *rather* before *than*. A brief note.

Björkmann. Etymological Notes. On Modern English *elk*, *fry* (small fish), *groom*, *hug*, *nasty*, and Middle English *likpot*. *Elk* is probably Scandinavian; *fry* may be connected with O. F. *froie* (cf. O. F. *frier*, Godefroy); *nasty* may be from Dan. *nasket* + Eng. *y*.

Wyld. In Explanation of Modern English *kex* (hemlock). The author derives it from W. S. **cȳsc*, **cȳx* (O. Kent. **cēsc*, **cēx*) < Germ. **kunski-z* < Idg. **ǵn̥t-ki*, and adds the forms of the word in the various dialects.

In this number seven recent publications on Chaucer are reviewed by Koch, and one by Koeppel. They include Kirk's Enrolments and Documents from the Public Record Office, etc., comprising all known Records relating to Chaucer; Spielmann's The Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer, Skeat's The Chaucer Canon, Maynadier's Sources and Analogues of the Wife of Bath's Tale, and Petersen's Sources of the Parson's Tale.

YALE UNIVERSITY. CHARLES G. OSGOOD, JR.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, VOL. XXVII.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 5–12. The buildings of the Acropolis, after the Anonymus Argentinensis, by P. Foucart. The document examined is a Greek papyrus, found in Egypt, and published by Bruno Keil in 1902. The author of this article discusses the papyrus critically and draws much interesting information from it in regard to

the dates of events connected with the building of the Parthenon and the Propylaea and the dedication of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias.

2. Pp. 13–20. Georges Ramain critically discusses ten passages of Plaut. Epidicus.

3. Pp. 21–25. Ciceronian Studies. II. Use of the Demonstrative Pronoun coordinated with a Relative. By Jules Lebreton.

The investigation leads to the conclusion that the demonstrative is employed only in cases where the relative would be inconvenient or impossible. These cases are enumerated and illustrated.

4. Pp. 26–36. The Parisian MSS of Gregory Nazianzen. (Continuation). By A. Misier.

5. Pp. 37–48. Notes on some Palimpsests of Turin, by Emile Chatelain. These contain fragments of Livy, Cassianus, Eusebius translated by Rufinus, and Cassiodorus.

6. Pp. 49–51. Note on an Inscription of Ephesus, by B. Haussoullier. The author announces a study of the papers of Huyot, which he declares to be of great value.

7. P. 51. In Plaut. Persa 159 Louis Havet proposes *πόθεν τ'* ornamenta (crasis, presumably, not elision).

8. P. 52. Dr. M. L. Earle proposes an ingenious rearrangement of Caes. B. G. I, 1.

9. Pp. 53–63. The Text of Seneca the Elder. (Conclusion). By Henri Bornecque.

10. P. 64. Critical note on Plaut. Men. 98 (read *it* after *illic*), by Louis Havet.

11. Pp. 65–78. Notes on the Text of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus, by Victor Mortet.

12. Pp. 79–81. A false god of the Chaldaean Oracles, by J. Bidez. It is a question of one *Ὑπεζωκός* who owes his existence to a misconception.

13. Pp. 81–85. New fragments of Soterichus? By J. Bidez. The doubtful fragments are found on two leaves of papyrus from Gizeh published by Reitzenstein in 1901.

14. Pp. 86–88. Latin Studies (Continuation). Supplementary note on 'quid est quod'. By F. Gaffiot. Additional examples explained according to the principle enunciated in the former article.

15. Pp. 89–110. Book Notices. 1) Homer's Odyssee erklärt von J. U. Faesi. Erster Band. Neunte Auflage bearbeitet von Adolf Kaegi. Berlin, 1901. Reviewed by E. Chambry, who describes the work, points out its merits which are great, makes

some adverse comments on certain details, and declares that it marks progress not only over the edition of Faesi, but also that of Ameis-Hentze, though it cannot replace the latter, which remains indispensable for philologians. 2) Herakleitos von Ephesos. Griechisch und deutsch von Hermann Diels. Berlin, 1901. Albert Martin gives a brief analysis with favorable comment. 3) Eschyle. L'Orestie. Traduction nouvelle publiée avec une Introduction sur la légende, un Commentaire rythmique et des Notes, par Paul Mazon. Paris, 1903. L. Bodin reviews this work very favorably, but takes exception to a good many details. He says: M. Mazon n'a pas cru qu'il fût nécessaire, pour traduire Eschyle, de ne pas écrire en français et sa traduction de l'Orestie est à la fois brillante et remarquablement fidèle. 4) L. Bodin et P. Mazon, Extraits d' Aristophane. Paris, 1902. O. Navarre finds this work very learned,—almost too learned for the use of classes. He analyzes the work, calling attention to some slight faults, and highly praises it as a whole, and especially the part devoted to the particles. 5) Thucydidis Historiae ad optimos codices denuo ab ipso collatos. Recensuit Dr. Carolus Hude. Tomus alter. Libri V–VIII. Leipzig, 1901. Briefly and in some respects rather unfavorably mentioned by Albert Martin, who concedes, however, that the work marks considerable progress. 6) Hermiae Alexandrini in Platonis Phaedrum Scholia . . . ed. et app. crit. ornavit P. Couvreur. Paris, 1901. Favorably reviewed by G. Rodier, who gives a considerable list of passages in which the critical procedure of the author seems at least doubtful to him. 7) Quaestiones Platonicae, scripsit Gualtherus Janell. Leipzig, 1901. G. Rodier, after discussing briefly the nature of the chronology problem, expresses the opinion that this work brings a useful contribution,—seemingly to the evidence that certain lines of investigation should be abandoned. The statistics of hiatus lead Janell to this order: Lysis, Euthydemus, Parmenides, Charmides, Republic I, Phaedo, Protagoras, Republic IX and IV, Apology, Meno, Hippias Minor, Crito, Banquet, Gorgias, Euthyphro, Republic VII, X, Laches, Republic VIII, Theaetetus, Republic VI, II, III, V, Cratylus, Menexenus, Phaedrus, Laws V, III, XII, X, II, XI, I, IX, IV, Philebus, Timaeus, Critias, Sophista, Politicus. Whether the author really believes in this, the reviewer leaves unclear. 8) Schüler-Kommentar zu Platons Euthyphron, von Dr. G. Schneider. Leipzig, 1902. G. Rodier commends the brevity and cheapness of this school-edition. 9) Three works mentioned together: a) The Iliad of Homer. Books IX and X. Edited with introduction and notes by J. C. Lawson. Cambridge, 1902. b) Omero, L'Iliade, commentata da C. O. Zuretti. Vol. IV, ch. XIII–XVI. Turin, 1902. c) Lisia. Orazioni scelte commentate da Eug. Ferrai. Vol. I. Seconda edizione rifatta da Giuseppe Fraccaroli. Turin, 1902. Albert Martin mentions briefly these works, commending, with some reserve, the edition of Lawson, and pro-

nouncing the Italian edition not without value. The edition of select orations of Lysias he finds on the whole satisfactory, but not without fault. 10) Cassii Dionis Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt edidit U. Philippus Boissevain. Vol. III. Berlin, 1901. Analyzed and favorably criticised by A. M. 11) T. Macci Plauti Epidicus iterum recensuit G. Goetz. Leipzig, 1902. Georges Ramain, recognizing the merits of this edition, finds it entirely too conservative. 12) F. Pradei. De praepositione in prisca Latinitate ui atque usu. Leipzig, 1901. G. R. makes brief and rather unfavorable mention of this work. 13) G. Lodge. Lexicon Plautinum (A—ALIVS). Leipzig, 1901. Favorably mentioned by G. R. 14) Four works mentioned together: a) M. Tullii Ciceronis in M. Antonium oratio Philippica prima . . . par H. de la Ville de Mirmont. Paris, 1902. b) Schülerkommentar zu Ciceros Philippischen Reden I, II, III, VII, von Hermann Nohl. Leipzig, 1903. c) M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes in L. Catilinam quattuor. Edited by J. C. Nicol. Cambridge, 1902. d) M. Tullio Cicerone, il primo libro de officiis commentato dal dott. prof. G. Segre. Torino, 1902. J. L. finds the first named work suitable for advanced students, but weak in its critical apparatus. The second work he merely describes as being intended for gymnasium students. The third he considers useful for pupils. The last, which gives only a "historical and philosophical" commentary, he finds prepared carefully and laboriously, but without sufficient method. 15) Carlo Pascal. Di una fonte greca del Somnium Scipionis di Cicerone. Nota letta alla R. Academia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti. Napoli, 1902. J. L. briefly mentions this paper with approval as showing that "the cosmographic theories so complacently developed in the Dream of Scipio are taken in great part from the 'Hermes', a poem of Eratosthenes." 16) Prolegomena in Pseudocelli de universi natura libellum scripsit Joannes de Heyden-Zielewicz. (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen, VIII, 3). Breslau, 1901. Briefly analyzed and commended by J. L. 17) Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat de Fide Catholica, untersucht von E. K. Rand. Leipzig, 1901. Jules Lebreton does not agree with the author that the internal evidence is conclusive against the authorship of Boethius. 18) Der echte Hiob, von Eugen Müller. Hannover, 1902. J. L. gives the substance of this work,—that Job was an atheist, and that the book of Job consists of four parts composed at different times, and adds, "Attendons, pour discuter la thèse de M. M., qu'il ait bien voulu en donner les preuves." 19) P. Huvelin, Les tablettes magiques et le droit romain. Fasc. I. Mâcon, 1901. Norbert Hachez summarizes this work with high appreciation. 20) Dom Fernand Cabrol, Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie. Paris, 1903. Fr. Cremont, criticising this work in the main favorably, finds that it promises to be too voluminous because of the introduction of unessential matter.

No. 2.

16. Pp. 111–121. Epigraphic Notes, by J. Delamarre. Discussion of inscriptions from Aegiale, Arcesine, and Minoa, relating to incursions of pirates and services rendered by certain citizens in repelling such incursions or redeeming captives.

17. P. 122. Louis Havet considers "quibus fructibus me decollaui" (cited from Lucilius, Diomedes, p. 365, 4 Keil) an anapaestic dimeter.

18. Pp. 123–4. Louis Havet discusses the rhythm of the prose of Martial's prefaces.

19. Pp. 125–138. Origin of the Bâle edition of Gregory Nazianzen. By A. Misier. This elaborate article shows that the edition in question was derived from the Aldine of 1536 and the Codex Palatinus 402.

20. Pp. 139–150. Notes on the text of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus, by Victor Mortet (fourth article). This article treats; a) the definition of Geometry by Boethius and Cassiodorus compared with that given by Quintilian and Martianus Capella; b) Cassiodorus and the Principia geometricae disciplinae.

21. Pp. 151–3. M. L. Earle criticises Parmentier's treatment of Soph. O. R. 10 f.

22. P. 153. Louis Havet reads angulos usu omnis in Plaut. Aul. 437, and changes id to tu in ibid. 439.

23. Pp. 154–7. The text of the Orator, by Henri Bornecque. Discussion of the question which MS most accurately represents the ancient text. Conclusion in favor of A, though L (that is F O P) is not to be entirely discarded.

24. Pp. 158–163. The seventh paragraph of the papyrus of Strassburg (published by Bruno Keil, 1902), discussed by E. Cavaignac with a view to settling the question of the discontinuation of the κωλακρέται.

25. Pp. 164–208. Latin Studies. II. The Subjunctive of Repetition. By F. Gaffiot. It will be remembered that in the Revue de Philologie (1884), VIII, pp. 75 ff., M. Bonnet denied that the subjunctive in Latin is ever due to the fact that repetition is expressed. He arrived at the conclusion that the indicative was always the mood of repetition pure and simple, and when the subjunctive was employed, it was "despite the idea of repetition". Gaffiot goes still further and maintains that there is neither subjunctive of repetition nor subjunctive despite repetition: that in none of the passages concerned had the author in his mind the idea of repetition. The authors examined are Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, Tacitus.



26. Pp. 209–214. Paul Mazon publishes a translation in French of the Persians of Timotheus of Miletus, with notes.

No. 3.

27. Pp. 215–222. Athens and Thasos at the end of the fifth century, by P. Foucart. An acute discussion of the relations of Thasos to the Athenians, based on an inscription, now much mutilated, but copied with several errors centuries ago, and referred to in Dem. XX. 63 (Tauchnitz).

28. P. 223. *Πρωτόχορος*. P. F. successfully defends this word in the fragments of Alexis and Antidotus quoted by Athenaeus. It is sustained by inscriptions, and probably means *κορυφαῖος*.

29. Pp. 224–232. A dozen passages of Cic. Imp. Pomp. critically discussed by Louis Havet.

30. Pp. 233–5. M. L. Earle makes some acute observations on the interpretation of Hor. Sat. I, 1.

31. Pp. 236–244. Notes on the end and consequences of the Aetolian war, by Wilhelm Vollgraff. The discrepancy between Livy (XXXVII, 9 and 11) and Polybius (XXI, 30 and 32) is ascribed to a deliberate perversion of facts by Livy with a view to placing the Romans in a more favorable light.

32. Pp. 245–7. Paul Tannery defends "auctor gromaticus" in Cassiodor. Variarum III, 52.

33. Pp. 248–261. Book Notices. 1) V. Gardthausen, Sammlungen und Cataloge griechischer Handschriften. Byzantinisches Archiv, fasc. 3. Leipzig, 1903. D. Serruys finds many serious omissions, but pronounces the work nevertheless a valuable aid to laborers in this field. 2) Die Temporalsätze mit den Konjunktionen "bis" und "so lange als." Von Albert Fuchs. Würzburg, 1902. Analyzed by E. Chambry. An interesting treatment of the origin and development of these constructions, but without any results modifying the rules of the present grammars. 3) Eschilo. I Sette a Tebe con note di Vigilio Inama. Turin, 1902. P. Mazon, disapproving a few details, highly commends this work. 4) Gevaert und Vollgraff. Les Problèmes musicaux d'Aristote. Gand, 1903. L. Laloy commends this work as a whole, but rejects a few details. The genuineness of the book is supported by a new argument of great weight: the vocabulary is not contaminated by the doctrine of Aristoxenus. 5) Dr. Hugo Bretzl. Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderzuges. Leipzig, 1903. Paul Tannery reviews at some length. The author shows that Theophrast. Hist. Plant. records the botanical discoveries made during the campaigns of Alexander. The reviewer, though not sure that Alexander organized any scientific corps, accepts and highly praises the essentials of the work, but is quite severe on its useless expansion. He commends some of the emendations. 6) Two works of Prof. R.

Methner mentioned together. a) Die Darstellung der lateinischen Temporalsätze in der Obertertia, Bromberg, 1902; b) Über die Begriffe "Situation" und "näherer oder begleitender Umstand" in der lateinischen Syntax, Berlin, 1902. These works are briefly analyzed by F. Gaffiot, and favorably criticised. 7) Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, edidit Hermannus Dessau. Vol. II. Pars. 1. Berolini, 1902–4. Victor Chapot, after finding a number of faults, expresses high appreciation of the work as a whole. 8) Lucrèce, Livre III, Texte latin, accompagné du commentaire critique et explicatif de Munro, traduit . . . par A. Reymond. Paris, 1903. Very briefly, and in general favorably, mentioned by Henri Bornecque. 9) Augusto Romizi, Compendio di storia della litteratura latina; quinta editione; Sandron, Milano-Palermo-Napoli, 1903. Philippe Fabia commends this work, especially as evincing originality. 10) Two works of H. Bornecque: a) Sénèque le Rhéteur, Controverses et Suasoires. Traduction nouvelle, texte revu; ouvrage couronné par l' Académie française. Paris, 1902. b) Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d' après Sénèque le père. Lille, 1902. Philippe Fabia regrets that these works were not prepared for philologians who would have appreciated them and derived benefit from them, instead of for the public, who will not read them. 11) Carolus Enarus Borenius, De Plutarcho et Tacito inter se congruentibus. Diss. inaug., Helsingforsiae, 1902. Philippe Fabia does not accept the author's contention that Plutarch derived his biographies of Galba and Otho from Tacitus with occasional use of the source from which Tacitus drew, but holds that each drew from the same source. 12) Benedetto Romano, La critica litteraria in Aulo Gellio. Torino, 1902. Philippe Fabia highly commends this work, which collects and arranges the literary opinions scattered through the Noctes Atticae.

No. 4.

34. Pp. 263–8. On the Proagon, by Paul Mazon. An interesting discussion of the character of the προάγων, based on all the ancient references to it.

35. Pp. 269–272. M. L. Earle critically discusses several passages of Vergil, Horace, and Catullus.

36. P. 272. C.-E. Ruelle rejects ἄνεσιν as proposed for πίεσιν in Aristot. Probl. XIX, 3, by Laloy in his review of the work of Gevaert and Vollgraff in the preceding number of the Rev. de Phil.

37. Pp. 273–8. Latin Studies. III. The subjunctive after quotiens. By Félix Gaffiot. The author modifies his statement which implied that the idea of repetition was never present to the mind of the writer when the subjunctive was used with a relative, but maintains that the subjunctive is never due to this idea. He replies to critics and discusses quotiens-clauses in particular.



38. Pp. 279–287. Notes on the text of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus. (Last article). By Victor Mortet. The author closes this series of important contributions, by filling a lacuna by means of some fragments found in certain MSS, especially two in Munich.

39. P. 288. C. E. R. reports some variants (furnished by a MS in the Bibliothèque nationale) for the text of Prellus *περὶ παραδόξων ἀναγνωσμάτων.*

40. Pp. 289–293. The rôle of Aeneas in the second book of the Aeneid, by A. Cartault. An interesting explanation of Vergil's failure to have his hero make good his lofty assertion "quorum pars magna fui."

41. Pp. 294–310. Book Notices. 1) Homeri Carmina recensuit . . . Arth. Ludwich. Pars prior, Ilias. Volumen prius. Leipzig, 1902. Reviewed at length by Albert Martin. The reviewer notes the fact that the "pars posterior" appeared thirteen years ago. He analyzes the work and explains the principles followed by the editor in constituting the text. He is not in accord with the author in all these principles nor in all the details, but considers the work very able and useful. 2) Hesiodi Carmina. Accedit Homeri et Hesiodi certamen. Recensuit Aloisius Rzach. Leipsig, 1902. Albert gives an analysis of this monumental work, and highly praises it. 3) C. Gaspar, Essai de chronologie pindarique. Bruxelles, 1900. P. Mazon, reviewing this work in the main very favorably, makes some valuable remarks. 4) Euripidis Fabulae ediderunt R. Prinz et N. Wecklein. Vol. III. Pars VI. Rhesus. Accedunt addenda et corrigenda, vita Euripidis, tabula. N. Wecklein. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1902. E. Chambry, making some slight objections to details, highly praises this concluding volume of this great work. 5) Johannes Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica. Vol. I, 1901. Vol. II, 1903. Berlin. B. Haussoullier gives a brief and laudatory account of this work. It contains a list of all Athenians known from inscriptions, authors, and coins, Athenians by birth and by decree, from the time of the decennial Archons to the absorption of Attica by the Roman empire. The entries number 24,547. There are two appendixes, one a Conspectus Demotarum, the other Archontum Tabulae, a list of Archons from B. C. 683 down. With the Archons are enumerated also the Clerks and the tribes to which they belonged. 6) *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ ὑπὸ* N. Γ. *Πολίτου. Παροιμίαι. Τόμος γ.* Athens, 1901. A. M. favorably mentions this volume, referring to his previous mention of the first volumes (Rev. de Phil. XXVI, p. 248). This third volume includes B and Γ to *γλύφω*, and contains 686 pages. 7) Virgil's epische Technik von Richard Heinze. Leipzig, 1903. A. Cartault describes this book at considerable length. He considers it an important work, but naturally cannot accept everything where so

much is subjective. 8) P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI erklärt von Eduard Norden. Leipzig, 1903. A. Cartault, though he accepts most of the author's conclusions, condemns his method, and sees no reason why this edition should be one of a series called Commentaires scientifiques. 9) De pauperum cura apud Romanos. By J. J. Esser. Kampen, 1902. A. Grenier criticises this book with some severity. Its theme seems to be: "les Romains n'ont pu pratiquer la charité, car cette vertu fut enseignée aux hommes par le Christ!" 10) L'Ile Tibérine dans l'antiquité, par Maurice Besnier. Paris, 1902. A. Grenier gives an analysis of this work, which contains all that is known of the island in the Tiber at Rome. The book (of 357 pages) necessarily treats of a great variety of subjects. 11) Morceaux choisis de Prosateurs latins du moyen âge et des temps modernes, publiés avec des notices et des notes par P. Thomas. Gand, 1902. F. Gaffiot commends this work highly, especially as the notes direct attention to departures from classical latinity.

The Revue des Revues, begun in a previous number, is completed in this number.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.



BRIEF MENTION.

I have often regretted that I did not retain the title *Lanx Satura*, which I used in some of the earlier numbers of the Journal as a designation for such lighter matters as fall within the province of the philological observer. But the tone of those notes, affected doubtless by bad habits contracted in the service of the daily press, shocked my staid British critics, and I instituted instead a *Brief Mention* department which was intended at first to make some amends to authors and publishers for the failure to notice the books sent in for review. In doing this, I had distinctly in mind the example of the Atlantic Monthly which at that time used to give short notices of current literature in which book after book was despatched in a few lines. Of late years this characteristic feature of the Atlantic has been suppressed and with it a curious exhibition of impressionistic criticism. Now, if the benevolent reader or malevolent author will scan the pages of *Books Received*, he will appreciate the difficulties of any editor who should undertake personally or by proxy to notice, however briefly, the various publications that find a lodgment on the editorial table. Still, I cannot for the life of me assume the lofty attitude of some of my colleagues of the philological press, who frankly, not to say, brutally declare that they do not hold themselves bound even to acknowledge the receipt of works that have not been asked for, much less to pass them under review. Cursed with a sensitive soul, I actually suffer, *mediis sitiens in undis*, when I make out the trimestrial lists. The temptation to wet one's whistle in this tide of literature, and then to whistle is very great. So coming back this time after an unusually long absence, I find myself confronted with an ocean of books, nearly all of which appeal to me in some way. But what are half a dozen pages among so many? One of the Paris dailies has a column given up to three-line notes. But such limits are somewhat mechanical and then the titles of the books alone would often take up all the space. So for instance, what notice compatible with *Brief Mention* could be taken of the tenth edition of BENSELER'S well-approved *Griechisch-Deutsches Schulwörterbuch* (Teubner), brought out under the supervision of the well-known scholar KAEGI, whom I hope it is no disrespect to call 'Short-cut KAEGI'? The list of authors included in the dictionary would of itself occupy a respectable number of lines. However, one curious fact may be mentioned. It was no small tribute to Gottfried Hermann's influence that he forced προκλιτικά into our

Greek Lexicons, and in this dictionary Wilamowitz's Lesebuch is a file-closer to a procession headed by Homer. It would be worth knowing how many words were added thereby to the thesaurus.

To this new BENSELER the new KAEGI-AUTENRIETH'S *Wörterbuch zu den homerischen Gedichten* (Teubner) has been made to conform. A tenth edition of a popular manual is seldom sharply scrutinized, and we are under obligations to Professor KAEGI for telling us where the chief work of revision has lain, to wit, in the etymology. This is as we should have expected; and the meek tone of the editor is in striking contrast to the confident spirit in which many of the problems were attacked in times not so far distant from ours. Etymological studies have a great charm for everybody—the unqualified as well as the qualified—and there was at one time great danger lest the guard-room frolics and guard-room squabbles of the regular garrison might give outsiders an opportunity to enter in and possess the etymological Niflheim. Hence the temperance pledge of KAEGI. To be sure, the outsiders will not all be pleased. So αἰγίλιψ, for which I cited (A. J. P. XXIII 112) the old AUTENRIETH, now appears as 'nur für Ziegen erkletterbar, steil', and there is a dead silence as to the latter part of the compound.

While on the chapter of school-books, I may say that the Journal has for obvious reasons tried to hold itself aloof from either favorable or hostile criticism of this range of literature. But it has not always been easy to suppress impatience at outrageously slovenly work nor has it always been easy to draw the line between text-books that incorporate new scientific principles in elementary forms and text-books that are merely tenth transmitters of foolish phrases. Then, again, a series may be started on a new basis, and challenge the interest of all who have to do with pedagogical matters. And what philologist in America has not? So when the FREYTAG-TEMPSKY publications came out I did not fail to remark on the rebellion against the overloaded commentary as indicated by the appearance of school editions that contained only the text, a concise historical introduction and a dictionary of proper names (A. J. P. XIII 125). This series seems to have had considerable success and every new quarter brings to the Journal new FREYTAG-TEMPSKY editions under the supervision of competent scholars. The commentaries —when there are commentaries—appear in separate volumes, a manner of compromise between the notes at the foot of the page, abhorred by teachers who do not know enough to make notes of their own, and the notes at the back of the book, abhorred



by teachers who abominate the waste of time made necessary by turning over pages. Of course, it would be easy to say that the names of the editors, KELLER for Horace, ZINGERLE for Livy, WEIDNER for Tacitus, NOHL for Cicero, A. T. CHRIST for Plato and SCHUBERT for Sophokles would be guarantee enough, but such a wholesale commendation would be flying in the face of my daily precept and my daily practice in the class-room, where I am no respecter of persons.

If, as I have just said, the introduction of new methods in the preparation of school editions deserves consideration in a technical publication like this, the introduction of new authors into the range of school-reading is one of the signs of the times that a philological journal cannot afford to neglect. 'Is one of the signs of the times' or rather 'would have been' before the cataclysm of the WILAMOWITZ *Lesebuch*. And so some years ago I called attention to BIESE'S *Griechische Lieder* (A. J. P. XII 518), a second edition of which has just appeared; and JURENKA'S *Römische Lyriker*, in which the well-known Viennese Pindarist has given us the Greek models as well as the Roman reproductions, offers a tempting theme for comment. On a much larger scale, a scale that brings the book within the reach of scholarly criticism, is the *Antologia della melica greca* by ANGELO TACCONE (Turin, Loescher). In fact, FRACCAROLI, who has furnished a preface to the work of his pupil, maintains that in the number of the fragments TACCONE has surpassed not only the anthology of Michelangeli but all the good foreign anthologies—'all'infuori di quella copiosissima, estesissima ed ottima < collezione > di Herbert Weir Smyth'. In the determined effort to compass all the literature of the subject in hand Dr. TACCONE shows that he belongs to the new Italian school of classical philologians (A. J. P. XXIV 108), who are outdoing their German masters in respect of 'Vollständigkeit'. In this as in other things there seems to be a lack of perspective, almost inevitable in the work of a young scholar. The commentary is sometimes too minute and the style somewhat diffuse; and in the present state of metrical science or nescience the detailed description of the metres is, at least in my eyes, so much lumber. But this is merely a preliminary notice—to be followed, I hope, by a serious review. The book, in any case, is a welcome addition to our apparatus; for the recent discoveries in Egypt have enabled Dr. TACCONE to give his readers some of the fragments of Sappho that have appeared since the date of Professor SMYTH'S *Greek Melic Poets*, on which Dr. TACCONE has drawn freely, as may be imagined, but, so far as I can discern, in a legitimate way and with proper acknowledgment.

Apart from the lack of space, to which I have adverted above, for even a short notice of the leading publications of the season, there is a strong temptation to excessive condensation; and one cannot be pithy at all hazards without being unfair. Brevity, which is the soul of wit, is often the quintessence of falsehood. The bulletin lies because it is so brief. If any one will watch, as I have done for years, the summaries of philological journals, illustrations will not be lacking. I have an acanthology of criticisms of my various writings which serves to amuse me at odd times. So Bornemann's judgment of my Pindar was harsh enough, but the concentration of it in the *Revue de Philologie* excelled the spite of the original: 'ce qui est original ne vaut rien'. An English reviewer had said of the author of Essays and Studies that 'when he adopts the lighter style, he fails both in humour and charm'. That is bad enough. But the German summarist is still worse: 'Die angehängten leichteren Studien leiden durch Streben nach Geist und Witz, die beide dem Verfasser fremd sind.' Here, to be sure, the summary is longer than the original, but that need not surprise us in a German. Sometimes the condensed statement is absolutely correct, and yet the impression is miserably inexact. So I cannot deny that my article on the Temporal Sentences of Limit in Greek (A. J. P. XXIV 388–407) may be said to have been written 'im Anschluss an Fuchs'. But who would gather from this passing notice in the *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 1. *Juni* 1904 that I had made an independent study of the subject, long before Fuchs, that I scouted his theory, indicated his omissions of important facts and corrected his interpretation of the phenomena? And yet who would be so unreasonable as to quarrel with the 'Referent'? Not I, for one.

Spiritually I belong to the sect of Flagellants and keep my philological body under by frequent scourgings. I have not only made a choice collection of the whip-lashes that have touched up my personal transgressions, but I cherish an assortment of cowhides meant for the class of sinners to which I belong. Chief among these latter *nervi* intended for the chastisement of grammarians, is one provided by my good friend, President WHEELER, of the University of California, who wrote in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1898 as follows: 'Grammar is to the average healthy human being the driest and deathliest of the disciplines. Except as it serves a temporary practical purpose of offering a first approach to the acquisition of language, and of presenting a convenient tentative and artificial classification of certain facts, it brings spiritual atrophy and death both to him who gives and him who takes'.

This seems to be strange language, coming as it does from one who began his brilliant career with a dissertation entitled 'Der griechische Nominal-accent' (cf. A. J. P. IX 2), a dissertation by which he is still best known in purely philological circles, a dissertation, which is still authoritative after nearly twenty years, a long life for a theory. So on examining a new up-to-date *Traité d'accentuation grecque* by J. VENDRYES (Paris, Klincksieck), I find *la loi de Wheeler* figuring repeatedly, and at first, it seems hardly credible that a man who has given a law to grammar should turn his back on grammar. But that by grammar President WHEELER meant syntax is plainly shown by a later address, which I quoted A. J. P. XXIII 1. Of course, President WHEELER'S indictment of syntax is all the more effective because he knows the life of the class-room, but after all when it comes to an assault on grammar, the outsiders do their work fairly well. Anthony Trollope, the best delineator of life in a cathedral town had no personal knowledge of the life that he drew so well, and President WHEELER has not been harder on syntacticians than Piron was on grammarians, when he composed his famous epitaph on Olivet, who seems to have been given to the kind of study that President WHEELER began with, the study of accent.

Ce genre qui le charma,
Et dans lequel il prima,
Fut sa passion mignonne.
Son huile il y consuma.
Dans ce cercle il s'enferma
Et de son chant monotone
Tout le monde il assomma.
Du reste il n'aima personne,
Personne aussi ne l'aima.

Nothing could be worse than the fulfilment of the curse to which Piron alludes: 'Nec amet quemquam nec ametur ab ullo'.

To be sure, President WHEELER is not the only distinguished scholar that has lifted up his heel against grammar; and we, that are addicted to grammatical studies in the old-fashioned way, must comfort ourselves with remembering that Boeckh called grammar the θριγκὸς μαθημάτων of philology, nay, claimed in a subacid way that he himself was a 'leidlicher Abece-Schütz'—if I have got the adjective right. Indeed, I can hardly bring myself to believe that the great master would have sanctioned the crusade against the feeble folk who insist on knowing what the letter means before they let themselves be carried away by the spirit. True, even a grammarian is at times weary of the subtleties of other grammarians, and statisticians have been known to flout statistics, and to echo the words of Swinburne who says

in his Study of Shakespeare p. 5: 'For all the counting of numbers and casting up of figures that a whole university, nay, a whole universe of pedants could accomplish, no teacher and no learner will ever be a whit nearer to the haven where he would be'. Still all scholars must be grammarians to a certain extent; and there is no need of stirring the animosity of our waspish tribe. So I was surprised to find in the memoir that THEODOR BIRT has prefixed to the *Vorträge und Aufsätze* of the lamented IVO BRUNS (Teubner), sentences like these: 'Bruns war kein Grammatiker der auf Zetteln sammelt; er drang in die Werkstätte der Meister und leitete aus ihrem Ich das Werk ab das sie geschaffen. Er las die Alten wie man die modernen Autoren liest'. 'Auf Zetteln sammeln' is no crime. The card system is a mere convenience; it does not set up to be an intellectual Kosmos: and a careful sorting of facts may keep even a man of such rare endowment as was IVO BRUNS from making sad mistakes. As for the rest, it is mere phrasemongery. Unless a man is born to a wide range of languages, it is safer for him to treat modern authors as the grammarian treats ancient authors; although the gaiety of nations would be sadly eclipsed by the passing of many foreign scholars, who undertake to interpret English by going into the 'Werkstätte der Meister' unprepared.

In BRUNS'S screed against Dionysios, though I must say that he is fairer than is the fashion toward that unfortunate *magistellus*, he says (S. 209): 'Dionysius rühmt sich, ein fein entwickeltes Gefühl für die persönlichen Nüancen im Stil der alten Autoren zu haben. Er könne in zweifelhaften Fällen, aus der Wirkung, die eine Schrift auf ihn ausübe, sofort erkennen, wer der Verfasser sei. Im Vollgefühl dieser Fähigkeit erklärt er von des Demosthenes Rede für Konon[1] eine Partie von ihr sei so durchaus im Stile einer bestimmten Rede des Lysias gehalten, dass, wenn diese beiden Werke zufällig ohne den Namen des Autors überliefert wären, man nicht sagen könne, welche dem Lysias und welche dem Demosthenes angehöre. *Für den, welcher das Auge nicht mit starrer Ausschliesslichkeit auf das rein Sprachliche richtet*, ist dies Urteil unbegreiflich. Dass Demosthenes die Fähigkeit des Lysias, der Sache immer angemessen zu reden, nicht besass, zeigt keine seiner Reden so deutlich, wie die für Konon. Eine Prügelei zwischen jungen Leuten ist hier zu einer Staatsaffaire in einer Weise aufgebauscht, die auf den Unbefangenen einfach komisch wirkt. Ich würde vielmehr sagen, wenn die demosthenische Rede unter Lysias' Namen überliefert wäre, könnte man aus der Sachbehandlung den Demosthenes erkennen'.

[1] 'Für Konon' instead of 'gegen Konon', *κατὰ Κόνωνος*, is an extraordinary lapse on the part of BRUNS, for which a parallel has been cited A. J. P. XIV 339, l. 10.

Without undertaking in this place to defend Demosthenes as I did thirty years ago in a series of papers entitled, On the Steps of the Bema, I will comment briefly on the sentence I have italicized above: 'Für den welcher das Auge nicht mit starrer Ausschliesslichkeit auf das rein Sprachliche richtet, ist das Urteil unbegreiflich'. In the first place I waive the question whether Dionysios was in dead earnest as to what he says about the possibility of confounding the speeches of the two orators. He had said very much the same thing about Isaios and Lysias: De Isaeo c. 2, *εἰ μή τις ἔμπειρος πάνυ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴη καὶ τριβὰς ἀξιολόγους ἀμφοῖν ἔχων οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίη ῥᾳδίως πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων ὁποτέρου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ παρακρούσεται ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς.* And then he goes on to show that they are as far apart as possible; so that I have no doubt that he took especial pleasure in pointing out to his classes the differences between Demosthenes and Lysias. Certainly they are plain enough even to one who fixes his eyes unwaveringly on the language alone and in fact, the passage is one of the test-tubes I have used more than once in the seminary to show the value of the analysis of style. Now if the short extracts given by Dionysios suffice for that purpose, how much more distinctly do the differences between the two orators appear when one compares this same Demosthenes LIV with Lysias III, both of them assault and battery cases. I have before me, as I write, a seminary exercise in which a mere beginner has established a baker's dozen of differences between the two speeches, most of them purely differences in the domain of language, so that BRUNS might have strengthened his condemnation of Dionysios by saying as Lord Chesterfield said of the man in the herald's office, 'The foolish fellow does not understand his foolish business'. But after all it is not a foolish business. The grammarian has some rights even over against the aesthetic impressionist, and the trouble with Dionysios is that his analysis did not go far enough, that he has left too much room for the *ἄλογος αἴσθησις*. And by his scorn of Dionysios' stylistic criticism Bruns missed a chance of slaying the slain. I hold no brief for Dionysios—nor for any one else; but it must be remembered that in this very same chapter (Dem. 13) Dionysios emphasizes the *ἀναφαίρετος τόνος* of Demosthenes. Demosthenes is Demosthenes everywhere as Henry Irving is Henry Irving in every rôle. As for the absurdity of Demosthenes in lighter parts, as well speak of the absurdity of Aischylos in the satyr-drama. But whatever a man may think of Dionysios, every scholar will rejoice at the announcement that the long-deferred second volume, fasc. 1 of the Teubner ed. of the *Opuscula* by USENER and RADERMACHER has come to the relief of the student of Greek rhetoric. Nothing more urgently needed than a critical text of the *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*.

Cousin says somewhere, 'The ideal life of a man of letters is one monument and a number of episodes'. My early ambition

was to become a man of letters.[1] My monument was to have been the Greek Life of the Second Century after Christ. But life shapes itself in its own way. I have become a grammarian and my monument is to be the Monte Testaccio of a philological journal. Still I have never lost my interest either in literature or in the period, and regret that I have only space for a *Brief Mention* of Professor ROBINSON ELLIS'S instructive and entertaining lecture on the *Correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius*. Marcus has his admirers, and I should blush to reproduce my early notes on his Meditations and my gibes at the man whom I scrupled not to call in his own jargon a φιλοσοφίδιον and a φιλοσοφάριον. But Fronto's cause I was inclined to espouse, perhaps out of sheer contrariness. For Fronto has been badly treated. Every man whose heart is in the right place has a sneaking kindness for the author he edits, even if that author be a hopeless prig, like Persius, or an incondite writer, like Justin Martyr. But Fronto has had scant mercy shewn him even by his editors. True, some allowance must be made for the disillusionment of Mai's discovery. Historians of Roman literature had said to themselves, 'If we only had Fronto!' And when we had Fronto, or a specimen of Fronto, what? So they began to make epigrams on Fronto; and Naber, whose edition (1867) is still the latest critical edition, apologized for giving so many months to such a zany, such a 'fatuus' as Fronto. He admits, indeed, that Fronto was a good soul, but he sneers at what he calls 'decantata illa populi Romani felicitas sub Antoninorum imperio', warns us, quite unnecessarily, not to be deceived 'Frontonis elegantiis et orationis putido ornatu', and considers the most valuable outcome of the whole collection to be the exposure of that weak brother, Marcus Aurelius. A charming contrast to this crabbedness is Gaston Boissier's sympathetic article in the Revue des deux Mondes, published the year after Naber's edition, and while Professor ELLIS refrains from any estimate of Fronto's intellectual capacity, he has done good service to the memory of the good old African by his summaries and his translations. Surely after reading Professor ELLIS, no young student will consider the *Correspondence* a negligible quantity, even if he should have little sympathy with the gush of the letters. This gush, this overflow of affection, in which it is sometimes hard to tell whether the greater spilth is on the side of the master or on that of the disciple, reminds Professor ELLIS of the Sonnets of Shakespeare. In modern life such enthusiasm is more familiar to us in school-girl ecstatics for the beloved mistress, but this sort of thing seems to be traditional

[1] 'There seems little reason' says an irresponsible reviewer in the New York Sun, June 24, 1903, 'for the inclusion <in Trent's American Literature> of the names of scholars like Drisler and Anthon and Goodwin and *Gildersleeve*, whose purely literary baggage is of the slightest'. Is it not Voltaire who says: On ne va pas à la postérité avec de gros bagages?



in the Empire. Famous is the relation between Cornutus and Persius and the absurdly interjectional letter of Marcus to Fronto (II 3) is paralleled by the absurdly interjectional letter of Julian to Libanius (XIV) and Julian's letters to Iamblichos are so effusive that critics have thought them unworthy (Essays and Studies, p. 375) of the later emperor, a more masculine character after all than the earlier philosopher on the throne.

The *Quatrains of Háli*, a modern Hindu poet, whose real name, we are told, is Maulavi Sayid Altáf Husain Ansári Pánipati, have been edited in the Roman character with a prose translation by Mr. G. E. WARD (London, Henry Frowde). While they hardly deserve the transfiguration that the quatrains of Omar have undergone, one of them may be worth quoting, No. XVIII, which is intended to be a severe rebuke to hasty critics of standard text-books. Saith Háli:

> Set not good men down as bad, O my son!
> If one gesture or half a gesture of theirs displease thee.
> The fineness of a pomegranate is not spoilt to the taste,
> If there should be inside it one or two pips rotten.

But, despite Háli, I am naturally inclined to agree with the saying of Ecclesiastes about 'dead flies' and with Tennyson's deprecation of 'the little pitted speck in garner'd fruit'; and, moreover, I am suffering just now from a couple of typographical errors that disfigure for me hopelessly p. 229 of the current volume, where l. 9 for 'every' read 'my' and l. 10 for 'final' read 'first'.

R. S. R.: Questions of metre and accent commonly breed extremists. Thus not long ago we had in several quarters a determined effort to eliminate 'ictus' from the Graeco-Roman poetry, as though we could not find the deviations we require from common speech equally well in the modulations of that 'poetry-reciting voice' of the ancients, that *μέση κίνησις* or *πλάσμα* which lies midway between song and speech (Aristid. Q. I p. 7, 25 M.; Quintil. I 8, 2)! Similarly Dr. J. J. SCHLICHER in his dissertation on the *Origin of Latin Rhythmical Verse* (Chicago, 1900) adopts a novel position. His views may best be contrasted with those of his former teacher, Wilhelm Meyer, whom he sharply chides for the admission that the supposed musical accent of the Romans became expiratory in the third century and capable of influencing Latin verse. Thus in Meyer's view the change from quantitative to accentual poetry was produced by some profound and far-reaching cause, but according to SCHLICHER this change belongs to the chapter of accidents and is due to secondary causes.

Dr. SCHLICHER seeks to show that the Roman quantitative system broke down first especially in the final syllables of words, and since the Christian iambic poets did not wish to give prominence to these dubious syllables by placing them under the verse-accent, they preferred, because of their scruples about *quantity*, to write *Fit pórta Christi pérviá* rather than *Portá Christi fit pérviá*. The conscientious scruples about quantity which this hypothesis attributes to the Christian poets will seem to many wholly unwarranted by the facts, and even if they were well warranted, this explanation would leave the real difficulty untouched. For the question would still remain, *why* the final syllables became unstable in their quantity and were finally sloughed off altogether. Trivial causes apart, there is but one ultimate answer to this question and that is the answer which Meyer and Havet have given, viz.: The development of the expiratory accent destroyed the old Roman syllabic system. SCHLICHER, however, has not merely written a polemic upon the accent; he has done an admirable piece of work in tracing the several stages of the slow process by which quantitative poetry became accentual, and has made valuable contributions to technical knowledge at this point, while he has given the general reader an extremely interesting and clear account of the chief problems of Christian poetry. Since the dissertation is otherwise so complete, it is to be regretted that the author has not included more actual specimens of the popular poetry. Thus the lengthening of accented short vowels might well have been illustrated by a quotation of the well-known Pompeian graffito (CLE. 44):

Magi properares, ut videres *Vēne*rem.
.
Pompeios defer, *ubi* dulcis est amor.

Again, St. Augustine's famous Psalmus contra partem Donati is often under discussion, but how few classical Latinists have ever seen or read the 'Omnes qui gaudetis'!

S. B. P.: An excellent piece of historical criticism is the paper on *The Politics of the Patrician Claudii* by Professor GEORGE C. FISKE of the University of Wisconsin, published in vol. XIII of the *Harvard Studies*. Our ancient authorities agree in representing the Claudii as ultra-patrician in their opinions and bitterly hostile to the *plebs*. Modern scholars have ranged themselves either with Mommsen who regarded the Claudii as champions of the *plebs;* or with Herzog who accepted the ancient view in the main with the modification that this *gens* desired to develop a plebeian state within the patrician; or with Nitzsch who maintained that the Claudii represented the trading and com-

mercial interests and therefore supported the *plebs urbana* against the *plebs rustica*. Professor FISKE agrees most nearly with Nitzsch, but corrects his view in certain points, and maintains that the two chief articles in the political creed of the Claudii were first "a persistent and inherited opposition to the policy of the tribunes, the champions of the *plebs rustica*," and second "the defence of the *libertini*". This conclusion is based upon a critical examination of all the ancient testimony upon the subject. The three most important members of the Claudian family were Appius Claudius, the reputed founder of the *gens* and consul in 495 B. C., Appius Claudius, the decemvir, and Appius Claudius Caecus the famous censor of 312 B. C., and it is therefore inevitable that Professor FISKE'S arguments should be based very largely upon the traditional history of the first two. Scholars will differ widely in their estimate of the degree of credibility to be assigned to this record, and Professor FISKE will probably be regarded as too conservative by most. But while the evidence of a traditional family policy among the Claudii is not absolutely conclusive, the careful and rational treatment of the subject is worthy of all praise.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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VOL. XXV, 4 WHOLE NO. 100

THE

AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE

FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.

PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING LEIPSIC: F. A. BROCKHAUS

OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER

1904

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Postoffice.

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AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXV, 4. WHOLE NO. 100.

I.—THE INDO-IRANIAN NASAL VERBS.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NASAL-FLEXION TYPE.[1]

For a number of years past linguistic science has been content to deal with some chapters in morphology in a purely algebraic way. This is particularly true of the nasal flexion of the verb. The *n* which characterizes this flexional type has been treated like the algebraic *x*; *abx*, *axb*, *xab* have been handled as equal algebraic quantities, as a reference to Hirt, der Indog. Ablaut, § 693, will show, where the analysis of Skr. *yunájmi* 'I yoke' yields a base YU-EK- with "inserted" *n*.[2] So much must be admitted at the start, that the freedom with which the nasal classes interchange argues a cognate origin for them all.[3] Thus Gr. ζεύγνυμι corresponds to Skr. *yunájmi*; many Sanskrit verbs have present systems in *-nā-* as well as in *-nó-*; and there is similar variation between the present stems of the type *ṛnádh-* and *ṛdhnó-*.

In the following paper I shall seek to demonstrate for the *n* of the nasal flexional type an arithmetical value. I propose to make a semantic study of the Sanskrit [and Avestan] verbs of nasal flexion listed by Whitney in his Roots, Verb-Forms, etc.,

[1] Pedersen in I. F. 2, 318 sq., has given a résumé of previous theories on the origin of this type.

[2] Brugmann, Kurze Gram. § 665, Anm., rejects the notion of an 'infix' in the following words: entweder war *ne* ein Satzelement (vielleicht eine Partikel oder ein präpositionales Adverb oder auch eine Art Hilfsverbum) etc. . . . Cf. also O. Keller in KZ. 39. 162.

[3] Cf. Keller, l. c., §§ 34 sq., and especially § 35.

of the Sanskrit Language, adding sundry other roots from the *Dhātupāṭha* as taken up by Uhlenbeck in his Etym. Woert. d. altindischen Sprache.[1]

The nasal-flexional type had its rise, I surmise, in contamination (syncretism) of roots of similar (or contrasting) meanings. The evidence of the daily speech about us proves that such contamination is actively in progress before our eyes. When I hear a person of high cultivation and intelligence say *smur* I recognize that we have a blend of *smear* and *blur*. In this schooled age such a word has a small chance to survive. The conditions were much more favorable to survival of such words in a preliterary stage.[2] Still, examples are not lacking, particularly of tautological formations, such as German Eidschwur, Spieszruten, Bittflehende, Schalksknecht, etc. (see Polle, Wie denkt das Volk über die Sprache, p. 110). Earlier examples are found in Gothic *mari-saiws* 'ocean-sea' (cf. Johannson, Nominalsammansättningar i Gotiskan, Nordiska Studier, p. 457) and in O. E. *lemp-healt/læmpi-halt* 'lame-halt', *wæl-sliht* 'killing-slaughter.' Similar are Eng. *furthermore*, Ital. *ambedue* 'both-two'. In an humbler sphere, *recolmember/recommember* (= recollect + remember), *preparrangements* (= preparations + arrangements), *padrawers* (= pajamas + drawers), *persciver* (= perceive + discover, in the incorrect form *disciver*).

In view of such facts I have undertaken the analysis of the nasal verbs in Sanskrit [Indo-Iranian] in terms of the following theses:

a) In *badhnāti* 'he binds' we have a blend of *badh-* 'to bind' + *-nāti* 'he binds' (*nāti* : Lat. *net* 'spins').

b) In *sinóti* (alongside of *sināti*) 'he binds' we have a blend of *si-* 'to bind' (cf. *syáti* 'he binds') + *-noti* 'he binds' (cf. O. Bulg. *snu-ti* 'ordiri, anzetteln').

c) In *tṛṇéḍhi* 'he crushes' we have a blend of a proethnic base TER- 'to pierce, bore' (cf. Lat. *terit*) + proethnic NEĜH- 'to pierce', attested by O. Bulg. *nizą* 'infigo'.

[1] O. Keller's essay, die nasalpräsentia der arischen Sprachen, KZ. 39, 137 sq., appeared when this article was nearly finished. I have drawn on his lists for Iranian bases not represented in Sanskrit.

[2] Convenient collections of such blended words are to be found in Meringer and Mayer's Versprechen und Verlesen, much of which is taken up by Oertel in his Lectures on the Study of Language, pp. 161 fg.

Before presenting the material, certain preliminary remarks will be in order to explain the phonetic and other principles by which I shall proceed.

d.

There is considerable etymological material—e. g., *στῖφος* 'crowd, mass': *στῦφει* 'crowds, presses' (no. 110)—which seems to show alternation of I and U in the proethnic period (see Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre § 22). This material might be accounted for by positing a proethnic *ü*-vowel (so Wharton in his Etyma Latina) which yielded now *i* and now *u*, and this variation must needs be ascribed to the proethnic period, as there seems no other way to account for the indiscriminate appearance, now of *i* and now of *u*, in the separate languages. I propose here another solution of the difficulty. There is a large number of words that exhibit long diphthongs, e. g. ĒY and ŌW, which mutate, the former, with Ē, and the latter, with Ō. This mutation occurs in certain phonetic groups or contexts which have not been isolated and determined, but theoretically we suppose a loss of Y and W conditioned on a special phonetic environment. We no less control the phenomena if we assume that in a certain phonetic context Ē and Ō developed parasitic glides Y and W, as our English long vowels do[1]: let us say that ĒS yielded ĒYS, and ŌM yielded ŌWM. Supposing the Ē/Ō mutation to have been established prior to the development of Ē<Y> from Ē, Ō<W> from Ō, we may posit an ĒY/ŌW mutation with subsequent reductions to əY/əW, Ĭ/Ŭ. We may assume, with contaminated mutations, the series ē/ō: ēy/ōw: ōy/ēw: ēiw/ōiw: ēuy/ōuy, not all of which must needs have developed to any one root.

e.

Up to this point we have dealt only with the long diphthongs. We shall have to reject a number of cogent etymologies if we deny the mutation of Ē(Y) with Ĕ (see Reichelt in K. Z. 39, 14 sq.). It is generally denied that ĔY is ever a reduced stage of ĒY, and where this phenomenon occurs it is rather held that ĒY is a long grade in a short diphthong series. It is, at all events, a perfectly tenable theory, that if an original base GEYE- had a long grade GĒY-[2], an analogical BEYE- might come into

[1] Cf. Thess. and Boeot. *ει* (i. e. close ē)=*η*, in *δεί*=*δή*.

[2] Streitberg's theory that the monosyllabic type GĒY- is a dimoric substitute for GĔY(Ē)- does not convince me. I look upon thematic flexion with e/o as a new and "regular" type that replaced an old "irregular" non-thematic

being beside an original long base BĒY-, and I shall condense my notation by writing Ē(Y).

f.

To no longer swim in schematic restorations, I present the following illustrations of the mutations attested for the base S)NĒ- 'to spin'.

Vowel bases.

Base S)NĒ-/ S)NŌ-.

Goth. *nēþla* 'needle', νητός 'spun'; νώμενος, νῶντα, νῶσαι (forms of νέω 'I spin'), O. Ir. *snáthat* 'needle'.

Base SNĔ-.

Gr. νετή(?) 'pin' (if Σ 180 is to be read δὲ νετῆσι instead of δ' ἐνετῆσι)[1].

Diphthongal Bases.

Base S)NĒY-/ S)NŌW- [or S)NŌY-/ S)NĒW-].

O. H. G. *nājan* 'to sew', Skr. *snāyati* 'wraps, clothes', *snāyu* 'band, sinew';—Skr. *snāvan-* 'snāyu', Avest. *snāvarə*, Gr. νεῦρον, O. H. G. *nāwan* 'to sew'.

Base S)NĔY-.

Gr. νέει 'spins', Lat. *net* (from NEYETI or = NĒ-T?).

Base S)NI-.

O. Bulg. *nitŭ* 'filum'.

Base S)NĔW- [or S)NOW-].

O. Bulg. *snovą* 'ordior', (?) *nevodŭ* 'net', Lat. *nuit* glossed by 'operuit, texit'.

Base S)NU-.

O. Bulg. *snuti* 'ordiri', Lat. *nu-mella* 'genus vinculi'.

flexional type, and I imagine that the rhythmic change from what I may call monosyllabism to dissyllabism in some way produced the shortening of the "root-syllable", not without leaving traces, in the so-called long-grades, of the original state of things.

[1] ἐνετή is usually explained as from ἐνίημι. The question arises whether ἐνετή does not belong to the base NĒ in a dissyllabic form ENĒ. If so, an adjustment becomes necessary between the bases SNĒ- and ENĒ-. If ENĒ is older than SNĒ-, then NĒ- is older than SNĒ-. This allows of our supposing that SNĒ- is a blend of NĒ 'to bind' + SĒ(Y)/ SŌ(W) 'to bind' (cf. Skr. *sydti*/Lat. *suit*), cf. *infra*, B, *a*., fn., and 15, 1, fn. But if SNĒ is older than NĒ we may either posit dissyllabic bases ESNE- and ENĒ- or explain ENĒ- as subsequent to NĒ-. Further on this point below.

Triphthongal Bases.

Base S)NəIW-.
Skr. *nīvis* 'umgebundenes Tuch' (cf. Skr. *snāyu-*).

g.

In the words hereinafter studied frequent variation of *r* and *l* is exhibited as in DER-/DEL- 'to split'. My argument nowhere concerns itself with identifying these -R and -L bases, but I do not doubt that such bases should be identified, the *r*/*l* variation being ascribed either to proethnic dissimilation in reduplicated formations, or to a proethnic flux between *r*- dialects and *l*- dialects.

h.

In Greek and Latin *ā* sometimes appears in forms belonging to an *ĕ*/*ŏ* root. I do not question the truth of the prevailing explanation of such *ā*'s as due to analogical influence from the *ə*-derived *ā*'s which form a common member of the *ā*- series as well as of the *ē*/*ō*- series. Such *ā*'s throughout this paper will be designated as *ə*-derived *ā*'s (or briefly as from *ə̂*); cf. no. 168.

i.

Every study of words in groups must confront the question of "root-determinatives".[1] Every theory on this subject is necessarily glottogonic. For myself, I think that there is more than one source of these "determinatives". I have already expressed the conviction that the Y and W of the ĒY/ŌW type are parasitic glides whose nature we might typify by the writing Ē<Y>, O<W>. Other "determinatives" seem to me to have originated in onomatopoetic groups, as in the English words *knack* and *knap*, *flack* and *flap*, e. g. The prevailing source I take to have been the rhyming motif. Thus Latin *apio*, *capio*, *rapio*,[2] all of which indicate more or less intensive forms of 'taking', rhyme because they correspond in meaning or conversely. So the large correspondence in meaning to be noted for the nasal verbs is correlate with their rhyming flexion.

[1] Repeated efforts have not enabled me to procure a copy of Persson's essay on this subject.

[2] Why not write *c-apio*, *r-apio* with initial "determinatives"?

j. (see also w., Ch. III).

In regard to the root-determinatives, it frequently happens (1) that *-t-*, e. g., is found in some languages, *d* in others; (2) that the alternation *-d/ -dh* is attested (particularly when nasals form the phonetic context); as well as (3) the alternation *-t/ -dh*.[1] Inasmuch as a "root" can hardly be regarded as anything but the language-user's abstraction of what, to his mind, carries the essential unmodified concept (inner meaning) of a word, we can imagine a root *ac-* abstracted from *actus*, or *ag-* from *agmen*, *ut-* from Skr. *út-sas* 'wave' but *ud-* from *udakám* 'water'. A telling instance of the power of a single word to form a 'root' is the French root (or base) *roul-* 'to roll' which has come from Lat. *rotula-* 'wheel'. Besides the possible rôle of the nasal[2] in variations of the *-d/ -dh* type, we see in Skr. *duhitár-* alongside of Gāthic *dugədar-* (from DHUGDHER) how the 'root' DHUG-, as found in Gr. θυγάτηρ, was abstracted. It is not clear that *-t/-dh* can be explained in a similar way, though one might suppose that the common middle term *d* of the two alternations *-t/-d*, *-dh/-d* would serve as a bridge between *t* and *dh*, and the triple variation *-t/-d/-dh* does, in fact, sporadically occur (cf. Prellwitz, Woert. s. vv. πήγνυμι ῥήγνυμι). Rhyme must have played a part here. If, e. g., we suppose a proethnic base SKĀP-, 'to prop' attested by Doric σκᾶπος 'staff', Lat. *scāpus* 'stalk', σκήπτει 'props', and a proethnic base STEBH- 'to prop' (see Skr. *stabhnáti* and its cognates in Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert. s. v.) we could explain the Sanskrit base *skabh-* as a blend of SKĀP- and *stabh-*.

k.

In the mass of semantic material to be dealt with in this study I have aimed at the greatest possible concreteness and definiteness, holding the views expressed by Meringer in the introduction to his essay, Wörter und Sachen (I. F. 16, 101 sq.). But it is precisely here that great difficulties confront us, including all manner of subjectivity in individuals. Thus when Meringer discusses a semantic group which he defines by 'ackert' (l. c. 180), this definition seems to me vague and general, concrete enough

[1] In Sanskrit this frequently appears as *-th/-dh,/-kh/-gh* etc., and I suspect that here the surd aspirates, *th* and *kh*, represent proethnic T, K, assimilated to the sonant aspirates, *dh*, *gh*.

[2] See Brugmann, Gr. I[2] § 704 anm.

but very indefinite.[1] Who would be disposed to question the semantic primitiveness, e. g., of the Eng.-French "root" *roll-/roul-*? Who would see in it a denominative from Lat. *rotula* 'wheel'? One may (1) roll (=turn) a hoop, (2) roll (=wrap) a cigarette, (3) roll a drum, and one may (4) turn (cf. Germ. *werden:* Lat. *vertere*) pale or turn philosopher. If it is easy to see the relation of (1) and (2), which consists in a reasonably plain metaphor addressed to the eye; we must imagine, I take it, the noise made by some heavy rolling body before we understand the rolling (3) of thunder or of a drum, wherein the metaphor is addressed to the ear. How to account for the metaphor in (4) I confess I do not altogether see, but it makes me suspect that the "root" of 'to become', Skr. *bhávati*, may have started life with a very different sense from the vague and abstract notion of 'coming into existence'. I think rather that the primitive sense of the root BHŌW-[2] must have been something like 'grows' (cf. Gr. φύω),—which in its turn is too vague to satisfy one as a final solution (see no. 41).

l.

The colloquial idioms and slang of our own day also furnish valuable instruction to the etymologist. We might conclude, without the help of historical inquiry, that the phrase 'to strike a bargain' testified to some 'striking' that formed a part of the transfer of ownership, and that 'bargain' is quasi figura etymologica in its relation to 'strike.' Similar exhibitions of figura etymologica, broadly considered, are to be found in the locution 'to cast a sum' (cf. Fr. jetter les jetons, whence jetter une somme), 'to crack a joke', 'a shaft of wit' (cf. Lat. *jocus* 'shaft of wit': *jacere* 'to throw'). Of course we must use caution here, but the metaphors of slang and of colloquial language in general seem to me likely to reveal very clearly the mental processes of the unlettered neolithic man. If the Norseman said *spānnýr* 'span-new' = "new as a chip just split off", I suspect the neolithic man may have got his word *NEWOS 'new' from a base NEW- meaning 'to split', and that the usage was a flint-chipper's metaphor. Certainly the words *spick* = "spike-new" and the compounds *fire-new, brand-new* attest the technical nature

[1] To be sure, he makes his definition more precise = "Das anbohren des bodens mittelst eines spitzen holzes", but it is rather 'anbohrt' than 'ackert' that I see in his subsequent illustrations.

[2] I take the liberty of citing any grade form of a base as the "root".

of the concept 'new.' Indeed, I can imagine the development of the concept 'new' only in connection with manufacture (i. e. new-made, cf. καινο-τομεῖ 'novat') or with birth (i. e. new-born).

m.

To attain concreteness in definition a knowledge of the daily life of the users of the words studied is of enormous importance. Words unquestionably develop as things develop. There are several sources of words, to be sure, (1) the onomatopoetic words which subdivide into at least two classes (a) acoustic imitations, (b) symbolic imitations ("Lautbilder", so Wundt, die Sprache I, pp. 316 sq. 322); (2) demonstrative or gesture words, to which class I conceive ESTI 'is' (='there!') to belong, cf. Ital. *eccomi*, *eccolo* 'there it is';[1] (3) sound reflexes which accompanied, perhaps as song, the man and woman at work and at play. It is to this latter class that the words to be studied here seem to me to belong. At any rate I have sought to account for most of them as developed by the neolithic man and woman at work with the tools and processes at their command. These tools we may at least partially control by the results of archaeological investigations; and what must be substantially similar processes still obtain in the savage and lower-class life of comparatively recent or present times. By way of illustration, taking the group of words mentioned above in f., one may ask if the neolithic woman twisted, plaited, then wove and sewed, as one might infer from the words cited by Schrader, Reallexikon, s.vv. nähen u. weben. It seems to me rather that she, or her ancestors, first used sinews for thread and fastened skins or leather together by using an awl and a sinew in modes identical with those used but a little while ago by the wild Indian of the Western plains, who was housed and clothed in buffalo-skins thus adapted to his use; and not essentially different from the mode used to-day by the shoemaker. Such sewing was literal 'stitching' (: *sticks*, cf. Germ. *sticken*: *stechen*), and the 'needle' used was a 'piercer, pricker' not a 'sewing instrument'. Spite of the priority in literary emergence of Lat. *nēre* 'to spin' over O. H. G. *nājan* 'to sew', we do not know that the root SNĒ- meant 'to spin' before it meant 'to sew'. Why is not 'spin' a denominative meaning 'to thread' (cf. Fr. *filer* 'to spin' from **filare*: *filum*

[1] In negro English "here me, dar he".

'thread')? The 'sinew-thread' was got by 'cutting' and used with a 'pricker'; 'sewing' was 'pricking' and later on 'spinning' was 'threading' perhaps. We do not know whether the "root" SNĒ- was an onomatopoetic description of 'cutting', or formed a part of the work-song of the 'cutter' or 'stitcher', nor is it necessary to know. The considerations advanced allow the conclusion that SNĒ- did not necessarily mean 'to sew', but may have meant 'to stitch', and earlier 'to pierce, cut'.

n.

A large part of our current phonetic dogma is derived from morphological reconstructions incapable of proof. Thus Lat. *novacula* 'a cutting tool' is deduced by Schrader (l. c. s. v. messer) from **nogʷacula*: O. Bulg. *nožь* (from **nogyi*) 'knife' though it seems more natural to suppose that *nožь* is from **nozyi* and belongs with *nizą*, *-noziti* 'to pierce, cut' (from NEĜH-). Others derive *novacula* from **csnovacula*: Skr. *kṣnāúti* 'cuts'. I shall claim presently that *novacula* belongs to a base S)NĔ(Y)-/ S)NŎ(W)- 'to cut', a base already written as NEW- in l. above.[1] To illustrate the danger attendant on morphological restorations, and it is a danger I shall hardly dare hope to escape in the restorations that follow, let us project English *boat* and *boatswain* on a proethnic period as *BŌT and *BŌSN̥: the etymologist would doubtless correctly correlate the words and derive the second from BO(T)SN(O)-, but he would probably balk at identifying the "suffix" *SN(O)- with *SWĒN (= Eng. swain) 'puer'. Still, it must be admitted that his analysis would be in the main correct. On the other hand, if Eng. *sorrow* and *sorry* were proethnic bases, who could bring himself to separate them—as we must do, in view of Germ. *Sorge*, *ver-sehren*? But the language-user of to-day would undoubtedly abstract from *sorrow* and *sorry* a "root" *SORR-; and such a popular etymology, if proethnic, is tantamount, with us, to a genuine cognation.

o.

In the terms of the theses a. b., announced above, the Sanskrit flexion in *-nấti -nṓti*, taken as typical of the proethnic flexion,

[1] Is not Skr. *kṣnāúti* an Indic blend of the base K̂ES- (Skr. *çásati*) 'to cut' + NŌWTI 'cuts'? Or *kṣnāúti* may be for **snāúti* 'cuts', modified by the *kṣ-* of *kṣurás* 'razor'.

presents in *-nā-* and *-nó-* an independent verb "root" (or "roots") blended, primarily, with other roots of similar (or contrasting) meaning, but secondarily capable of wider extension when the "roots" represented by *nā* and *nó* had sunk to the value of "suffixes" ("formatives"). It becomes necessary, therefore, to exhibit all the range of meaning that we can discover for the "root" (or "roots") that I shall write as S)NĔ(Y)-/ S)NŎ(W)-, including also SNĂ(W)-.

One may hardly deny that the primitive folk may have had an *n*-number of "roots" S)NĔY-, or putting it otherwise, an *n*-number of meanings attached to the sound-group SNĔY-. It will be the object of the following classification so to arrange the meanings as to diminish the number of SNĒY-'s as much as possible, reserving for the body of the essay still further reductions in the semantic units that must finally be admitted.

A word here, also, on the fact that the assumed blending base S)NĔ(Y)-, in its rôle of present-forming suffix, appears—at least in all previous reconstructions—only as NĒY- [NĀ(Y)-], never as SNĒ(Y)-. In what follows some traces of the S- of SNĒ(Y)-, but never quite beyond doubt, will be pointed out. An absolutely certain instance would be offered by Umbrian *persnimu* 'precamino', if it were possible successfully to rebut Brugmann's doctrine (IF. 16, 510) that *persnimu* is a denominative to a noun stem **persni-*. This, however, we may claim, viz.: that **persni-* is to be derived rather from PERR̂-SNI- than from **perk-sk-ni;* for PERR̂-SNI- compared with Skr. *praçnás* 'question' presents the variation otherwise of record for -NO- and -SNO- suffixes (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss II, §§ 66, 94), and we may suppose these suffixes to be ultimately one with the present-forming suffix NĒ(Y)-/ SNĒ(Y)-. To put it quite concretely: the Latin stem *scamno-* 'bench' belongs with the present stem of Skr. *skabhnā-ti* 'props', and Lith. *pru-snà* 'Maul' (= mouth, quasi snout) with Skr. *pru-ṣṇā-ti* 'sprinkles', cf. πλύνει with L (see g. and no. 24).[1]

[1] It is tempting to explain the Greek verbs in *-έννυμι*, *-άννυμι* as from **-ε-σνυμι*, **-α-σνυμι*, but the number of their perfects and aorists in *-σμαι*, *-σθην* makes the division **-εσ-νυμι* more probable (see Archiv, 13, 437). On the other hand, the *σ* of *-σμαι*, *-σθην* is not certainly original [see Fick in BB. 29, 11, treating *κορέννυμι*]. Phonetically, whether we divide **-ε-σνυμι* or **-εσ-νυμι*, the resultant *-έννυμι* is abnormal. This abnormality I would explain as due to the analogy of the likewise abnormal (see Brugmann's Gr. Gram.[2] § 108. C.) *ἕννυμι* 'vestio'; see also r. fn.

p.

A. To sew—plait, spin, wrap, etc.

a) *The simple root.*

S)NĔ(Y)-/ SNə(Y)-/ SNI-; S)NŎ(Y), etc.

νῆσαι, [(?) *νετή* 'needle', *ἐ-νεός* 'deaf and dumb' (if = 'tongue-tied', cf. the tale of Battus in Justin, 13. 7. 1), cf. f. fn.], *nē-re*, [(?) Lat. *onus* (if = 'pack'), with vocalism as in f. fn.]; Skr. *snā́yati* 'wraps, clothes', O. H. G. *nājan*, Celtic *snēyō*[1], Skr. *snā́yu* 'sinew-thread'; *nemis* 'tire', *νάερρα· δέσποινα* (if='spinster'); Lith. *nitis*, O. B. *nitŭ* 'thread'.

S)NŎ(W)-/ S)NĔ(W)-, S)NU-.

Skr. *snā́van*, *νεῦρον* 'sinew-thread', *ναῦν· ἔριον* (= 'wool'); Lat. *nāvis* (if = *πλοῖον ῥαπτόν*, cymba sutilis)[2]; (?) O. B. *nevodŭ* 'net', *nevěsta* 'nova *nupta*'; *nuit*, glossed by 'operuit, texit',[3] *numella* 'vinculi genus', O. Bulg. *snu-ti* 'ordiri', Gortyn. *νύ-νανται* 'potest' (see no. 93, fn.); Skr. *nīv-is* (from SNəIW-) 'sash, girdle'.

β) *The root with guttural "determinatives"*.

S)NĔ(Y)-K- and its mutations.

νεῖκ-ος (if='wrangle');—*νέξας· τὰ στρώματα*, *nec-tit* 'binds', *Necessitas* (cf. Horace, C. 1. 35, 17–20) 'the Binder' (?), *necessitudo* 'con*nect*ion', *naxa* 'weel'.

S)NĔ(Y)-G-, etc.

νηγάτεος 'new-spun', Lat. *noegeum* 'amiculi genus', Slavic[4] *negvy* 'fetters', (?) Skr. *nig-aḍas* 'fetter'.

SNĔ(Y)-GH-, etc.

Skr. *nā́h-yati* 'binds', Lat. *nectit* (if from NEGHTETI[5]), Skr. *nā́hus-* 'neighbour' (?), cf. Lat. *necessarius*.

γ) *The root with dental "determinatives"*.

S)NĔ(Y)-T-, etc.

Goth. *neiþ*, O. Ir. *nith* 'Noth' (if = 'Necessitas'), *ναίτειρα· οἰκοδέσποινα* (if = 'spinster'), O. Bulg. *ništa* (from **nitya*) 'filum'; Skr. *nityas* 'proprius' (if = 'necessarius').

S)NĔ(W)-T-, etc.

[1] Celtic bases are taken from Stokes's volume (= II) in Fick's Woerterbuch.

[2] With *ā*; cf. Lat. *nā-re*: *νέν-σεται* 'nabit', where *ā* appears in an e/o series (see h., above, and B., *a*, below).

[3] Cf. *conīvet* 'closes' (the eyes), from a base SNEIW-; *conīvoli* 'conjuncti'; the pf. *conixi* (cf. *vivo: vixi*) attests the base SNĔY-G-, see *β*, below.

[4] Slavic words are cited generally from Miklosich, Woert.

[5] Even if proethnic *k* is proved by *Necessitas*, etc. (see above), yet the guttural of *nectit* goes to vindicate the guttural of *nádhyati* (rather than the dental of its ptc. *naddhás*).

Goth. *naups* 'Necessitas'.

SNĔ(Y)-D- and its mutations.

νήδυμος (*ὕπνος*) 'fast' (sleep), *νηδύς* (if = *netz*haut), Celtic *snad-* 'to bind', Goth. *nati* 'net', Lat. *nassa* 'weel' (if from NADTA);—(?) Skr. *nid-rā́* 'sleep' (cf. Shakespeare's "sleep that *knits* up the ravelled sleave of care").

SNŎ(W)-D- and its mutations.

O. Bulg. *nuditi* 'obligare'.

SNĔ(Y)-DH-, / SNŎ(W)DH- and their mutations.

νήθ-ει 'spins', Lat. *nōdus* 'knot' (if not from GNŎ(W)-D(H)OS, and related to Eng. *knot*, Germ. *knoten*), *νόθος* 'bastard' (= "tie", see Class. Rev. 13, 400)[1], Skr. *naddhás* 'bound', Celtic *ned-* 'to bind', O. H. G. *nestilo* 'bandschleife'. With *u*-color, *νυθός* 'dumb (if = "tongue-*tied*")[2]; dark' (if = "covered"); cf. Lat. *infula* 'fillet', from NDH-LĀ- (see Class. Rev. l. c.).

δ) *The root with labial "determinatives"*.

S)NĔ(Y)-P-,/ S)NŎ(W)-P- and their mutations.

νήπιος, *νηπύτιος* 'infans' (if = 'swaddled'), Skr. *nepathyam* 'vestimentum, dressing room', O. Bulg. *snapŭ* 'sheaf' (if = 'Bündel'), Lat. *nepot-* 'relation, tendril of a plant', Lat. (archaic and liturgical) *napurae* 'twisted ropes of straw';—Skr. *nūpuram* 'fuss-ring'.

S)NĔ(Y)-BH-/ S)NŎ(W)BH-.

νεφέλαι 'bird-net',[3] *νέφος* 'cloud'[4] (if = 'veil'), *nebula* 'veil' (Petronius), Skr. *nábhyam* 'navel' (if = 'umbilical *cord*');—Lat. *nūbit* 'veils for', *nūbes* 'cloud' (if = 'veil'), *νύμφη* 'nova *nupta*', O. B. *snubiti* 'appetere, amare' (if = 'novam nuptam petere').

ε) *The root with an s- "determinative"*.

S)NĔ(Y)-S-, etc.

Skr. *násate* 'joins', Goth. *ga-nasjan* 'to cure' [if = 'obligare (vulnus')], Celt. *nes-* 'sich gesellen, wohnen'[5]; O. Bulg. *nes-tra* 'niece' (if = 'con*nect*ion'), Skr. *niṣkás*, 'necklace', *ni-ṁsate* 'sie küssen';—with *u*, Skr. *snuṣā́* 'nurus'.

ζ) *The root with a nasal or liquid "determinative"*.

S)NĔ(Y)-R- and its mutations.

[1] Cf. Skr. *bandhulas* 'bastard': *bándhus* 'relation'.

[2] Cf. *linguae obligatio*, Justin, 13. 7. 1, cited above, A. α.

[3] Cf. *ναφρόν· λινοῦν ῥάμ(μ)α*.

[4] Eng. *cloud* meant 'mass, clod' (i. e. 'gebundenes' or 'geschnittenes').

[5] Cf. *νάσ-θη* 'dwelt'.

Skr. *nārī* 'woman' (if = 'spinster'), Goth. *snōrjō* 'flechtwerk', *νηρία· μαράθου θάμνος*, Slavic *neretŭ* 'net', Lat. *nervus*[1] 'sinew-thread, fetter', *norma* (if originally = plumb-*line*, cf. Colum. 3. 13. 12 basis ad perpendiculum normata), O. Bulg. *nravŭ* (from **norvŭ*) 'mos'.

S)NĔ̆(Y)L-/ S)NŌ(W)L-.

νῆλος· ἔριον, νηλ-ήϛ (Homer) 'binding' (?),[2] *νωλεμέϛ* quasi 'seriatim'.

B. *caedere scindere* and related concepts.

a) *The simple root.*

S)NĔ̆(Y)- and its mutations.

νόμματα· ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων τὰ γνωρίσματα (= 'notae', see γ., below) *νει-ρή·* (? or *νειρ-ή*) *κοιλία ἰσχάτη* (if = *δίρτρον*), Skr. *nī-pás* (? or *nīṛ-as*) 'low-lying' (if = 'cavatus'), *νε-τή* (? *ἐνετή* or *νετ-ή*, see f.) 'pricker, pin'.

S)NŌ(W)-/ S)NĔ̆(W)-, etc.

(?) Lat. *nauscit·* 'aperit' (if = se scindit), *novus* 'new' (cf. l. above), *novem* 'nine'[3], *novacula* 'knife' (see n. above), *novale* '*fallow* land, *brach*-land', *noverca* (if = quae temnit, caedit), Lith. *novīti*, *nåvīt* 'quälen,' O. Bulg. *navi* 'mortuus' (if = 'caesus'), Celt. *neveno*, *novenya* 'famine' (cf. *pangs* of hunger);—Lat. glosses *navia·* 'lignum *cavatum*', *navat* 'frangat', *navo·* 'rescendo' (? leg. rescindo);—Skr. *nu-* (lexicographical only) 'weapon', *snú-* 'chine' (*chine*: O. H. G. *skina* 'prickle', cf. Lat. *spina* 'thorn, backbone'), cf. O. Pruss. *nowis* 'nates'.[4]

S)NEI(W)- and its mutations.

νειός '*fallow*-land, *brach*-land', *νείαιρα* 'abdomen' (if = *δίρτρον*), Goth. *neiwan* 'to hate, be angry at'; — O. Bulg. *niva* 'ager', Skr. *ni-* 'down' (= 'humi' cf. also Fr. *à bas*, Ital. *abbasso*), cf. Lat. *dē* 'down' from DĔ̆Y- 'to cut' (further discussed below).

S)NĀ(W)-.

nāvis 'boat' (if = 'dugout', see below), Low Germ. *snau* 'navis rostrata' [cf., with a different but cognate (?) base O. H. G. *snacga*], Eng. *snow*.

[1] It is conceivable that *nervus* came from NERWOS, with syllable transposition for NĔ̆WEROS, cf. Avest. *snāvarə*, as I have had a student say *viligance* for 'vigilance' (cf. diligence ?).

[2] In conjunction with *δεσμός* 'fetter', *ὕπνος* 'sleep' (cf. *νήϝυμος ὕπνος*), *ἦμαρ* 'dies necessitatis';—cf. *νηλεγές· ἀνοικτον*.

[3] If 'nine' is the 'new' number of the third tetrad; *ἐννέα* would then come from E-SNEWĀ (cf. f. fn.), with dialectic *ἐνν-* for *εἰν-/ἠν-*.

[4] *νῶτα* 'back' Lat. *nātes* 'rump' will be cited further on; the Skr. stem *sā-nu-* may attest the contamination suggested above in f. fn.

β) *The root with a guttural "determinative"*.

S)NĔ(Y)-K-/ S)NĔ(Y)-Ḱ- etc.

νεῖκος 'quarrel'[1] (if = quasi 'pugna', cf. πλήκτης 'striker, brawler'), νίκη 'victory', Skr. *nikṣati* 'pierces', O. Bulg. *nikŋąti* 'germinare' (if = "pousser": Lat. *pulsare*);—*necat* 'caedit', *nocet* 'injures';—νάκος 'fleece' (if = 'δέρμα'), Goth. *snaga* 'paenula'.

SNŎ(W)-K-.

Lat. *naucum* 'bit, particle', O. Bulg. *nukati* 'to cheer, incite' (if = 'to *stim*ulate').

S)NĔ(Y)-G-/ S)NŎ(W)-G- and their mutations.

νώγαλα 'tid-*bits*', O. Pruss. *nognan* 'leather' (i. e. 'δέρμα'), Skr. *nagnás* 'stript' (if = 'skinned', cf. ψιλός 'pluckt, stript, naked');—νίγλαρος 'pipe' (if = 'cavatum'), (?) Skr. *nigamás* 'einfügung' (cf. Mod. Pers. *niyām* 'scabbard' i. e. '*scheide*');—Lat. *nūgae* 'bits, particles, *punti*', νύγ-μα 'puncture', νύγει· τῷ κέντρῳ πλήττει.

SNĔ(Y)-ĜH-/ S)NŎ(W)-GH- and their mutations.

νῶχμα· ὄνειδος (cf. νύχμα), Skr. *snîhitis/snéhitis* 'weapon (?), encounter' (?);—Celtic **neg*- 'to pierce', *nagnos* 'be*scheid*en', O. Bulg. *nogŭtĭ*, O. H. G. *nagal* 'nail, claw';—Skr. *nih*- (?) 'to blame', O. Bulg. *nizą* 'infigo' (cf. *nozĭ* in n. above);—νύχμα· ὄνειδος, 'puncture', νύσσει 'pricks', νύσσα 'meta' (further treated below), ὄνυχ- 'nail', with "prothetic" vowel, like ἐνετή (see f. fn. above).

γ) *The root with dental "determinatives"*.

S)NĒ(Y)-T- and its mutations.

νῶτον 'chine' (cf. Lat. *nătis*[2] 'rump', see above A. a.), Lat. *not-a* 'mark, cut', Lith. *noterė̃* 'nettle';—Goth. *sneiþan* 'caedere', (?) Skr. *nitambas* 'jaw, precipice, bluff';—with *u*-vowel, Goth. *snut-rs* 'wise' (if = 'sharp, smart', cf. T. ζ.).

SNĔ(Y)-D- and its mutations.

Celt. *snādo* 'de*fendo*', νηδύς 'belly' (if = δέρτρον), Celt. *snado* 'I cut', M. H. G. *snate* 'vulnus', O. H. G. *nezzila*, 'nettle';—Celtic *nenadi* 'nettle', (?) Skr. *nadás* 'arundo'; Slavic *nadŭ* 'bait, decoy' (if = Gr. δέλεαρ, δόλος, see no. 12 below), Lith. *nodai* 'artes magicae', Russ. *snastĭ* 'tool', O. Bulg. *snadĭ* 'superficie tenus' (if = 'grazing');—Gr. ὄνειδος (with "prothetic" vowel, see f. above), Skr. *ní-nd-ate* (but note pass. *nidyáte*) 'temnit';—with

[1] Cf. νεικῆσαι· ἀρόσαι (= arare).

[2] Cf. Horace, Sat. I. 8. 47, dif*fisa* năte.

u- diphthong, Lat. *nūdus* 'stript' (cf. B. β. on Skr. *nagnás*), unless this is from NOGʷEDOS.[1]

δ) *The root with labial "determinatives."*

SNĒ(Y)-P- and its mutations.

(?) Skr. *nāpitás* 'barber';—O. Bulg. *snopŭ* 'sheaf' (if = ἄμαλλα rather than δράγμα or *garbe*), Russ. *naparīe* 'vorbohrer';—νάπη 'ravine' (="hollow"), νάπος· γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον;—Skr. *nīpás* 'low-lying'.

SNĔ(Y)-BH- and its mutations.

Skr. *nábhis* 'navel, nave' (: O. H. G. *nabagēr* 'naveborer'); *nábhate* 'bursts', νέφος 'cloud' [if='quod scinditur' rather than 'quod (aquam) retinet'], νιφάδες· 'sores, wounds';—with *u*- vowel, (?) νύμφη 'point of ploughshare'.

ε) *The root with an s- "determinative."*

S)NĒ(Y)-S, etc.

(?) νεσ-τορίς 'cup' (if = σκαφίς);—Skr. *nās*-, Lat. *nāsus/nāres* 'nose' (if = Eng. *thirl* 'hole' in 'nos-tril'), O. Bulg. *noz-dri* 'nasenlöcher', Lat. *nas-turtium* 'a *pungent* cress';—(?)νόσ-φι 'forsaken, *solus*' (see no. 15, below);—νέ-νασ-μαι 'pressi', νασ-τός 'pressus' (if = 'beaten' cf. F. β., ε.);—with *u*- color, (?) O. H. G. *nuosk* 'trough', cf. O. B. *nŭštvy* '*mac*-tra'.

ζ) *The root with a liquid or nasal "determinative".*

S)NĒ(Y)-R-, S)NĔ(Y)-L, etc.

Skr. *nārācás* 'arrow', *nālás* 'arundineus';—*nalás* 'arundo';—Homeric νηλέϊ χαλκῷ 'caedenti aere', νωλεμέως 'εὐθύ' (if = 'mit einem *schlag*');—with *u*- vowel, (?) νυρεῖ· νύσσει, νυρίζει· ξύει.

C. To be wet,—actions and conditions connected with water.

α) *The simple root.*

SNŌ(W)- and its mutations.[2]

νέει 'swims' (Fut. νεύσεται), νευτήρ· κολυμβητής;—ναίει, νάει 'flows', ναίει 'drips, is full' (cf. F.), Skr. *snáti* 'lavitur', *snāuti* 'drips';—ναῦν· πηγαῖον ὕδωρ, Lacon. νόα 'spring', Skr. *snutás* 'dripping'.

β) SNĔ(Y)-Gʷ- and its mutations.

Skr. *nejáyati*, 'washes', νίζει, Celt. *nigo*.

S)NĔ(Y)-GHʷ, S)NĔ(Y)-GH-, etc.

νήχει 'swims', Skr. *snéhati* 'is moist', Celt. *snigo* 'I drop'; Skr. *snihyati* 'is moist, sticky; sticks (to)', *nihākā*, *nīhārás*

[1] Gr. γυμνός, if not from a different root, attests a *u*- diphthong, and may be explained from NUGʷNÓS, whence Gʷ(N)UGʷNÓS. Whence comes the *g* in Ital. *ignudo*, doublet of *nudo* 'nudus'?

[2] Ā (? or ə) appears in this root very frequently, cf. *nāvis* 'boat'; see h. above.

'mist', νωχελής 'sluggish' (if = 'sticky'), O. E. *snegel* 'snail', Swed. *snigel* '*limax*', O. Pruss. *snigslo* 'dough';—O. Bulg. *-nyti* 'ignavum esse', *naviti* 'ermüden'.

γ) S)NĔ̆(Y)-T-.

νοτ-ερός 'wet,' (?) Ital. *notare/nuotare* 'to swim'.[1]

S)NĔ̆(Y)-D-, SNĔ̆(Y)-DH-, etc.

Skr. *nédati* 'flows, streams';—Celt. *nad-* 'manare', Goth. *natyan* 'to moisten', Skr. *nadí* 'river';—νωθής, νωθρός 'sluggish' (if = 'sticky');— with *u*- diphthong, Celt. *snoudo* 'dripping'.

γ) *The root with labial "determinatives"*.

S)NĔ̆(Y)-B-.

O. E. *ge-nip* 'mist, cloud', cf. νέφος, *nūbes* in A. δ; Skr. *nīhārás* in B. β.

ζ) *The root with liquid "determinatives"*.

Lith. *nérti* 'to dive'— but intrans. = 'to thread', cf. Slavic *neretŭ* 'net' in A. ζ.— O. Bulg. *nyrěti* 'to dive'.

D. Verbs of motion and related concepts.

α) S)NĔ̆(Y)- / S)NŎ̆(W)- and their mutations.

Skr. *náyati* 'leads', (?) νω-σις· ῥίμβος (if = 'wanderer'); Skr. *návate* 'wendet, kehrt sich', Goth. *sniwan* 'to hasten', O. Norse *snua* 'wenden, kehren, drehen,' (?)Lat. *navus* 'celer ac strenuus'[2].

γ) S)NŎ̆(W)-D-.

Skr. *nudáti* 'drives forth'.

ε) S)NE-S-.

νίεται 'heimkehrt',[3] νόστος 'heimkehr', νίσεται (for *νι-νσ-εται) 'turns back, turns in' (cf. Lat. *devorsorium* 'inn').

ζ) S)NĔ̆(Y)-R-.

(?) νειρός 'vehement', Slav. *ner-* 'ingredi'.

E. To sing, praise, beseech.

α) SNŎ̆W-.

Skr. *nāvás* 'shout', *návate* 'cheers, praises, Celt. **nouslon* 'noise';—ναύειν· ἱκετεύειν, (?) νῶσις· πτωχός (if = 'pleader').

[1] If the *o/uo* of Italian is descended from o, then the *a* of *natat* 'swims' would be either for ə or a secondary literary Latin development of *e* (i. e. for *notat*).

[2] The negative *ignavus* seems to make for **gnavus*, but the shift from **innavus* to *i-ynavus* may have been due to a fancied connection between *ignarus* 'stupid' and **innavus* 'slow, slothful,'cf. O. Norse *knār* 'vigorous' (cited by Wharton, Etym. Lat.).

[3] This development of meaning may have arisen as in Ital. *tornare* 'heimkehren', denominative to τόρνος 'lathe, drill' (: τείρει 'pierces, bores').

γ) S)NĔ̆(Y)-D-.

Skr. *nádati* 'roars, cries'.

S)Nū-DH-/ S)Nū-TH-.

Skr. *nádhamānas* 'precans' (= lacessens? see no. 14, fn.) *náthate* 'seeks help'.

F. To heap up, load, fill; press; pack, carry, bear.

α) S)NĒ(Y)-.

νέει, νηέει, νηνέει 'heaps up, loads, fills' (cf. νένηται· πεπλήρωται, νενημένος· συγκείμενος, νητός 'heaped, stored').

β) S)NĔ̆(Y)-K-.

ἔνᾰξε 'pressed down' (Odyss.), νακτός 'pressed, solid', τὰ νακτά 'felt', (?) νέκταρ 'mustus', O. Bulg. *nesą* 'veho'.

SNĔ̆(Y)-G-.

νάγμα 'stone wall', (?) Skr. *nágaram* 'city', (?) *nágas* 'mons'.

ε) S)NĔ̆(Y)-S-.

νενασμένος· πεπλησμένος, ναστός 'close-pressed, solid, firm' (cf. B. ε.).

ζ) S)NŎ̆(W)-R.

(?) Slav. *norica* 'tumor pectoris'.

G. To bend, sink, nod; lean, fall.

α) S)NĔ̆(W)-.

νεύει 'sinks, bends, nods', Lat. *nuit* 'nods'[1] (cf. no. 113, fn.).

β) S)NĔ̆(Y)-R̂- (R̂ or K), S)NĒ(Y)-G-.

nictat 'nods';—O. Bulg. *naglŭ* 'praeceps', Skr. *náçyati* 'is lost, disappears' (= falls), O. Bulg. *nicati* 'pronum esse', νέκυς 'cadaver', νῶκαρ 'caedes'.

ε) S)NŎ̆(W)-S-.

νεύει (see α), νυστάζει 'nods', νύσταλος 'drowsy'.[2]

H. To strive, attain, be busy.

β) SNĒ(Y)-R̂-, S)NĔ̆(Y)-G-.

Skr. *náçati* 'reaches, attains', *nákṣati*, Lat. *nactus* (cf. Gr. ἤνεγκε 'bore', with the sense of F), (?) *nictat* 'strives' (cf. *nixus* 'having striven'), (?) *negotium* 'business', O. Bulg. *snagna* 'studium', *snagota* 'celeritas'.

γ) S)NĔ̆(Y)-T-.

Lat. *nītitur* 'strives', *natinatur* 'is busy'.

I. To prop, hold[3]; wait for (cf. C).

[1] Skeat gives Eng. *nod* an original sense of 'to push, beat, shake'.

[2] Cf. Eng. *drowsy* from O. E. *dreosan* 'to drip, fall, fail'.

[3] This denominative sense comes from propping with a stick, cf. Ital. *puntellare*.

β) SNĔ̆(Y)-K-.

νάξει· ἐρείσει, λιθάσει.

γ) S)NĔ̆(Y)-T-.

Celt. **net-*, meanings as in I, Goth. *niþan* 'to prop'.

J. To shine; glisten, be dark.[1]

β. S)NĔ̆(Y)-GH-/ S)NŎ̆(W)-GH.

Lat. *nigro-* 'black', (cf. *negritu* 'aegritudo', Paulus-Festus), *νύχος· νύξ, σκότος.*[2]

γ) S)NĔ̆(Y)-T-/S)NŎ̆(W)-DH-.

O. Bulg. *snětь* 'rubigo, rust, mildew', Lat. *nitet* 'gleams, glistens';—*νυθός* 'niger'.

q.

In Sanskrit the *nā* class verbs have a stem alternation *nā* and *nī*, in Homer *νη* and *να*. It is customary to write proethnic NĀ and NƏ for the European languages. But NĀ is not certain. I can find no indubitable attestation in the ā-dialects of the type **δαμνᾱμι*;[3] the *nā* in Lat. *inclināre* may well be secondary (see Brugmann, Gr. II, § 603); the other European languages and Armenian are indecisive, though Germanic forms (infinitives) in *-nōn* e. g. O. H. G. *spornōn* 'spernere' are cited for NĀ. They attest as well NŌ, and variants like *sih warnōn/sih warnēn* (cf. Streitberg, Urgerm. Gram. § 208. 2.) might be explained as directly attesting proethnic NĒ/NŌ. Perhaps also the *nė* of Lith. *grabinėju* 'hin und her greift' (cf. Skr. *gṛbhnā́mi*) attests NĒ (cf. also *-mi-nēre*, no. 12, below). But as the weak stem in NƏ would yield *nă* everywhere in Armenian and the European languages, *nā*, if proved for these languages, might be in secondary mutation with *nă*. As to the Sanskrit weak stem *nī*, I hold that it indubitably attests a long diphthong.[4]

[1] For the contrasting ideas cf. Skr. *chāyā́* 'shine >< shadow', probably from the root SKHĔ̆(Y)- 'to cut'. Note Eng. *sheer*, defined by (1) 'bright' (2) 'precipitous' (= *ἀπότομος*), but I believe (2) to be a throw-back to the more original meaning, cf. *lēvis* (1) 'cut smooth, rubbed', (2) 'bright, polished' (see below, no. 2).

[2] The Homeric phrase *νὺξ ὁμήτειρα θεῶν—καὶ ἀνδρῶν*, allows us to define "night" as 'the binder' (*ὁμήτειρα*: *δαμάζει* 'bändigt, jungit'), cf. Shakespeare, cited above, A. γ, on sleep.

[3] Does Doric *νίκημι* = *νικάω* attest **δάμνημι* = *δαμνάω* (cf. *δαμάω*)?—Naturally I cannot appeal to the explanation of *πίτνημι* as *πιτ<ν>η-* (*η* = Ē, cf. *patē-re*), as given by Reichelt, B. B. 27, 74.

[4] Cf. Keller's discussion of this point, l. c. §§ 26–27; Umbr. *persnimu* is indecisive, see o., above.

To reveal the state of things I imagine, and cannot prove: the paradigm of the class of verbs under discussion ran, I assume, as follows:

Sing., Act.	Sing., Mid.
-NŌ(W)MI[1]	——
-NĒ(Y)SI	-NƏ(Y)SAI
-NĒ(Y)TI	-NƏ(Y)TAI.

But if this state of things is not directly attested by preserved forms, it has at least one general reason in its favor: how did the type *mṛnáti* grow up alongside of *mṛnâti*? This is easily answered if there was a 1st pers. sg. MṚNŌ(MI), and a 3d plur. MṚNÓNTI (?-NÉNTI) common to both types,—cf. Lat. *cernunt*, κρίνουσι, Skr. *mṛnánti*: *mṛnâti / mṛnáti*.[2]

r.

For the inflexion of the Sanskrit verbs in-*nōmi* (Gr. -νῡμι and -ννῡμι[3]), I assume the following paradigms:

(1) strong	(2) weak	(3) weakest
-NŎ̄W-MI	-NƏW-MI	
-NĔ̄W-SI	-NƏW-SI	NU-SAÍ
-NĔ̄W-TI	-NƏW-TI[4]	NU-TAÍ

I cheerfully admit that no material exists to prove ŏ/ē mutation for -NŌ(W)-MI -NĔ̄(W)-TI.

[1] There is no material directly to prove *ŏ/ē* mutation, as the Greek forms -νημι -νησι -νανται have been brought into conformity with ἵστημι, ἵστησι, ἵστανται, τίθημι, etc. But some force may be attached to the O. H. G. evidence in *warnôn / warnên*.

[2] It is interesting to observe how closely the paradigm of the Greek verb κρίνω, taken as a type of the -νο/-νε verbs, conforms to the assumed paradigm:

Primary	Secondary
-νω = -NŌ(W)[MI]	——
-νεις = -NĒ(Y)SI	-NĒYS(I)
-νει = -NĒ(Y)TI	-NĒYT(I).

I take it that -νεις and -νει may have originated from the secondary endings, as in Latin those endings have intruded into the present tense. Beside -νει, note the Gothic form *maur-naip*, O. H. G. *mor-nēt* (: Skr. -*nāt*(*i*)). It needs but a passing mention, how this explanation of -νεις -νει, helps us to solve the difficulty of the -εις and -ει of φέρεις φέρει and the normal ω-verbs. [But now see Brugmann, I. F. 17, 177 sq.].

[3] Is -ννυμι from SNƏUMI/NƏUMI, or is -νν in all the Greek verbs analogical from the -νν- of ζώννυμι (= *ζωσ-νυμι),—ἔννυμι from *ἐσ-νυμι, being itself secondary? See above, o., fn.

[4] Cf. Reichelt in B. B. 27, 74, *pace* Keller, l. c., § 34.

The treatment of *n* as an infix, as by Hirt, for example, (Gr. Gram. § 431), who writes a primitive **stṛ-n̰-éu-mi* 'I strew', Skr. *stṛnómi*, Gr. στόρνυμι, may be supposed to have attest in pairs like ὄρνῡμι: ὀρούω. It is equally possible—so indeterminable is the relative chronology of the formations—to reverse the terms and derive the dissyllabic bases like ὀρούω from the nasal flexion type. Take for illustration Skr. *kárati* 'makes', tolerably common in R. V, but less common than *kṛṇóti kṛṇutḗ*. We find two (or three) times in the R. V. the type *karóti, kurutḗ* which subsequently became common. The old explanation is, to my mind, correct, viz.: that the dissyllabic basis *karó- /kuru-* is the result of the interplay of *kára-* on *kṛṇó-/kṛṇu-*. Somewhat more complicated is ὀρνυ- (Skr. *ṛnó-*) in its relations to ὀρου-. We might set up two stems (1) RNŌW- /RNəW-, (2) ORE-, blended of which would come (3) ORŎW- (= Gr. ὀρου-), and (4) ORNəW (= Gr. ὀρνῡ-). Such blended forms were probably proethnic, at least in embryo.

S.

The following generalisation about the mechanical processes of the neolithic man. With his teeth he could tear, bite, eat; he could clamp, pinch and hold. With his nails he could cut, pinch, nip; strike with his fist; stroke, smooth and rub with his open hand; count with his fingers; shake hands, symbolic of bargaining, and so make compacts, as it were, with his hands. He could strike the earth with his feet, and thus stamp and wear hard the ground. His sexual relations also furnished a source for describing by metaphor later mechanical operations.[1] With his edged tools of flint, bone and the like, he could cut, fell and split, dig and rudely engrave; he could pierce and perforate; scrape, smooth and clean. With other stone tools he could beat[2], bruise, pound. With his awl and needle he could pierce holes, subsequently to be threaded with sinews. With sinews and strips of rawhide, got by a cutting process, he could lash and bind, and with a lash could cut and whip. With sharpened sticks, tipped with flint or bone, he could thrust, strike, throw at and capture game. With pointed stakes he could build enclosures, or prop walls. His dwelling was sometimes a cover of skins supported in the centre by a stake. All

[1] I have not in what follows enlarged upon sexual metaphors, but a multitude of mechanical processes similar to sex processes will occur to any reader.

[2] Beating, striking, thrusting are all one with cutting, as κόπτει and Lat. *cædit* clearly prove.



his mechanical processes had, in a widely general sense, two ends in view, 1st to alter, by some process of cutting, natural objects, and 2nd to bind together two or more natural or wrought articles. In brief he could split and he could splice, and the man who could do these things best was the knowing man, the cunning man, the able man, the scholar of the community.

t.

It is with the metaphors appropriate to such a neolithic man that I propose to deal in the following semantic study. Such metaphors constantly repeat themselves, as a study of words like the following in appropriate lexica will show, e. g. English *beat, break, cut, prick, strike;* German *schlagen, stechen, sticken, stossen, streichen.* Particularly instructive for its wide technical development is the German noun *schlag* as treated in Heyne's Deutsches Woerterbuch. The wide range of meaning attained by these technical words seems to me to furnish the proper point of view from which to study the vocabulary of the neolithic man.

u.

This brings me to anticipate an objection that may be raised to the attempt to reduce a great number of the words studied to one or both of the meanings to split or to splice. To say that words developed as a vocal accompaniment to trades, and that all primitive trades consisted of splitting or splicing would be to beg the question. But that the neolithic man of our linguistic stock used, sooner or later, a good many synonymous words to express rather definite concepts may be gathered from the lists given by Schrader, Reallexikon, s. vv. spinnen and weben. Noreen's list of words with *i/u* mutation (see d. above) furnishes a curious objective test of the frequency of the sense 'to split' in the ă(ʏ)-/ă(ᴡ)- roots: of his twenty lemmata nine expressly and several more indirectly mean 'to cut'.

v. (On the guttural shifts). *See after no.* 64.

w. [On the type TER-NEĜH- (see c.): TR̥-GH-]. *See chapter III.*

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II.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE GREEK MILITA MANUAL ATTRIBUTED TO 'AENEAS TACTICUS'.

The treatise commonly assigned to 'Aeneas Tacticus' or 'Pol ceticus' has hitherto not received the attention which it certai deserves. Had it been recently discovered in the sands of Egy there is no doubt that it would have immediately attracted a la throng of eager students; its real merits would be appreciat and perhaps it would duly take its place as a 'Companion' to Greek historians read in schools and colleges. It is a book t should awaken the interest of the student of history and at t same time appeal to the average fifth-form school-boy. T latter would turn with delight from the 'parasangs' of Xenoph to the various suggestions for the composition and despatch secret missives by means of slight marks on the letters of a bo rolled up in a bale of cloth, or messages written on thin sheets of stealthily slipped between the soles of the bearer's shoes, enclos in the ear-rings of women or inscribed on leaves tied as plaste over a wound, curious precautions regarding passwords, the expu sion of tramps, the use of vinegar to quench fire, cunning devic for detaching the bolt of a city gate, and the smuggling of swor in cucumbers. This little tractate really adds to our appreciati and knowledge of the history of Greece. No better commenta could be desired on the interrelations of small Greek stat the constant fear of treachery within, and the interminable str with neighbours whose home is but a few miles away. Ma valuable side-lights are cast upon special points of interest, for instance, the Theban attack upon Sparta 362 B. C. (ch. the description of the harbour of Chios (ch. 11), and the earli version of the stratagem employed by Pisistratus against t Megarians at Eleusis, which is undoubtedly the original fo of the absurd story of Solon at Colias offered by later writ (Plut. Solon 8, Polyaenus 1. 20. 1) as an explanation of the captu of Salamis.

In preparing a revision of the text with an introduction a notes, which I hope to see published before long, I have be



greatly struck by the one-sided tendency of nineteenth century criticism as applied to this Manual. Much labour and ingenuity have been expended in ferreting out interpolations, and detecting real or supposed changes in the original arrangement of the various sections. Thanks to the energy of Hercher, Hug, and others who have contributed observationes criticae ad Aen. Tact., the text is now in a fairly satisfactory condition, although Hug has gone too far in the ejection of whole paragraphs as interpolated; but on the question of authorship all students have been only too ready to follow the tradition inaugurated by Casaubon. In the following discussion we shall first consider the evidence of the MSS and then deal with the statements of the ancient authors generally quoted in support of the current theory.[1]

In M, our best manuscript, the treatise has the following superscription: *Αἰλιανοῦ τακτικὸν ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ πολιορκουμένους ἀντέχειν.* It is easy to dispose of this claim to the honours of authorship put forward on behalf of a man who wrote a book on 'The Theory of Tactics' about the beginning of the second century A. D. The contents of the Manual which forms the subject of the present article afford unmistakable and overwhelming evidence that it was composed not long after the year 360 B. C.[2] It was first edited by Casaubon in 1609, as an appendix to his edi-

[1] The MSS are: 1. M, The Medicean. Plut. LV, 4. 10th or 11th cent. The others are all copies of M. 2. C, Paris. 2443, used by Casaubon for his edition; "descriptus manu Angeli Bergicii, hominis Graeci, qui ante annos sexaginta . . . depinxit" (Cas. praefatio). 3. B, Paris. 2522. 16th cent. 4. A, Paris. 2435. There is a reference to a Vatican MS in the praefatio of Cas.; "Conradi Gesneri indicio didicimus, huius libri exemplar in Vaticana Romae servari." Hug is probably right in assuming this remark to be due to a mistake caused by the title of a treatise in Vat. 1164, for which see infra (cf. Aen. von St. p. 1, note 1). For a list of editions and pamphlets see the Bibliography at the end of this article.

[2] We have a *terminus post quem* in ch. 24, where mention is made of the capture of Ilium by Charidemus, an event which is known to have occurred in 360 B. C. In ch. 31 the Locrian custom of sending women to Ilium is referred to as still in existence; a fragment of Timaeus (66) informs us that it was abolished in 346. Hug by a skilful tabulation of events of known date mentioned by the author has shewn that these increase in number as we draw near to the year 360 B. C. He confidently fixes the date at '359 *or at latest* 358 B. C.' (Aen. v. St. p. 8). It would perhaps be safer to allow ourselves a wider margin. The passage about the Locrians is rejected as spurious by Hercher and Hug on grounds of style and irrelevancy; perhaps without good reason. Their theory involves the assumption of interpolation at a very early date.

tion of Polybius. Although the MS at his disposal (C, Par. 2443) had the superscription *Αἰνείου ἢ αἰλιανοῦ τακτικόν τε καὶ πολιορκητικὸν ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ πολιορκουμένων* (sic) *ἀντέχειν*, Casaubon without the least hesitation published the treatise under the name of Aeneas. With the single exception of F. Lindenbrog[1] no scholar has yet come forward to defend the claim of Aelian, or even ventured to cast any doubts upon the credentials of Aeneas.

The ascription to Aelian is not the only charge that can be laid against the superscription of M. The title cannot be regarded as a satisfactory description of the subject-matter of the Manual. What meaning are we to assign to the word *τακτικόν*? The treatise has very little to say about the 'disposition of troops' which is the idea generally conveyed by the word when used by classical writers;[2] it covers a much wider area and deals with various topics ranging from a commandant's right of opening private correspondence and locking inns on the outside in time of danger, to the exposure of the latest dodge for smuggling armour of all kinds in bundles of ready-made clothing, not to speak of hints on the use of dogs in war, the provision of passports to resident aliens, and precautions against fire. Casaubon, feeling the difficulty, suggested in a note ad loc. that *τακτικόν* was used in the sense of *στρατηγικόν* and that *τακτικὸν ὑπόμνημα* was the title of the whole work of which the *περὶ τοῦ πῶς* κτλ. is merely a small portion. Later writers, it is true, use the word *τακτικός* in the sense claimed for it here; but it never altogether lost its special meaning. There is certainly no need for it in the present connection, and it looks very awkward in combination with *περὶ τοῦ πῶς* κτλ.

So little faith had Casaubon himself in his own explanation[3] that even before submitting it to the consideration of the conservative reader who wishes to retain the MS reading at all costs, he had already proposed to alter the wording of the superscription into *Αἰνείου τοῦ τακτικοῦ*.

To the remainder of the superscription (*πῶς χρὴ* κτλ.) no possible objection can be offered; no more concise or appropriate de-

[1] In a letter written 20th July, 1618. He believed Aelian to be the author.

[2] Cf. Xen., Mem. III. 1. 6, Cyrop. I. 6. 14. Cf. the def. of *ἡ τακτική* by Aeneas as *ἐπιστήμη πολεμικῶν κινήσεων* quoted in Aelian, Tactics 3. 4. K R II. 1. p. 268 (=Köchly u. Rüstow. See Bibliography).

[3] Köchly and Rüstow accept it; cf. their note ad loc. "dass *τακτικόν* hier ziemlich gleichbedeutend mit *στρατηγικόν* sei, bemerkt Casaub. richtig."



scription of the book has yet been suggested. Of the various combinations found in our MSS or submitted by modern critics, this alone has hit the happy mean; it includes every portion of the book and again does not err on the side of redundancy or superfluity. The words *πῶς χρὴ κτλ.* comprise all the multifarious recommendations that may be made to a general who wishes to defend his country from all possible danger.

Is it possible to explain the occurrence of Aelian's name in the title? There can be no doubt that Arnold Hug has found the correct solution.[1]

In M our Manual comes immediately after a work by Aelian which bears the superscription *Αἰλιανοῦ τακτικά*, and the subscription *Αἰλιανοῦ ἀρχιερέως τακτικὴ θεωρία*. Evidently this suggested to a scribe the addition of the words *Αἰλιανοῦ τακτικὸν ὑπόμνημα* to the title of the manual he was about to copy. So far Hug. But what could have induced a scribe or reader to father the Manual upon the author of the preceding treatise? The reason must have been that when he found it, the Manual was anonymous, like many other treatises of which copies are preserved in M. It is hardly probable that the superscription originally contained the name *Αἰνείου*, and that this was intentionally changed into *Αἰλιανοῦ*. Arguing from the evidence of the only MS available (C), in which the title begins with *Αἰνείου ἢ αἰλιανοῦ*, Casaubon was quite justified in regarding the second name as an interpolation.[2] After the publication of M, written in the 10th or 11th century, of which all the other MSS, written in the 16th, are mere copies, such a theory is no longer tenable; for the name of Aeneas has no place in the title given by our earliest MS. We might of course assume that a scribe, copying a MS earlier than M, accidentally changed *Αἰνείου* into *Αἰλιανοῦ*, as the name he had written but a moment before was still in his mind's eye; but this would not account for the words that follow the name, viz., *τακτικὸν ὑπόμνημα*, which are awkward as they stand and were undoubtedly suggested by the subscription of Aelian's treatise. Seeing no mention of the author's name in the title, a man who wished for information on the point would naturally turn to the end of the book in the hope of finding more light in a subscription. None but an indifferent and reckless reader would cut the knot by immediately borrowing an author from the preceding treatise without first seeking for some clue in the book itself. That the

[1] Aeneas von Stymphalos, p. 2.

[2] Cf. Praefat. Cas.

composer of our present superscription expended some thought upon the matter is proved by the fact of his having recast the old title and added what he considered a suitable link to join the name of the author to the original πῶς χρή.[1] Is it not likely that our Manual had no subscription in the MS which he used? The probability of this conjecture depends upon the answer to another question, What importance are we to attach to the subscription of M, Αἰνείου πολιορκητικὰ ἢ Αἰλιανοῦ καθὼς ἡ ἀρχή?[2] Without one dissentient voice editors and critics alike have accepted the first two words as authoritative, and regard their evidence as conclusive on the question of authorship. They are certainly right in considering the words that follow (viz., ἢ Αἰλ. κτλ.) to be an interpolation inserted after the introduction of Aelian into the superscription.[3]

Although the word Αἰνείου has been hitherto allowed to pass unchallenged, scholars have not hesitated to criticise the appropriateness of πολιορκητικά as a title for the book. The word includes every variety of siege-operations, and would not naturally be used of a manual limited to instructions for the *defence* of a beleaguered city.[4]

[1] He seems to have regarded our manual as a kind of appendix to Aelian's Theory of Tactics.

[2] After ἀρχή there is an erasure which would cover about twelve letters; cf. Eberhard in Bursians Jahresber. II. u. III. Jahrg. I p. 499. Hug (A. von St. p. 1.) suggests the loss of some such word as ἐπιδείκνυσιν. However that may be, the erasure is of no recent date; for B (Par. 2522 16th cent.) has copied the subscription exactly as given in M as we know it. (See the collation of B in KR II. 2. p. 350.)

[3] As superscription, text, and subscription are in the same hand, it follows that all these changes must have been made before M was written. Even in the absence of the words καθὼς κτλ. we could still detect the interpolation; for the insertion of ἢ Αἰλ. *after* πολιορκητικὰ shews these words to be an afterthought.

[4] The word is generally used for *offensive* siege-operations. The Byzantine 'Anonymus' edited by KR II. 2. pp. 1-208 makes the following division (§ 5. 1.): τῆς δὲ στρατηγικῆς τὸ μέν ἐστι φυλακτικὸν τῶν οἰκείων, τὸ δὲ ἀπειλητικὸν τῶν ὑπεναντίων. Ἔστι δὲ φυλακτικὸν μὲν μέθοδος, καθ' ἣν τις πράττων τοὺς ἰδίους φυλάξειεν καὶ ἃ τούτων ἐστίν, ἀπειλητικὸν δὲ μέθοδος, καθ' ἣν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνηται. § 13 comes under the first heading and begins ἐπεὶ θέλομεν παρασκενάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν πολιορκούντων The 15th par. in the same section runs: τὰς δὲ διωρυκτῆρας καλουμένας χελώνας, ὅπως γίνονται, ἐν τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς ἡμῖν ἐκπεπόνηται· ὅπως δὲ χρὴ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων γνωσόμεθα, which proves that he considered τὰ πολιορκητικά to deal



It is very strange that those who admit the inadequacy of the term πολιορκητικά should not have extended their scepticism to the preceding word and at least have subjected the whole subscription to a more searching enquiry. This might have led them to one important consideration which has hitherto been completely ignored, although it immediately changes the whole face of the question. In the midst of all our conjectures and more or less probable suppositions and suggestions, one fact stands out clear and distinct, and of its significance there can be no mistake. There once existed a copy of the treatise which contained no subscription in the place where it stands at present in the earliest MS; *the words* Αἰνείου κ. τ. λ. *come, not at the end of the book itself, but at the end of the book as given by M, where it breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence.*[1] As the superscription and subscription are in the same hand, we must take M to be a copy of a torn and mutilated original,[2] unless we have enough faith to convince ourselves that the scribe lost or intentionally tore off part of his own copy and then added the subscription of the whole to the portion still surviving, or that he found he had copied all he wished to have, came to a sudden stop in the middle of a sentence, turned to the end of the book he was copying and inserted its subscription. If the subscription was added by any one who had access to an unmutilated copy, is it not likely that he would have seized the opportunity to complete the half-finished sentence? We are therefore fully justified in dealing with the evidence afforded by the subscription exactly as we should treat the suggestions of Casaubon, Sauppe, or Hug,

exclusively with the *attack* upon a city. It is quite possible that Αἰν. πολ. was the title of a work by the historical Aeneas which the composer of the subscription fancied he had discovered in the treatise he had just read.

[1] The last paragraph runs: *περὶ δὲ τροφῆς ἀσίτου καὶ ὧν σπάνις ἐν πολιορκίᾳ καὶ ὑδάτων ὡς δεῖ πότιμα ποιεῖν, ἐν τῇ* Παρασκευαστικῇ *βίβλῳ δεδήλωται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἴρηται, περὶ ναυτικῆς τάξεως δίειμι. Ναυτικοῦ δὲ στρατεύματος δύο εἰσὶ στόλοι.* Αἰνείου πολ. κ. τ. λ.

[2] The later MSS have religiously copied the unfinished sentence from M. Many pages had been torn out of M before the several MSS derived from it were copied. These were the first pages of various treatises, ruthlessly pilfered for the sake of the illuminated initials. It may be suggested that the abrupt ending of our text is due to the loss of a page in the original of M, the second side of which contained the beginning of a new work with its initial. This can hardly have been the case, as the introductory reference to naval warfare implies that a discussion of some length is to follow. For the gaps in M cf. KR II 1. p. 205.

that is, solely on their own merits and inherent probability. To MS *authority* we have no right to appeal, although we must admit that possibly the author of the conjecture based it upon the use of materials now no longer accessible.

No importance need be attached to the evidence of the other MSS, as they are all copies of M, and the various combinations they offer are easily accounted for. The superscription of the codex published by Casaubon (Par. 2443) is evidently a 'contamination' of the super- and sub-scription of M. There is no subscription in this MS. B (Par. 2522) has the same subscription as M; the superscription is also the same, but above it a later hand has added *αἰνείου, ἢ αἰλιανοῦ πολιορκητικόν*. (See the collation of B in KR II. 2. pp. 336-350.)

My conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows. The title *πῶς χρὴ* κτλ.[1] may well have been original. The words *Αἰλιανοῦ τακτικὸν ὑπόμνημα* were added after a copy of the Manual, mutilated or entire, had been inserted in a MS where it was immediately preceded by Aelian's Theory of Tactics.[2] The subscription *Αἰνείου πολιορκητικά* was introduced after the mutilation; there is nothing to prove that it was anterior to the superscription, while there is good reason for believing it to be of later date.

[1] *πῶς χρή* (or *δεῖ*) is a form of title very frequently met with in MSS of military treatises; cf. the titles of ch. II, VII, XV of our manual (e. g., XV *πῶς δεῖ εἰς βοήθειαν ἐξιέναι*). Another favorite is *περί* followed by a noun or *περὶ τοῦ* + infin. e. g., *περὶ τοῦ φαίνεσθαι ἵππους πολλοὺς ὄντας ὀλίγους* Julius Africanus (KR II. 2. p. 11). But *περὶ τοῦ πῶς* is very rare; only one instance of it is found in a list of 162 titles quoted (for other purposes) by KR (II. 1. p. 218, II. 2. p. 9) from Aelian's Theory and Jul. Afric., viz., Jul. Afr. *ξβ' περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλειν*, whereas there are 29 instances of *πῶς* + verb, 28 of *περί* + noun, and 6 of *περί* + *τοῦ* + infin. The words *περὶ τοῦ* were probably added when the original superscr. was enlarged by the addition of *Αἰλιανοῦ* κτλ.

[2] The above theory involves the assumption that there had been a series of MSS containing Aelian's Theory followed by our Manual; cf. the similarity of contents in Vat. 1164 (? 11th cent.), Par. 2422 (11th cent.), Vindobon. 120 (16th cent.), Vat. 219 (dated 1406), as described by C. Wescher, Poliorcétique des Grecs, Paris. Imprimerie Impériale 1867, pp. VII–XXXVII.

Vat. 1164 and Vat. 219 (in which the treatise is more complete) contain an anonymous work entitled *ὅπως χρὴ τὸν τῆς πολιορκουμένης πόλεως στρατηγὸν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀντιτάττεσθαι καὶ οἷοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι ταύτην ἀποκρούεσθαι*. This was published under the title Anonymus de obsidione toleranda, by Thévenot in his Mathematici Veteres, 1693: the similarity of the Greek title has led several modern bibliographers to the erroneous assertion that the work attributed to Aeneas was published by Thévenot.



The remaining words *καθὼς κτλ.* are later than the superscription and the original subscription.

The word *Aeneas* is not found in the text of the treatise as given by our MSS; but it is supposed to have occurred in a passage now corrupt, where the context is assumed to afford conclusive evidence that the author was making use of his own name. The theory was first put forward by F. Haase in an interesting article dealing with The Military Writers of Greece and Rome.[1] In spite of several difficulties that suggest themselves, his conclusions have so far met with universal acceptance; not one voice of protest has been raised, and since the publication of this conjecture (1835) all editors and students of the manual have contented themselves with building upon the somewhat shaky foundation laid by Haase.[2] It would be well to examine more closely this 'remarkable confirmation' of the traditional opinion regarding our author's name.[3]

The section occurs in the midst of a long series of instructions and suggestions for the sending of secret despatches and cipher messages from or to a beleaguered town.

Ch. 31. §§ 17–18.

<Εἰς> ἀστράγαλον εὐμεγέθη τρυπῆσαι <τρυπήματα>[4] *εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρα, ἐξ εἰς ἑκάστην πλευρὰν τοῦ ἀστραγάλου· ἔστω δὲ τὰ τρυπήματα τοῦ ἀστραγάλου <στοιχεῖα. διαμνημόνευε δὲ*[5]*> ἀφ' ἧς ἂν πλευρᾶς ἄρξηται*[6] *τὸ ἄλφα, καὶ τὰ ἐχόμενα ἅπερ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πλευρᾷ γέγραπται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὅταν τινὰ θέλῃς ἐν αὐτοῖς τίθεσθαι λόγον, λίνον δίειρον.*[7] *ἐὰν ἐλῃδιναλεῖ δηλοῦν τῇ διέρσει*[8] *τοῦ λίνου, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ ἀστραγάλου, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἄλφα ἐστί, παρελθὼν τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων γράμματα,*[9] *ὅταν ἔλθῃς*[10] *εἰς <τὴν> πλευράν, ὀυτο τω τα ἐστι, δίειρον πάλιν, παρεὶς δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐχόμενα, ὅπου συμβαίνει τονεῖναι, <δίειρον> καὶ πάλιν παρεὶς τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτου, ὅπου ἔνεστι, δίειρον τὸ λίνον, καὶ οὕτω τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου ἀντιγράφων ἔνειρον*[11] *εἰς τὰ τρυπήματα ὥσπερ αρτìαιμέθα ὄνομα.*

[1] In the N. Jahrb. 1835; see Bibliogr.

[2] Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie d. Class. Altertums-Wissenschaft, *s.v.* Aineias, does not even tell us that the name in the text is a conjecture: cf. den richtigen Namen, *der in der Schrift selbst* (31. 18) *vorkommt*, enthält die Subscription *Αἰνείου κτλ.*

[3] Haase, *l.c.* p. 93: Doch ist eine merkwürdige Bestätigung für die Richtigkeit des Namens aus dem Aeneas selbst noch nicht aufgefunden die wir hier beifügen wollen.

[4] Not in M, inserted from Julius Africanus. [5] Ib. M has only δ̄.

[6] ἀρξῃ M: ἀρξηται J. A. [7] λίνω δίαιρεῖν M. [8] ἐν τῃ διαιρέσει M.

[9] παραγράμματα M; γράμματα J. A. [10] ἐλθῃ M: ἐλθῃς J. A. [11] ἐνειρε M.

Julius Africanus borrowed this passage from our author; text printed (with a collation of three MSS) by Hercher in appendix to his edition of "Aeneas" is of considerable use the restoration of the original; but it is easy to see that the s had quite lost the thread, and without the text of 'Aenea would be impossible to get at the general sense of the pas in J. A.[1]

Conrad Orelli had already suggested that the unintelli ελῆδινγαλ was to be explained as a corruption of the exa chosen by the author for the illustration of the process he describing; he discovered that for the first letters we should θῆλγε, and this gives us ἐὰν θῆλγε followed by the example. S he is certainly right, but the rest of his conjecture offers help.[2]

The objection to assuming a sentence to have dropped out be seen when we come to consider the end of the paragr Haase, accepting θῆλγε as correct, found in the rest of the le the name AINEIAΣ, which Hercher changed into AINEIAN. must be admitted that it is easy to account for the transforma of each letter if we assume that at the time of the corruptio word was written in uncial characters (A = Δ, EI = H, N = but the rest of the section hardly warrants the certainty which Haase's conjecture has been accepted.

Of all the letters in the word AINEIAN only one is referre in the detailed instructions that follow the example in our M of this one letter there can be no doubt; Co. Orelli was righ reading τὸ ν̄ εἶναι for the MS τονεῖναι, although perhaps this sh be changed into τὸ νῦ εἶναι, as the two letters already mentio (δῆλφα, ἰῶτα) are written with their names in full. The prese of ε in ελῆδιν and the slight emendation required to change τω τα into οὗ τὸ ἰῶτα, for which we have the support of Jul. A gives us another letter of which we can be certain. We have right to extend this certainty to the first letter. The w ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ ἀστραγάλου, ἐν ᾗ τὸ δῆλφα ἐστί, afford

[1] The sands of Egypt may still solve our problem by restoring a pap containing an early text of the section in J. A.; the conclusion of Book X of the συροί has been published by Grenfell and Hunt from a papyrus wr before 275 A. D. (Oxyrhynchus Papyri III No. 412, 1903).

[2] Cf. note *ad. loc.* "Opinor scilicet verbis corruptis contentum fuiss quod auctor epistolae cryptae significare voluerit alteri locumque ita rest ἐὰν θῆλγε δηλοῖν, αἱ νῆες ἁλίζονται."



argument in favour of AIN; they simply tell us to begin on the side that contains the hole for the first letter of the alphabet.

The author is here repeating a warning already given (*διαμνημόνευε κτλ.*). It was essential that the correspondents should have previously arranged on what side of the die the alphabet should begin. The sender's natural tendency would be to pick up the die, and if he wished to indicate the letter *δ* draw the thread through the fourth hole on the first side that presented itself. But how was the recipient to know that the letter was *δ* and not *κ*, *π*, or *χ*, each of which would be represented by the fourth hole on one of the four sides? Such a mistake could of course only be possible with the first letter of the message. To avoid all chance of error the reader is once more cautioned to start from the side already agreed upon.

Although we are told to begin with the side containing *α*, we are not told to draw the thread through the hole chosen to represent that letter. Something has evidently dropped out; just as after *οὗ τὸ ἰῶτά ἐστι* we have *δίειρον πάλιν*, so after *ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἄλφα ἐστί* we should expect *δίειρον*. The letter immediately before *ιν* in the MSS is *δ* (*εληδιν*); the hole for *δ* would of course be on the same side as *α*; it is then not impossible that after telling his readers to begin by holding the first side of the die up, the author instructed them to draw the thread through the hole that stood for *δ*. This conjecture is supported by the MS reading of the words that follow, viz., *παρελθὼν τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων*, of which the last has been changed by the editors into *τούτου*. But why have we *τούτων here* only and the singular *τούτου* in the two other places where the preceding letter is referred to?[1] If *α and δ* had gone before, the MS reading would be quite intelligible.

The remainder of the passage lends very little support to the conjecture AINEIAN. Instead of *ὅπου ἔνεστιν* of the MSS Haase proposed *ὅπου ᾱ ἔνεστι* or *ὅπου εἷ ἐστι*; but we still miss the article, although it has been used in the case of the other letters (*α*, *ι*, *ν*). After *ὅπου* a few letters must then have been lost in the copying of an earlier MS, as the corruption cannot be accounted for by the mere substitution of *εἷ* (=*ε*) for *ἐν*; besides, *ἔνεστι* itself is a very appropriate word. Again, the expression *παρεὶς τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτου ὅπου ἔνεστι δίειρον τὸ λίνον* seems to suggest a letter between *ν* and the end of the alphabet:[2] otherwise we should

[1] Viz.: *τούτου* (sc. *τοῦ ι*) *τὰ ἐχόμενα*, and *τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτου* (sc. *τοῦ ν*).

[2] May not the gap be filled by reading *ὅπου τὸ οὗ* or *τὸ ὑ ἐνεστι*?

expect the author to instruct his reader either to wind the strip over the remaining letters and begin again on the side containing α or else to go back from ρ to κ.

At this point the detailed instructions suddenly break off and we are told to complete the message according to the illustration given. It is hard to see how Haase and his followers could maintain that in the corrupt δυηυλι we must look for a *detached* word and not the beginning of a sentence. The words τὰ ἑπόμενα τοῦ λόγου make it perfectly clear that the single example chosen above is itself part of the message to be indicated by the cipher. In spite of the corruption in the MS the general meaning is evidently "go on with the remainder of your communication according to the process worked out for an ὄνομα." The last words are ἄντιγε ἄρτι ὄνομα with a verb, probably ἐδείχθη (Sauppe); there is a sharp distinction drawn between λόγος and ὄνομα, 'communication' and 'word'; there is no need to take ὄνομα to mean 'name' or 'noun.'[1]

This shews that one word had been described in full; but our MSS do not carry the process further than the letter after κ. Our earliest MS then stands to a still earlier MS in the relation which subsists between the MSS of Jul. Afric. and a MS of the class of M. As Jul. Afr. gives detail for three letters, for the third of which the reading is corrupt, so M gives detail for four letters with a corruption of the fourth (δλφα, ἰῶτα, ὄνυξ εἶναι συμβαίνει Jul., δλφα, ἰῶτα, τυπῶνα, ὄνυξ ὄνυξιν M). When the word chosen for illustration had once been lost, it was inevitable that details of the process should be omitted in the MSS; and M stands only one step higher than the MSS of Jul. Afr.; instructions for several letters are missing.

Finally, the MS reading ἀντιγράφων has been changed by Hug (Proleg. p. 42) into ΙΑΝ γράφων; this completely obliterates the distinction between λόγος and ὄνομα, and the same charge can also be brought against the quite unnecessary conjecture ἄνω ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου τὸ ὄνομα which Hercher prints in his own revision of the text. Hug in his text reproduces the reading of the MS which he marks

[1] For λόγος the meaning 'message' 'communication' is fixed by its use above, ὅταν τινὰ θέλῃς ἐν αἰνίγμασι τίθεσθαι λόγον. For the antithesis cf. the use of ῥῆμα and ὄνομα, 'expression' as opposed to 'word.' Aeschin. Ctes. 72 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὧν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς εἶπε διὰ τὴν ἀρέσκειαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅπαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα) ἀντιγράξει τὴν συμμαχίαν, where ὄνομα = ἀντιγράξει.

See Plato Apol. 17. C. with Riddell's note, and Rhys Roberts' Glossary to Demetrius on Style.



with an obelisk, in his critical note, and Proleg. (p. 42) he offers *ὥστε περᾶναι ὃ ἐθέμεθα ὄνομα.*[1]

But even if we had unimpeachable MS evidence for the reading suggested by Haase, it would by no means inevitably follow that the composer of the manual was using his own name. The probability would be greater, if it could be proved, as Haase thought, that δινηαλι stood for a single name *used apart from any context;* but, as we have already seen, the words *τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου* prove it to have been the beginning of a sentence. When a man wishes to give a specimen of his own handwriting or to shew how a single detached word can be transmitted in cipher, he is naturally prompted to take his own name; it is on the other hand not likely that he will do so in dealing with a typical message from the commandant of a fortress. Finally there always remains the possibility that the whole section is a quotation from some other writer; we know that our author quotes from Thucydides and Herodotus, and in no case does he acknowledge his indebtedness.

Those whose faith has once been shaken by doubts regarding the validity of the titles in the MSS and the internal evidence for the name *Aeneas*, will find but little consolation in an appeal to the testimony of Polybius and Aelian.[2] Our verdict must be

[1] *ἀντιγράφων* may mean 'copying', 'transcribing'; cf. *στῆλαι ἀντίγραφοι*, Demosth. Leptin. 36; also *ἀντίγραμμα, ἀντιγραφή*, 'transcript'; (see Liddell & Scott). If any change were thought necessary, I would suggest *ἀναγράφων*; cf. the use of *ἀναγράφεσθαι* in reference to the recipient of the cipher 31. § 19: *δεήσει δὲ τὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα ἀναγράφεσθαι εἰς δέλτον τὰ δηλούμενα γράμματα ἐκ τῶν τρυπημάτων.*

[2] Polybius X. 44: *Αἰνείας δὲ βουληθεὶς διορθώσασθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν, ὁ τὰ περὶ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ὑπομνήματα συντεταγμένος, βραχὺ μέν τι προεβίβασε, τοῦ γε μὴν δέοντος ἀκμὴν πάμπολυ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἀπελείφθη. γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ἐκ τούτων. φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν* κτλ. Then comes a long quotation from the remarks of Aeneas. At the end of ch. 7. of the Manual, we have *ὡς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα* (= instructions for signalling) *γίγνεσθαι καὶ ὡς αἴρειν τοὺς φρυκτούς, ἐν τῇ παρασκευαστικῇ βίβλῳ πλειόνως εἴρηται. ὅθεν δεῖ τὴν μάθησιν λαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ δὶς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν γράφειν συμβῇ.* On this passage, Hug, who accepts the identity of our author with the Aeneas of Polybius, has the following note: *καὶ ὡς αἴρειν τοὺς φρυκτοὺς* ab interpolatore profectum esse suspicatur H(ercher), mihi totum caput VII suspectum. Aelian, Theory of Tactics, ed. KR II. 1. ch. 1, 2: *καὶ περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον τακτικῆς ἐνετύχομεν συγγραφεῦσι Στρατοκλεῖ καὶ Ἑρμείᾳ καὶ Φρόντωνι τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνδρὶ ὑπατικῷ. Ἐξειργάσαντο δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν Αἰνείας τε διὰ πλειόνων ὁ καὶ στρατηγικὰ βιβλία ἱκανὰ συνταξάμενος, ὧν ἐπιτομὴν ὁ Θετταλὸς Κινέας ἐποίησε, Πύρρος τε ὁ Ἠπειρώτης τακτικὰ συνέταξε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτου υἱὸς καὶ Κλέαρχος,* and ch. 1, 3: *ἐπέγνων δέ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, [πάντας] τοὺς συγ-*

"not genuine", as will be seen from the following comparison. The historical Aeneas was among the first to work out a system of tactics; our manual was written in the middle of the fourth century B.C. (2) Aeneas wrote about fire-signals and his views are quoted, with disapproval, by Polybius; our author on this subject (περὶ πυρσῶν) fully contained full instructions for the use of fire-signals. (3) Aeneas composed στρατηγικοὶ ὑπομνηματισμοί; our author refers to his own work as τὰ ὑπομνήματα (38, 3), τὰ ὑπομνηματισθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ (7, 4; 8, 5; 40, 8), ὑπ' ἐμοῦ (14, 2), ὑπομνηματισθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ (21, 2). He never uses the word στρατηγικός, nor does he use τὰ ὑπομνηματισθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ in one passage which Hug rejects as an interpolation (τὰ ὑπομνηματισθέντα). The above parallels are hardly close enough to warrant the identification of the two writers. There is nothing whatever in our treatise to make it even probable that the author wrote on any subject besides "How to defend one's country", and the other works he mentions, so far as may be gathered from his descriptions of their contents, may well be included under that heading; for instance, the long list of references to the writings of Aeneas (τὰ ὑπομνήματα) in chapter 8 deals exclusively with defensive warfare.

Aelian includes Aeneas among those who wrote for specialists and experts; our treatise was certainly intended for the use of the soldier, the mere civilian novice suddenly called upon to undertake the defence of his country.

It has often been suggested that the author of our treatise is no other than Aeneas of Stymphalus, General of the Arcadian League, mentioned by Xenophon in the seventh book of the Hellenica (3, 1). The case has been fully worked out by Hug in a pamphlet which he boldly entitled Aeneas of Stymphalus, Arcadian Author of the Classical Age (1877). A detailed examination of his arguments would take us far beyond the limits

...ysaic ἐξ οὗπερ τὰ τακτικὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν συστήματα. In the ... version of Aelian's Theory, falsely attributed to Arrian and first published by Schefer under the title Arriani Tactica (Upsala, 1683), the beginning of the work is missing, the first words being ἐ Πέρσαι τοῦ καὶ Κύρου γένους. Also the list of writers we have: ἐστι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος τούτου καὶ ... ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἐν οἷς τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ συγγράμματα τούτου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ... ἐπιστολὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λυκούργου. For a discussion of the two versions see ... II. 1, p. 86, pp. 200 sqq. The quotations from the Manual in Jul. Afric. throw no light on the author's identity. The short paragraph in Suidas is taken directly from Polybius (X. 22). Αἰνείας· οὗτος ἔγραψε τοῦ τυραννεῖν, ἢ τοῦ τυραννικοῦ βιβλίους.



this article; suffice it here to say that to the present writer they appear unconvincing in the extreme.[1] One feels that there were many other Greeks to whose claims the facts alleged to favour Aeneas of Stymphalus would afford equal support. The Arcadian general *may* have written the book, but not a scrap of proof has yet been offered to shew that he and no other *must* be the author whose name we still seek in vain.

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III.—ON THE RECESSION OF THE LATIN ACCENT IN CONNECTION WITH MONOSYLLABIC WORDS AND THE TRADITIONAL WORD-ORDER.

Part III.

PLAUTINE USAGE IN DACTYLIC AND CRETIC GROUPS

In a discussion of dactylic and cretic word-groups it is important to bear in mind the following facts respecting the u dactylic and cretic word-forms: the first foot admits *pe pectŏrī*, *pĕctŏrĕ*, *pĕctōrī* (for the last, v. Seyffert in Burs Jahresb. 1894, p. 263; Skutsch, Sat. Viadrin., p. 142, r Ahlberg, De corrept., p. 40 f.); other feet admit rarely *pe* (Klotz, Grundz., 274 ff.), very rarely *pectŏrī* (Klotz, 63, Seyffert, l. l., 262 *vs.* Ahlberg, l. l., 46), rarely *pĕctŏrĕ* (v. exam in Maurenbrecher, Hiatus, 26), very rarely *pĕctōrī* (cf. Ahlberg, 47, who needlessly emends). We wish to use these facts as in order to determine what dactylic and cretic groups appr the treatment of single words.[1] In making this test, it is impor to remember in general that no one of the restrictions upon use of cretic and dactylic words in iambic verse is of an absc character, and especially that Lachmann's law, which excl *pĕctŏrĕ* and *pĕctōrī*, is occasionally disregarded. Dactylic gr —at least those of the more casual kind—are different in important respects from tribrach groups; for they neither acq the recessive accent so completely as the latter (TAPA. XX 76), nor observe it so strictly after it has been acquired. T the dramatists have in general only *pŏl ego*, but they a in all the feet either *hĕrcle ego* or *hĕrcle ĕgo* (the latter Cas. 809, etc.; v. also Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 60), either *d ego* or *atque ĕgo* (Poe. 1238, etc.), either *ni magis* or *ni m* (Hau. 1018). Even some of the common phrases of the language had not acquired a fixed accent in Pl.'s time; *utpote* is expressly named as a *compositum* by Priscian, K.

[1] I no longer accept the 'decomposition' of dactylic words into their stituent parts, e. g. *ne scío*, in the extreme manner assumed in TAPA., p. 68.



68, 12, but we find in Pl. *ut póte* 3 times (Mi. 530; Ci. 317; Ba. 511 (?)), *út pŏtĕ* once (Ru. 462); cf., for its meaning in Pl., Lindsay on Cap. 398. The cases just named show a variable accent; a second and a smaller class of cases show a fixed accent outside of the first foot, but non-observance of Lachmann's law. Here belong *át tamen*, *ét tamen*, *séd tamen*, *verúm tamen*, *nihiló minus* (A. J. P. XXV 264) *nón ĕni(m)* (12 times in dialogue metres, v. Langen, Beitr., 264, and Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb., 1890, p. 23, n. 1), *súmne ĕgŏ* (8 times, v. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 54), *dúmmŏdŏ* (Afran. fr. 409;—strictly treated in Pl. Au. 239; Mi. 253; 783), *póstmŏdŏ* (Hec. 208), and probably also sometimes the *composita* formed by *quidem* with the demonstr. pronouns, as Hau. 89 hắc-quĭdĕm caúsa (cf. Ahlberg, Procel. I 66–78). There is an unmistakable tendency, then, in the case of most improper *composita* which do not form absolute words, to waive the difficult application of Lachmann's law. At the same time, in the case of not a few frequent combinations, the tendency to observe the law manifests itself quite as clearly as in the case of single words. Such combinations may be conveniently divided into four classes:

I. SPECIAL PHRASES.—These phrases are *emtibi*, *vaemihi*, *vaetibi*, *eimihi*, *sŭ͡ŏsibi*, *tamcito*[1], *hausecus*, *iamdiu*, etc. Thus the idiomatic combination *em tibi* is very freely separable, as Poe. 382 ém volúptatém tibi, but is treated strictly whenever it is used in its regular order; e. g. *em tibi* only once in 1st ft. (Ru. 463), émtibí 3 times *med. v.* (Am. 777; Cur. 195; Tru. 952), 6 times in close, *émtib*[*i*]⏑‿ 13 times; v. references in Richter, Studem. Stud. I 488 ff. Similar (Richter, ib. 632) is the treatment of *vaémihí* and *vaétibí* (13 times; 4 times *med. v.*, viz. As. 924; Mer. 161; Ps. 631; Cas. 115); *eímihí* (ib. 470) conforms to Lachmann's law 27 times (8 times *med. v.*), and disregards it twice *med. v.*, viz. Mo. 265; Ad. 323 (Dz. ei mi); (St. 753 is usually corrected; Mo. 395 is 1st ft.); cf. also Seyffert, Pl. Stud., p. 9, n. 8. Similarly in the phrase *suus sibi* we find regularly (Müller, Nachtr., p. 60; Scherer, Studem. Stud. II 107) *su͡ó-sibí*, *su͡óm-sibí*, *me͡á-mihí*, etc.; cf., however, Cap. 81 sŭó sĭbĭ sụ́co. We find always also *tắm citó* (*tan cito* CIL. VI, 6182) and *quắm*

[1] Similarly quamprimum is treated as one word, i. e. we have quamprimumque, cf. Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarb. II 410; so also either tantos tam praecipitisque casus (Cic. De or. 3, 4, 13) or tantos tamque praecipitis, cf. Riemann, Syntaxe Lat.,[4] p. 506.

citó (4 times *med. v.*, viz. Mo. 541; And. 474; 928; Laber. fr. 133), and in general only *iámdiú*, *quámdiú*, *támdiú* (*iámdĭŭ* and *tamdĭŭ* in 1st ft.: Per. 822; Poe. 1266); cf., however, *et dĭŭ*, Mi. 723; iamdíū Ci. 156 (suspected), v. Müller, Pr. 170; finally always *haú secús* (3 times in verse-close: Poe. 835; Ru. 410; Titin. com. fr. 181); cf. *med. v. sín secús*, *néc secús* Cas. 377; As. 943.

From these examples we are justified in drawing the following conclusions: (1) A distinct tendency exists to observe Lachmann's law in connection with certain dactylic groups. (2) The existence of the tendency is no more disproved by an occasional exception in the case of the word-groups than the existence of the original 'law' is disproved by an occasional exception in the case of single words.[1] As to the character of the word-groups in question, they apparently vary somewhat in the degree in which they have gained the value of single words, so that we find in the Latin sentence dactylic word-groups in many different stages of development.

II. S.-I. CONJUNCTION + NOUN.—In these combinations we find occasional traces of the observance of Lachmann's law; thus the recognition of final *s* in making position is more frequent than in the case of adverbs, but less frequent than in the case of verbs. E. g. Mer. 695 séd coquós (acc. to Leo, Forsch., 272, the only case of iambic *coquos* in Pl.); Ps. 1268[a] átque erús minór (cf., however, átque ĕrŭs, As. 430; Cap. 200; Men. 1070); Am. 30; Cas. 163; Mo. 849; Poe. 277; St. 721; Pacuv. tr. fr. 38. Even in the case of adverbs we sometimes find similar examples, as Cur. 305 haúd magi's; Men. 594.

III. PRONOUN + NOUN.—The prefixed demonstr., relative or interrog. pronoun receives as a rule the grammatical accent; for the dramatists here avoid *quí-mŏdŭs*, *quŏd-gĕnŭs* either by allowing final *s* to make position in iambic words, as *quí-modús*, *quód-genús*[2], or by changing the normal order to *génus quod*,

[1] As is well-known, the 'law' is strictly observed by the classical poets and only occasionally violated by the early dramatists. Maurenbrecher's attempt, Hiatus, p. 26 ff., to declare it wholly false on the ground of these exceptions, is ill-considered; in point of fact, Lachmann's law constitutes one of the foundation-pillars of Latin iambic verse-structure, and, in view of the strong temptation which constantly exists to violate it, cases of its actual violation are comparatively few (cf. Ahlberg, Procel. I 14, 22).

[2] Verse-closes like haéc manús, Per. 225; hóc itér, Hec. 194, are convenient for the poet, and hence may be otherwise explained.



lócus hic; occasionally also they employ the accent *id génus*, *quis déus*. E. g. quí (quís) modús As. 167; Mer. 652; híc deús Pl. fr. fab. inc. 45; híc locús Mer. 1005; cf. Ph. 818 (verse-close); (cf. lócus hic Ba. 82); quód scelús Ru. 1005; cf. quíd patĕr And. 950; íd genús Tri. 1046 (quód gĕnŭs only 1st ft., Cap. 278; cf. id génus Ru. 920); for avoidance of regular prose order (Holtze, Synt. Prisc. Lat. I 387), cf. génus quod (hoc) Tri. 542; Mo. 623; Poe. 1303; cf. génus qui Tri. 676; 678; cf. also dómus haec Pomp. com. fr. 101; púer hic And. 748. Only two exceptions to Lachmann's law have been observed: hóc ŏnŭs ómne Ba. 499; haéc bona nóbis Eu. 1049;—sitit haéc ănŭs, Cur. 103, is the reading of P, but Festus gives anus haéc sitit. Examples of the less usual accent, as in *quis déus*, are as follows: Ci. 669 án quis de²us; Men. 558 quae bóna; Inc. inc. tr. fr. 217 haec lóca; Ad. 884;—this accent is quite normal when the enclitic copula is attached: St. 395 qui déus-sis; And. 792 hic sócer est; Ph. 732 haec ánus est. A similar accent accompanied by syllable-shortening is admitted in dialogue metres only in the 1st ft., e. g. huic ánŭ Cur. 104; huiusmódĭ Ps. 1273;—quomódo and quómodŏ: Mo. 462; Tri. 602; 855; Ep. 706, cf. Müller, Pl. Pr., 202 f., and Nilsson, Pronom. collocat., 61, n. 1; so also the penult may act as Brevis Brevians only in 1st ft., as Eu. 716 quo⁵modo hĭnc (scan Mi. 95 quómodo ád hŭnc). The isolated example huic sénĭ, Au. 822, may be compared perhaps with susci⁷tĕt (Ru. 922), abstĭnĕ (Cas. 229), etc.; Poe. 853, hanc mŏrăm (A), is usually corrected; Ba. 1140ᵇ, hae<c> oves, is to be scanned with Ritschl as bacch.; we find also once (Per. 402) hic dĭĕs praetérierít, just as we find once iam dĭŭ Dionýsiá, Ci. 156, but it is perhaps more probable that we should here admit spondaic words in the 4th ft. before the quinquesyllabic closing word, i. e. hicdĭĕs praetérierít, etc. On the other hand, híc-dĭĕs, hunc-díĕm, hi-lócĭ, etc., are frequent scansions in anapaests, e. g. Au. 722; Per. 768; Poe. 1268ᵇ; Ci. 226; Ps. 595, v. Müller, Pr., 99 ff., 194, but in dialogue verse hunc-diem, hunc-senem, etc., clearly form almost a single word. Thus *hunc senem* occurs 5 times in Pl., twice with elision into an acute (Au. 171; Mi. 1183); *hunc diem* (this order is almost invariable, cf. Schrader, De partic. -ne, p. 9, n. 1) occurs 29 times in Pl., 6 times with elision into an acute (Mer. 585; Ps. 128; 547; 621; St. 421; Tri. 961); cf. below, p. 417 f. Similarly we have the three apparent double iambic verse-closes (quadrisyllabic words): Cur. 204. Per. 689 *ăd* (*ĭn*) *húncdiém*; St.

76 *ăd húncmŏdúm*[1]. It is probable also that when Seneca elides the final syllable of *hoc-specu*, *hac-manu* (Müller, R. M.[2], 341), he is dealing with cretic rather than iambic words. Possessive pronouns also regularly receive the accent; so always in *mí pater*, yet we find mí pătĕr St. 90; Ru. 1175, but also mí patĕr, Poe. 1294, meî patrís, Eu. 1048.

IV.—MONOSYLLABLE + VERB.—The rule of accent which arises naturally in simple cases like *quód-facis*, *tú-facis*, *sí-facis*, is extended to the case of all monosyllables prefixed to the verb[2]; we may even conjecture with probability that the Latin recessive accent at this point is a partial survival of the I. E. verbal 'enclisis', cf. the Greek recessive accentuation in σύμ φερε. The actual existence of the recessive accent is clearly shown by the frequent use of the weak final *s* to make position in combinations like *quód-facĭs*, *quód-cupĭs*, etc., a license which is rare in all iambic words (Leo, Forsch., 268 ff.), and freely admitted only in cases of metrical necessity, as in dactylic word-forms (ffliús), and, for the purpose of avoiding the trochaic procel., in the sequence ⏑ ∪, ∪ ⏓ (*béne facĭs*). It is important to note that the scansion *făcĭs*, which is excluded after monosyllables, is quite frequent after polysyllables, e. g. Ep. 326 ábsurde[3] *făcĭs* qui ángas; ib. 691 tíbi mora[3]*m făcĭs* quom égo; Cur. 305 haúd magi[2]*s cŭpĭs* quam égo; cf. Ci. 787 móre maioru[3]*m date*. This whole usage may be illustrated by the treatment of *facis* in the dramatists: We find the type *quód facĭs med. v.* 3 times (Ter. and Acc.), viz. And. 393 haec quaé facĭs; Hec. 739 nam sí facĭs; Acc. fr. 487 id quód faci[6]s;—*quód facĭs med. v.* twice (Ter.), viz. And. 322 si íd facĭ[2]s, hodié; 522 út facĭ[4]s: et id spéro; cf. Eu. 265 quíd facĭt aliénus (iamb. sept.);—*quód facis* in verse-close 10 times, viz. Am. 499; Au. 222; Ba. 379; Men. 716; 721; 735; Tri. 634; Tru. 145 (hemistich-close); And. 727; Hau. 107;—*haéc-făcĭs*

[1] Klotz' view (Grundz. 245 f.) that preceding *elision*, as Cur. 204 *quaeso ăd húncdiém*, justifies a double iambic verse-close, is wholly unfounded and gives evidence of a strange confusion of ideas. *A double iambic verse-close is only justified in the case of those monosyllabic groups in which no elision takes place at all*, as Luchs, in the original enunciation of his law, most clearly states (Studem. Stud. I 18). E. g. Ps. 800 si ĕrás cŏquós, where no elision occurs in the group *si-erds*, which in prose (if unelided) is always accented *sĭ-eras*.

[2] For the treatment of monosyll. and verb as one word, cf. also Cic. De fin. 1, 47 quid faciendum non faciendumve sit; Rep. 5, 2, 3 agri qui essent regi, qui colerenturque (needlessly corrected by Dräger, Hist. Syntax II 35); Cap. 387 id petam<que> id persequarque (so Niemeyer).



occurs only in anapaests, as St. 326[b]. Against these 15 cases of *quód facis* we find only 2 cases of the less usual accent *quod fácis*, viz. Tri. 362 íd nunc fa[b]cis (1st ft.); Hec. 692 et fácis; cf. Cap. 834 nec fácĭt nec (1st ft.); cf. Acc. fr. 504 id fa[a]cit. Further, just as *fingeré* (As. 250) is always a permissible scansion of a dactylic word-form (A. J. P. XXV 262, n. 1), so *vél facé*, Per. 398, is quite defensible (ed. min. corrects needlessly to vél<me> fáce); cf. also Cap. 200 quaé facĭt. || Oh óh oh (with change of speaker), and, acc. to some, Tru. 555 domíst qui facĭt inprobe (bacch.; MSS inprobă).

Quite similar is the treatment of *eris*, *cupis*, *petis*, *datis*, *fugis*, *agis*, *aïs*, *sapis*, etc. Thus ⏜ *erĭs* (*erĭs*) occurs *med. v.* 5 times, viz. As. 870; Poe. 1228; Ps. 337; Tru. 958, and, without position, Tri. 971 *u[b]mquam eri[a]s* auro huíc; ⏜∪∪ occurs once: Ci. 50 saépe ĕrĭs sŭmptu. [Cf. also ⏜ *erĭt* Men. 956; Tri. 694; Eu. 484. Exceptions, however, sometimes occur, viz., Tri. 503 níl erăt dícto; Mi. 1176 ho[a]c erĭt fáctum; Tru. 190 iám fore; Tri. 976 no[a]n erăs, —the last usually corrected.] So we find quód pĕtĭs in 1st ft. Mi. 231;—otherwise *quód petĭs* (*petĭs*), *quód datĭs*, etc. *med. v.* 6 times (Ps. 1313; Cas. 765; Per. 855[a]; Mo. 524; Au. 415);—sometimes *quód-petĭs*, etc., without position, as Cur. 363 quód cupī[a]s; Eu. 12 quí petĭt (Umpf., with A C[1] P); cf. Cur. 643 quaé fŭĭt. || Archéstratá (change of speaker). *Quám rem agis*, *níl agis únde agis*, *hóc agé*, etc., regularly stand in the verse-close, but occur also twice *med. v.*, viz. Ru. 996; Per. 482;—most editors correct Cas. 143 (níl agĕs) and Ru. 1053 (níl agŏ); hoc áge (Mi. 1114) and hóc ăgĕ (perhaps Cap. 444) occur in the 1st ft. We find ăïs freely after polysyllables (Mi. 337; 366, etc.), but only *quid ĭ[u] aïs* (10 times, v. Lodge, Lex. Pl., p. 87); so without position and without change of speaker, Cap. 1016 quíd tu aïs; cf. Hau. 887 quós aïs hominés. Similarly the phrase *si sapis* has always the initial accent—15 times in verse-close, twice *med. v.* as sí sapís (Ba. 1027; Cas. 838), twice exceptionally as sí săpĭs (Am. 311, 1st ft.; Mo. 1173); cf. Poe. 1200 hínc sapĭt (without position); 1198 út sapĭt (end of colon); in the 1st ft. we find also quae săpit in, Tru. 854. With *sí-sapis*, cf. also the familiar *sivis*, *sis*, *sultis*, *sodes*.

Again, although Pl. scans *sciŏ*, *volŏ*[1] quite as frequently as *sciō*,

[1] The cases of shortening fall into 3 classes: (1) *with* the aid of the verse-accent, i. e. *sciŏ*, in all parts of the verse (so most frequently); (2) *without* the verse-accent, and in the 1st ft. (frequent); (3) *without* the verse-accent, and

volō, he admits in general only *sciō*, *volō* after monosyllables.[1] Some striking illustrations may be given of this fact: In the usual order Pl. always accents *iám-sciṓ* (6 times: As. 378; Men. 764; Mer. 266; Ci. 521; Mer. 732; 735; cf. also the frequent *iám sciês*), but, wishing to utilize the scansion *sciŏ* for his verse, *he changes the order 5 times to sciŏ iam*, e. g. Mer. 304 térnas scíŏ iam. Quíd (*not* térnas iám-sciŏ. Quíd); ib. 775; Mi. 36; Ps. 990; Tru. 506. Similarly Pl. and Ter. have *té volṓ* or *té vol*[*o*] ⏑⏑ 21 times (*med. v.* 6 times), cf. Kellerhoff, Studem. Stud. II 80 ff.; wishing to use the scansion *volŏ*, *Pl. changes the order thrice*, e. g. Ep. 460 émi. vólŏ te vérbis (*not* té-vŏlŏ); Per. 598; 190;—so also always *mé-volṓ* (except Mi. 678 ego-mé vŏlŏ), but twice vólŏ me: Mi. 497; St. 422 (té vŏlŏ occurs only in anap., Ba. 1149, except for a false correction of Kellerh.). Also, except in anap. and in the 1st ft. of dialogue verse, we find always *nón-queó* or *nón-que*[*o*] ⏑⏑ (7 times in verse-close, 4 times *med. v.*, viz. As. 907; St. 292; Ad. 738; Hec. 443; cf. also Müller, Nachtr. 23), *nón potést*, etc. (except Mer. 553 dum pótes, but Ps. 85 read séd potés (A); cf. Müller, Pr. 131 f.), *níl morór* (27 times, cf. Kellerhoff, l. l., 82 and Müller, Pr. 126 f.), *nón tacés* (11 times, but Hec. 527 he³ım, tăcĕs), *út valés*, *út valét*, (9 times), *út solés*, *út solét* (except Ba. 80 ut so³let in ístis), *út lubét*, *út decét*, *út iubés*, *quód sciám*, *sí sciás*, *hic erṓ*, etc.[2] Finally, note especially the verses in which this accent occurs more than once, as:

Cas. 765: Quin ágitis hódie? *quín datís*, *siquíd datís*?
Cur. 148: *Vós amṓ*, *vós vólṓ*, *vós peto* àtque óbsecrṓ.
Mo. 329: *Sí cadès*, *nón cadès*, *quín caàm* técum.

med. v. (not infrequent). Although the third class is the least frequent of the three, cases occur quite often enough (Mi. 273; Au. 574; Cap. 440, etc.) to give cogency to the argument offered above.

[1] *Med. v.* the type *ét sciṓ* occurs 13 times; *ét sci*[*o*]⏑⏑ 8 times. In 1st ft. et scíŏ Ci. 588;—Ps. 221 ed. mai. reads sed sci⁴o <ego>, a common phrase. *Ét volṓ med. v.* occurs 17 times; *ét vol*[*o*] ⏑⏑ 20 times. Exceptions occur in 1st ft., as Ps. 919 hoc vólŏ; Mo. 583; Ci. 82 ho¹c vŏlo ăgátis; Au. 823. A real exception is perhaps Men. 207 scín quid vo²lo ego té; [also Ter. Hec. 753 quíd vŏlŏ . . . fácias; Hau. 1027 aút quod vo²lŏ]; but not Tru. 779 híc nunc vo²lo-scire; Tru. 261. Mi. 612 se¹d volŏ-scíre (for the phrase, v. Lindsay, Captivi, p. 366), nor Mi. 678 ego-me⁴ volŏ víveré. Although excluded after monosyll. accusative (*quod*, *hoc*, *te*, etc.), volŏ is frequent after polysyll. acc., as St. 347 múnditiás volŏ; 674; Tru. 283, etc., and is wholly unrestricted in anap.

[2] Compare also the following examples, which, occurring as they do in Terence, probably involve pyrrhic rather than iambic words (v. Podiaski):



Cf. St. 285 age *út placét*, curre *út lubét*; Poe. 1198 *út sapĭt*. || Ingénium pátris, habět *quód sapĭt*; Au. 657; Men. 116; Per. 482; 578; Ph. 799.

Although iambic imperatives like *cave*, *vide*, *vale*, *abi*, etc., are used in dramatic verse almost exclusively in a shortened form (Müller, Pr. 153; Leppermann, De corrept. Pl., 82), yet, in conjunction with the negative prefix *ne*, we find always *né negá* or *né neg*[*a*] ⏑ ⏑ (7 times, cf. Loch, Impv. b. Pl., 21; 2 *med. v.*, viz. As. 377; 922;—3 times written in B *nenega*), *né pavé* (4 times; 3 *med. v.*: Am. 1110; Mer. 885; Ps. 103), *né timé* (12 times; 1 *med. v.*, Mi. 1345; 1 cretic, Cas. 835;—3 times written *netime*); *né duís*, *né duás* (6 times; 2 *med. v.*: Mer. 401(?); Ru. 1368), and always in verse-closes *né docé* (except anap., Au. 434), *né crepá*, *né siés*, etc., also always mé vidé (Lorenz on Mi. 376; Lindsay, Class. Rev. VI 404). In conjunction with other prefixes, as *intr*[*o*], *rus*, *nunc*, *sed*, *vah*, *st*, etc., we have *med. v.* íntro abí (As. 543; Cap. 452; Ci. 770), rús abí (Mo. 8; Cas. 103—the usual punctuation, viz. rus, abi, is incorrect, cf. Mo. 74); Mo. 585 núnc tu abí (MSS: né tu abí); Mer. 749 st, abí; Ps. 1288 séd vidé; Hau. 600 va^{l}h, vidé; probably Am. 749 ha^{l}nc rogá. || Měquidém ;—and often in verse-closes, as Mo. 580 (núnc abí), Cap. 125 (átque abí), ib. 860 (séd iubé), etc. Exceptions to Lachmann's law occur only occasionally *med. v.*, viz. Mo. 66 tace ătque ăbĭ rŭs; Ru. 1089 a^{3}c tăcĕ tú; perhaps Mo. 810 a^{3}h căvĕ;—but frequently in 1st ft., as Mo. 929 (núnc ăbĭ); 187 (quín mŏnĕ quaéso); Hau. 1031 (ét căvĕ); Hec. 223; Poe. 609; cf. Cap. 643 (séd vide-sís); cf. Poe. 358. The accent *ac cáve* (Ba. 147; Hau. 302) is also frequent *med. v.*; further Tri. 11 (et dăte); Am. 353; Men. 416; cf. Poe. 292. These examples show that, except in the case of the prohibitive prefix *ne*, the recessive accent is not so usual with the impv. as with other verbal forms, perhaps because some impvs. are often felt as exclamatory adverbs (cf. *cedo*, as Ad. 123 aút cĕdŏ).

With verbal forms in general a few additional exceptions to Lachmann's law occur, viz. Mi. 1272 út tremit átque; Tru. 755 no^{3}n redĭs; cf. Cap. 343 ita-u^{6}t velĭs (treat otherwise, however, Ps. 479; Cas. 242); — more often in 1st ft., as St. 58 qui^{1} manĕt út; Au. 823; Am. 703; cf. Cap. 572. The less usual medial accent is frequent in the 1st ft. (cf. perlúbĕt, Cap. 833), as Tru. 242 si

Hau. 1054 ut té dece^{3}t. Ea; ib. 666 nón lice^{3}t hominem ésse; Phor. 718 nón moro^{6}r. Ubi; Hau. 1021 quín sie^{6}t itidém.

nĕgăt se; Ci. 453 nil mŏrŏr; Per. 50 iamne ăbĭs; 213; Ps. 156; Ba. 1001; Tru. 235, etc., and admissible elsewhere, as St. 710 bíbe si bi²bis; Mi. 1314 quín tu iu²bĕs; Mo. 648 has dĕdĭt qu.; Per. 272 quod da²tūmst; Poe. 374; Ba. 646.

Plautine Usage in Prepositional Compositа.

No critical scholar at the present day is likely to question seriously the recessive accentuation of the prepositional *composita* (cf. Podiaski, Quomodo Terent. verb. acc., etc., p. 15; Lindsay, Journal Philol. XX 150 ff., and The Captivi, p. 370; Skutsch, Forsch. 159; Vendryes, L'intensité init. 108). Thus recession is clearly indicated by the frequency with which the assimilated form of the preposition occurs before nouns in Inscrr. and MSS, i. e. *al laevam*, *im fronte*, *ec flamma*, etc.; v. Corssen I² 266; II² 871; Neue-Wagener, Formenl. II 783, 868, 905, etc. The chief examples of this sort occurring in the Plautus MSS are brought together by Leo, Nachr. d. Gött. Ges., 1895, p. 419, e. g. appatrem Mer. 962 (C D), impraeda Ep. 108 (A); summanus Per. 450 (B C D), etc.[1]; for the occasional assimilation also of conjunctions and other particles, cf. CIL. III suppl. 5, 15184, 13 pro se es su[is]; IV 1895 tan durum; VI 6182 tan cito, etc. The lengthened vowel of the preposition is also abundantly attested for combinations like In foro (CIL. VI 1566), Insvos (II 1503), Incolonia (II 1676), etc., cf. Christiansen, De i longis, p. 43 ff.

Tmesis-forms[2] occur occasionally in poetry, e. g. the caesura after the *praep. adposita* in Cat. IV 18 per | ĭmpoténtiă freta is comparable to that after the *praep. composita* in Hor. C. II 12, 35 dúm flagrántia dé | torquet; a looser connection may perhaps be sometimes indicated by the very free occurrence in the hexameter-close[3] of tmesis-forms like *inter* | *agendum*, *ante* | *domandum* (Verg. Ecl. 9, 24; Georg. 3, 206), but we may note that Silius Italicus uses quite similarly in the hexameter-close *et super*|*esse* (Müller, R. M.², 264); cf. Hor. Ep. I 19, 3 ut male | sanus; cf.

[1] I have not seen J. Dorsch, Assim. in d. Compos. b. Pl., 1887.

[2] Altogether unwarranted is the view of L. Müller, R. M.², p. 467, who, on the ground of the occasional occurrence of these tmesis-forms, denies that the dactylic poets treat *circumlitora* and *aboris* as *composita* in the manner described by Quintilian (I 5, 27).

[3] Cf. also the observations of Prof. Humphreys, Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. IX (1878), p. 58.



Verg. Georg. 2, 366 interque legendae; etc.[1] Finally attention may be directed to the characteristic Latin arrangement, by which the preposition is often placed between the attribute and the noun, e. g. *omnibus in locis, lacrimis cum multis.* Leo, Nachr. d. Gött. Ges., 1895, p. 418, sees in this construction a survival of the original I. E. *postposition* of these particles, which is still largely retained in Oscan and Umbrian. Leo's solution may be the correct one, yet I should like to point out that a different view of the construction is at least possible, and that the Latin order *omnibus in locis* is capable of being explained wholly from the development which has taken place within the Latin domain, and from the tendency which has there prevailed to treat the complex 'preposition-noun' as a unit and to preserve it unbroken in the great majority of cases, e. g. omnibus *inlocis*, magna *cumlaude* where we have the adjective agreeing with the *compositum inlocis*, etc.

So far we have spoken only of general considerations; in dramatic verse the recessive accentuation of these *composita* is clearly indicated by the following special usages:

(1) We find frequent examples of the oxytonesis of trochaic and spondaic prepositions in the critical feet. E. g. Ps. 648 inte'r erum; often intéreos, praetéreos[2] (Ritschl, Proleg. CCXXVII;

[1] Similarly verbal tmesis-forms like *ante | venitis, ante | parata* (which our editors would doubtless in such cases write separately), are probably legitimate in the hexameter-close, although I have had no opportunity to collect such examples. L. Müller himself writes in Cat. IV 4 the tmesis-form *praeter | ire* on account of the caesura; similarly, Horace, C. I 2, 34, has the tmesis-form *circum | volat* in Sapphic verse; on *super | volitantia* in Lucan (V 595), see Trampe, De Luc. arte metr., p. 34. As to the main point at issue, the character of prepositional phrases, it is well-known that in the senarius-close forms like *sine-mora, in-oppido* (Phaedr. V 7, 22; III 10, 19, etc.) count as one word (cf. Müller, R. M., 532; Havet, ed. Phaedr., p. 178). Hence H. A. J. Munro, Transactions of the Cambridge Philosoph. Society, X (1864), p. 378, states the facts correctly: "An ancient Latin seems to have been able by the sense alone to distinguish *in justo* from *injústo* or *praeter missa* from *praetermíssa*". It is scarcely necessary to mention in conclusion the great number of compounds which have arisen from these familiar combinations, e. g. *inforare* (*in-forum*: Plaut.), *egregius* (*e-grege*), *suburbanus* (*sub-urbe*), etc.

[2] One may note in passing the curious oversight of Ritschl (into which Lorenz and the edd. mai. and min. have also fallen) in conjecturing Mo. 1156 pudet | Própter éă quae fécit. B^1 has Propterea qui facit, and if we follow the usual emendation, we can only read Próptereă quae (or quia) fécit, cf. And. 414 id propterea.

Klotz, Grundz. 267), intérse, proptérme,[1] etc. (Klotz, 324);—Enn. tr. fr. 55 inte^{e}r deás; Poe. 1398 inte^{e}r negótiúm; not conclusive is Enn. tr. fr. 201 ante^{e} pedes (cf. ántĕpĕdés Mer. 780; Ad. 386), nor Cap. 617 inte^{e}r sacrúm. Hence we find *intér* 'abstracted' from such cases and used alone, as Mer. 752 quós intér; possible also is apúd-forum Ep. 422, cf. Pompon. fr. 168 R., although Leo, Forsch. 226 f., demands in both these cases the usual *ápŭ(d) forúm*, with hiatus or slight change of text; cf. also with pyrrhic prep. Ps. 140 apu^{o}d oveis [cf. Ci. 50 sine^{o} mĕo; Poe. 1193 inte^{e}r aliás], though for the sequence ∪∪, ∪⏑ we find regularly ápud erúm (Am. 591; Cap. 666; Ps. 461; 493, etc.), ápud eúm (Hau. 733), etc. The student of Plautine accent will perhaps wonder why it is that we find in the critical feet such numerous cases of the accents *intér-nos*, *ergá-me*, *proptér-res*, etc., where the prep. is followed by a monosyllable, and also numerous cases of the combination – ∪, ∪ – (*intéreos*), while we find in the critical feet only a few cases like *intér deas*, where the prep. is followed by a dissyllable; the probable explanation of this difference is that nearly all the combinations involving dissyllables are needed for the formation of verse-closes, e. g. St. 460 praetér pedés; Mi. 9 proptér virúm.

(2) We find always the accents *ápatre*, *inforó*, etc., and not *a pátre*, *in fórŏ*, cf. A. J. P. XXV 262 f.; corrupt is As. 463 ípse in mánu | habébo, with hiatus, and Ru. 206 is needlessly scanned by Skutsch, Forsch. 158, quísquam homó mi obvíăm, instead of quísquam homŏ mi óbviám. Pl. also accents in prep. phrases only *proptér-viám*, *proptér-maré*, *praetér-cas* [*am*], and never *própter viăm*, *própter máre*, *praéter cás*[*am*], although we find the latter accent freely used in all other combinations of the same value (– – , ∪ ⏑), e. g. *tánto mágis* (Mo. 831; Ba. 557), *múlto mágis* (Per. 232; Ps. 656), *nílo mágis* (Am. 908; Cas. 264). For *sŭprá-lacúm* admitted as a quadrisyllabic word in iambic verse-close, v. Klotz, Grundz. 244; cf. also in the hexameter-close Verg. A. 3, 695 subtér-mare, quí nunc. Similarly we have

[1] It is noteworthy that the very frequent cases of 'enclisis' in *intéreos*, *intérse*, *praetérspem*, etc., are nowhere expressly mentioned by the ancient grammarians, and we must suppose that they regarded such cases as sufficiently provided for by their general rules. To these rules as cited above (A. J. P. XXV 263 f.) add Priscian, K. III 27, 20 (Schöll, De acc., p. 186): annectitur semper praepositio sequenti dictioni et *quasi una pars cum ea effertur, quamvis per appositionem proferatur.*



always *ápŭd forúm, sine modó*, and procell. like *apŭd fórŭm, sine módŏ* (dissyll. noun) are wholly excluded (sine bónŏ only in anap.[1], e. g. Ru. 937[b]), although, if the governed noun is trisyllabic, the use of the procel. is quite frequent, e. g. Hau. 30 sine vítiis; Eu. 1044 sine dúbi[o]; Pl. fr. inc. 7 apud hómines (Ahlberg, Procel. 135 ff., cites 11 such procell.).

(3) If, during the republican period, the accent ever rested upon the noun in combinations consisting of prep. + dissyllabic noun, we ought to find examples of procell. like *ita ĭn mánu*,[1] *quidem ĭn cáput, et ĭn máre*, etc. We find in fact procell. with just such shortening of the prep., but only[2] when the governed noun is trisyllabic, e. g. Ru. 1302 ita ĭn mánibus; 765 quidem ĭn ca'pite; Cur. 611 vel ĭn chla'mydem; Cap. 1000 fui ĭn la'pici | dínas (cf. Ahlberg, Procel. I 139–147, who, however, omits Ru. 765). The accent may not then move forward, but Pl. allows it to freely *recede further* in the case of dissyllabic nouns, esp. in the 1st ft., e. g. Cur. 354 si'bi ĭn manúm; Am. 1021; Ps. 1294; Tri. 914, v. still other examples in Müller, Pr. 344; cf. St. 517 i'n hūnc diém; Cap. 426 i'd ūt sciás; Am. 357; Cap. 363. The recession which all these examples exhibit is that of the *quíd ĕxprobrás* type (Tri. 318; 250; Eu. 233, etc.).

(4) We find Lachmann's law carefully observed in the prepositional *composita*, i. e. we have either *ápatrĕ*, *ínforŏ*, etc. (*med.* and *ult. v.*), or, if the final syllable is elided, elision always[3] occurs in dialogue verse[4] into an acute, that is, we have either ⏑́, ⏑́ or ⏑́, ⏑̆, but not ⏑́, ⏑ ⏑́ (A. J. P. XXV 262). In other words, we may have sen[em] ĭllúm (Ba. 1150), but not ádsen[em] ĭllúm, manu ĕmíssus (As. 411), but not émanu ĕmíssus. I have examined, with the help of Rassow's index, a sufficient number of prepositional phrases in Pl. to determine

[1] Hence read with synizesis, Ep. 426 sine tŭ͡o labóre (Ahlberg, l. l., 154); Per. 63 sine mĕ͡o perículo; Mi. 135 apud sŭ͡om paternum.

[2] Müller, Pr. 181, wrongly emends the corrupt v. Am. 157 to neque in érŏ (iamb. oct.), and Goetz does little better, i. e. in érŏ sit;—read with synizesis St. 62 quidem ĭn sŭ͡o (Ahlberg, l. l., 154), not quidem ĭn sŭŏ.

[3] Scan Cas. prol. 36 cúmpatre ín ĭllisce, not in íllisce; so Mi. 95 quómodo ád hūnc, not quómodo ad húnc; Ps. 1242 (Müller, Nachtr. 15) is corrected from A, or may be scanned óbviam e͡i últro déferám (P). Very exceptional is CLE. (Büch.) 231, 2 i'n mănŭ, cf. péctŏrĕ.

[4] In anap. we have of course óbvĭam ĭgnóbilis (Ps. 592), ínlŏcŏ (Per. 843), húncdĭĕm (ib. 768) etc., cf. above p. 409.

this fact beyond all question; the results are shown in the following table:

Composita	Elisions Into Acute	Composita	Elisions Into Acute
aforo	5	periovem	2
deforo	1	periocum	2
inforo	4	incrucem	1
adforum	12	invia	2
apatre	6	devia	1
cumpatre	2	propterviam	1
clampatrem	1	obviam	14
adpatrem	5	indiem	3[1]
adsenem	2	inloco	2
⌐ mare	4	abdomo	2
		Total	72

The cases of the elision of *adforum* into an acute may be cited here: Ba. 902; 1060; Ps. 561; 764; Tru. 313; Mer. 797; Tri. 727; Per. 487; As. 245; 367; Mi. 89; 930; And. 226; 356; Ad. 277; Ph. 312; 921. (*Total*, 17);—similarly *aforo*: Au. 356; Mi. 578; Mo. 998; Per. 442; Poe. 929; Ad. 645;—*inforo*: As. 117; Cur. 475; 507; Tri. 651.

Finally, the prepositions are shown to be accented by the fact that they are often placed in those feet of Latin verse which *conventionally* require a tonic syllable in the arsis, e. g. the fifth arsis of the hexameter, as áb Iove súmmo (Verg. A. 1, 380), and the third arsis of the trimeter, as Laber. mim. 113 ín bono aéque atque ín maló; Syr. sent. 135 cúm malá famá.

Summary.

The cases of general recession in the Latin accent system are strictly limited in number, that is, recession of this sort occurs only upon monosyllabic pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs, and also upon dissyllabic prepositions and pronouns (for the latter, v. Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1904). Further when conjunctions, pronouns and the like are involved, recession occurs often in the word-groups ⏑⏑, ⏑⏓ (A. J. P. XXV 160, 260, 269), less often in the groups ⏑, ⏑⏑⏓ (TAPA. XXXIV, 93 ff.). The causes of this recession lie in the traditional I. E. word-order,

[1] No. of cases in both Pl. and Ter.



which has been very completely preserved in Latin, and, in a number of instances, they probably lie also in an original I. E. 'enclisis', which has been retained in Latin (A. J. P. XXV 156, 259[2], 260, 261[1], 263, 410).

Since Latin has preserved no other word-orders in the same degree as those just mentioned, the Latin accent has, in all other cases—except of course in special phrases—acquired a definite place in single words and become a fixed accent (*feste, gebundene Betonung*, v. Seelmann, Ausspr. 18; Hirt, Indogerm. Akz. 19). The suggestion has been made, to be sure, both by Lindsay and by Skutsch in recent writings, in which they have developed the theory of Ritschl to its logical conclusions (Journal of Philol. XX 153; The Captivi, p. 362[1]; Forsch. 156 *med.*), that the Latin accent possesses the power of receding over almost any iambic word, e. g. *essúm vocat*, and is therefore to a considerable extent *a free accent* (*freie Betonung*). After examining this hypothesis with interest and without adverse prepossessions, I am led to reject it at every point. For it is only in a very limited way that we find evidences of accentuations like *aquám-velim*[2] (obj. + verb), and we practically find no evidence at all for accents like *rectá-via* (adj. + noun) or *recté-facis*[3] (dissyll. adv. + verb). Hence we must conclude that a general recession of the accent takes place only within certain definite limits.

Further, the conclusions which we have reached are, to a large extent, independent of any very special theory of the Latin accent, but are in accord with certain generally recognized facts of development. For both the stress theory of the Latin accent and the musical theory, in the form in which the latter has been thrown by Havet and Vendryes, agree in assuming that in the

[1] It is scarcely necessary to say that I accept very largely the views which Prof. Lindsay has advocated in the works just cited, but I do not accept the view that in the common pronunciation *any* iambic word can throw its accent back, e. g. *essúm-vocat*, *díffractós-velim*, *rectá-via*. In general, there is no tendency whatever to make accent and ictus agree in the last dipody of iambic lines (v. Schlicher, A. J. P. XXIII 50, whose statistics unfortunately make no distinct allowance for the numerous cases like ín viam, illaéc siet, aliquó modo, etc.), and in accordance with the principle to be stated below, *it is precisely in the last dipody of iambic lines that the developed iambus of Tragedy requires that accent and ictus shall (practically) always disagree*, as H. A. J. Munro acutely pointed out, Journal of Philol. VI 75, and Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, X 386.

[2] Cf. A. J. P. XXV 258.

[3] Cf. TAPA. 1904, p. 49.

pre-literary period an accent of stress or intensity rested upon the initials. In my judgment, however, these conclusions accord better with the stress theory of the accent (cf. TAPA. XXXIV, p. 95).

Conclusion. Relation of Word and Verse Accent.

The question may be asked whether the conclusions reached in the preceding study throw any light upon the larger problem of the relation which exists between the Latin accent and Latin quantitative verse.[1] Although it is difficult to answer this question within the limits of the present paper, I am unwilling to bring this study to a close without indicating briefly the manner in which I think that its results should be interpreted in relation to the general problem,[2] which has called forth such wide differences of opinion among Latin metrical scholars. In the first place it will be noted that all the tests which have been employed in the preceding investigation are based upon the well-known fact that the verse-accentuation of *gĕnĕrĕ*, *prodĭtĭo*, *călămĭ*|tatem, *ăpĕ*|rire *pĕctŏrĕ*[3], *ĭmpĕrĭ*|osus,[4] etc., must agree with the word-tone. This usage means that, in all ordinary forms of pronunciation, the Latin tone greatly weakened *a following short syllable*, or *two following short syllables*, in case the second of the two shorts was not a final syllable. Now it is true, in general, that the various metrical *tones* or *cadences* of the ancients (ἑξάμετρος τόνος, Hdt. I 47; τρίμετρος τόνος, id. I 174) always involve to some extent the song-like utterance known as the μέση κίνησις or *medium genus* (Aristid. Quint., p. 7, 23 M.; Mart. Cap. IX 937; cf. Quintil. I 8, 2), and are therefore wholly independent of the *tone*[5] or

[1] In this whole discussion I use the term 'accent' in the sense of the grammatical accent, the accent of popular speech (*sermo*). Hence my position would not be affected in the least, even if one should wish to assume with Zielinski, Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden, Leipzig, 1904, p. 225 ff., the existence of an 'oratorisch-poetischer Accent'; for the real subject of my inquiry is, what relation does this 'oratorisch-poetischer Accent', i. e., in my judgment, the accent which *naturally* accompanies the μέση κίνησις and the πλάσμα, bear to the 'Vulgäraccent'.

[2] Upon this relation, see also my article "Studies in Latin Accent and Metric", Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1904. A still fuller discussion of the subject is proposed elsewhere.

[3] From the time of Terence, v. Klotz, Grundz. 276 ff.

[4] From the time of Phaedrus, v. TAPA. XXXIV 67.

[5] Since the Greek and Latin accents have both of them a large melodic element and appear to differ only in the degree in which they have developed



cadence (*τόνος*, *προσῳδία*) of the voice in colloquial speech, independent also, in general, of the weak intensive element of the tone. This independence does not, however, exist in all cases to the same extent; for the ancients are agreed that one of the metrical cadences, viz. the iambic, approaches more nearly than the rest to the tone of colloquial speech. Hence we should expect to discover in iambic verse, if anywhere, traces of the direct influence of the tone, and we are not surprised to find that the poet or poets, who arranged the Latin iambic, imposed upon it from the first the law that it should respect the colloquial tone of *gĕnĕrĕ*, *călămĭ*|tatem and *ăpĕrire*, and that a similar law was accepted later for *pĕctŏrĕ* and even for *ĭmpĕrĭ*|osus.

the intensive element, I have no hesitation in following the Roman custom of applying to Roman pronunciation all those terms which the Greeks employ of their own language, i. e. *μέλος*, *ἁρμονία*, *τόνος*, *προσῳδία*, etc. For the sake of brevity and of making my account fit both Greek and Latin verse, I have also intentionally followed the example of many Roman writers and perhaps of Hdt. (cited above) and of Dion. Hal. (De admir. vi Dem. c. 48; De comp. verb. c. 11, cf. Klotz, Grundz. 269 *versus* Crusius, litt. Centralbl. 1891, 7, 213), among Greek writers, in failing to distinguish sharply between ictus, which is 'stress with a slight musical elevation' (Humphreys), and the Greek tone, which is 'musical elevation with a slight stress'. This lack of sharp distinction seems to me legitimate, since, in the *μέση κίνησις*, the ictus obscures or obliterates the tone, and thus very largely takes its place. In fact, we may safely go considerably beyond the definitions just quoted; see my note on ictus in TAPA., 1904, p. 51 f. To that note I now wish to add the following: Besides the examples of *τόνος* ('musical mode', 'melody') cited in Stephanus' Thesaurus, note especially Schol. Marciana in artis Dionys. § 2, p. 307, 38 Hilgard: *ἔπος λέγεται καὶ τόνος παρά τισιν, "ἑξαμέτροις τοῖς τόνοις κεχρῆσθαι."* Again *προσῳδία* is apparently never used simply of the ictus, without reference to the musical accompaniment, but, according to the later grammarians, it is freely used of the musical accompaniment and of the tune which, as we know, replaced the speech-tune in singing; cf. Choeroboscus, Graec. Gramm., p. 703 (124, 27 Hilgard): *τριχῶς λέγεται ἡ προσῳδία. καὶ <γὰρ> ἡ παρὰ τοῖς μουσικοῖς, τουτέστι τὸ στόμα καὶ ἡ ἐκφώνησις τῶν αὐλῶν, λέγεται προσῳδία*; Porphyry ib., p. 712 (141, 9 H.) *προσῳδία γὰρ καὶ ἡ χειρονομία καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὀργάνου φωνή*, where *χειρονομία* denotes the 'gestures' of the musician or the actor, and consequently a species of vocal *προσῳδία* also appears to be implied for the familiar *ῥυθμοὶ σχηματιζόμενοι* (Arist. Poet. 1, 6), i. e. the rhythms which are without musical accompaniment but supported by lively gesticulation, cf. Aristid. Q. 32 M. *ῥυθμὸς καθ' αὑτὸν ἐπὶ ψιλῆς ὀρχήσεως.*

In conclusion it is not probable that *τόνος*—at least in the singular number—contains a *direct* reference to the verse-accent, although this interpretation is actually adopted in Passow's Lex.; some more remote connection, however, may probably be traced. As regards the direct meaning of the term, I quite agree with Prof. Humphreys who kindly writes me that in his judgment "*τόνος*

All the cases named involve the treatment of short syllables following the tone; wherever, on the other hand, long syllables alone are involved, as in *rēgnō*, the Romans were easily able to withdraw[1] the weak colloquial tone and to pronounce *rēgnṓ*, so long as they left to the first syllable of this word the full value of two χρόνοι πρῶτοι; for in this case the time of the first syllable is sufficiently preserved, and a careful enunciation of all the syllables in terms of the time-unit, the χρόνος πρῶτος, takes place naturally, with the help of the μέση κίνησις. We find, however, that the organizer of the Latin iambic excluded the pronunciation *rēgnṓ* from the inner feet of iambic dipodies, the feet upon which the rhythm of the verse depends (Dipodic law). This precaution does not mean that the poet had regard for the tone alone; it means rather that, in rhythmizing, he was unable to remove the primary tone of the popular speech and at the same time to reduce the irrational long from 2 to 1½ χρόνοι πρῶτοι, as the ancient theory requires; in other words, he was unable to reduce a tone-bearing long to the *time* of a vigorous short.[2] Similarly he was unable to reduce two shorts, the first of which bears the primary tone, to the *time* of one short, e. g. *ánimo*.

The cases which we have named represent nearly all the cases of the *direct* influence of the accent upon quantitative verse which are to be found in Latin poetry,[3] if, for the purpose of a convenient summary, we may be permitted to include the phenomena of the Dipodic law under cases of *direct* influence. It is true that the theory of Ritschl, which is now so much in vogue with Plautine scholars, sees everywhere the *direct* influence of the

is used to designate the *mode of recitation*, and ἐν ἐξ. τόνῳ is something analogous to our 'in heroic strain'". The Greeks commonly include the verse-accent under the simple terms ῥυθμός, κίνησις, ποῦς, βάσις. To the examples of βάσις in this use quoted by the Thesaurus, add Schol. B in Hephaest., p. 131 Westphal: οὗτος (sc. ὁ πυρρίχιος) δὲ κατὰ πόδα μὲν οὐ βαίνεται διὰ τὸ κατάπυκνον γίνεσθαι τὴν βάσιν, καὶ συγχεῖσθαι τὴν αἴσθησιν; cf. Cic. De Or. III 47, 182 iambum et trochaeum segregat ab oratore Aristoteles; . . . insignes *percussiones* eorum numerorum et minuti pedes. Thus the βάσις of the scholiast is evidently equivalent to Cicero's *percussio*, and Aristoxenus' ποδικὴ σημασία (Elem. § 31 W.; cf. Hendrickson, A. J. P. XX 199, n. 2).

[1] I. e. in song and πλάσμα to wholly withdraw it; in the μέση κίνησις, in general, to greatly weaken and obscure it.

[2] This is very largely also the explanation of Klotz, Grundz. 321 f., who speaks in more general terms of the tone-bearing longs as '*die schwersten Längen*'.

[3] The observation made above (A. J. P. XXV 149), that "the republican accents are preserved in the verse of the dramatists", is to be interpreted in the light of this statement.



accent. This view is, however, certainly a mistaken one, and has gained the assent of very few technical metricians. Ritschl's great insight consisted in a clear perception of the fact that the Latin accent has profoundly influenced many of the chief Latin verse-forms, and he was not misled by the short-sighted attempts of some critics to explain this influence entirely away through the assumption of secondary causes; he was less fortunate, however, in his judgment of the *manner* in which the influence of the accent has been exerted. For, assuming that this influence was always direct, he concluded that the Romans took *pleasure* in the simple agreement of accent and ictus, and therefore sought to bring about this agreement in as many cases as possible. Unfortunately, these conclusions are not only at variance with the historical development of Latin verse-forms, as Ritschl's opponents have not failed to point out (e. g. W. Meyer, Beobacht. d. Wortacc., p. 16 fin.; Vendryes, L'intensité init., p. 87), but they attribute a false and unreal character to all the classical poetry of the Romans. For if agreement of accent and ictus was so eagerly sought by the Romans, it is difficult to see how they could have derived much genuine pleasure from a species of verse which consists mainly of disagreements.

A more correct account of the whole matter has been given by an eminent American scholar, Prof. M. W. Humphreys, who has published his conclusions upon the relation of accent and ictus, first in a Leipzig dissertation, Quaest. metr. de accentus momento in versu heroico, 1874,[1] and later in a paper "On Influence of Accent in Latin Dactylic Hexameters", Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. IX (1878), pp. 39-58. In the violent clash of extreme opinions, these moderate and scrupulously exact studies of Prof. Humphreys seem entirely to have escaped the notice of the contending parties;[2] they constitute, however, in my judgment, one of the

[1] This treatise formed one chapter in a series of metrical studies, a considerable part of which Prof. Humphreys informs me he has never published. With this broad range of metrical study, Prof. H. naturally possessed a great advantage over those dissertationists who have written upon some single phase of the question.

[2] Strangely enough W. Meyer, who has discussed the same subject less successfully, Zur Geschichte d. griech. u. lat. Hexam., Sitzungsber. d. bayer. Akad., München, 1884, pp. 979–1089, and especially pp. 1033–1043, appears to be unacquainted with Humphreys' work, just as he was unacquainted with the earlier statement of the dipodic law by his own countryman, Draheim, in Hermes XV. Vendryes, who quotes other literature, l. l., 92 ff., shows a similar neglect.

most important contributions which has been made to the subject, and it becomes necessary to understand their full significance. We may summarize Prof. Humphreys' conclusions as follows: The earliest Roman poets made no effort whatever to produce agreement in the close of the hexameter, but, as a consequence of the marked uniformity of Latin accent, the structure of the verse caused agreement to occur in a great majority of the cases (e. g. ¾ of the cases in Ennius). "Consequently, in the course of time, when the ear became accustomed to this agreement, it appeared to be a property of the verse" (TAPA. IX 40), and later poets required that agreement should always occur in this place. Quite similarly, the predominant use of masculine caesurae generally produced disagreement in the first part of the hexameter; hence disagreement became the invariable rule in this part of the verse, and the masculine caesura alone was admitted as the principal caesura of the verse. Therefore the relation of ictus to accent in dactylic hexameters is to be regarded as an *artificial* relation, and as the result of *usage* or *convention*. In addition to these conclusions on the dactylic hexameter, Prof. Humphreys declares elsewhere (TAPA. VII 112) that the invariable or almost invariable agreement[1] which is found in the third foot

[1] One of the questions which one might have expected W. Meyer to discuss in his voluminous but incomplete work, Beobachtung des Wortaccentes, is whether this agreement *really* exists. Since, however, he has overlooked this problem entirely, I wish briefly to discuss the question in the form, Did Phaedrus seek consciously to place a tonic syllable in the third arsis? Fortunately this question admits of a definite answer; for Phaedrus most freely allows a spondee or anapaest in the 4th ft., subject to the conditions of the dipodic law, and hence his verse-structure admits *térrŏr[em]* héredís tuí just as well as *gaúdĭ[um]* héredís tuí (4, 20, 18), and *éxitŭ[um]* úxoris peténs just as well as *cŭbícŭl[um]* úxoris peténs (3, 10, 21). According to L. Müller's ed. min. elision occurs in Phaedrus between the arses of the 3rd and 4th ft. (as in quóni[am] indignos, córpor[e] et, vér[e] ad, hómin[i] ut) 118 times in all, and in particular cases of the elision of trisyllabic words of the value ⏑ ⏑ ⏒ (*péctŏre*, *péctŏri*) occur 28 times. On the other hand, cases of the elision of trisyllabic words of the value – ⏑ ⏒ do not occur at all in Phaedrus; for in App. 2, 4, where the ed. min. gives quaecúmque indúlgens Fórtun[a], the MSS have quaecumque (or, q que) Fortuna, and both Müller in ed. mai. and Havet read quae cuí Fortúna indúlgens; also in App. 21, 7, where the ed. min. gives cum círcumspéctans érror[e], the MSS have orrore or errore, and Müller in ed. mai. reads óre ita, Havet reads *aéquor*, and Hartman ómni[a]. We have a right to assume that words like *audīrem* are about as frequent in Latin as words like *audīam* and no more in demand in other parts of the verse than the latter; *hence I conclude that Phaedrus*



of the trimeter has arisen in the same manner. These clear and definite statements (especially De acc. momento, p. 2; TAPA. IX 40; VII 112) evidently afford a general law for the accentual development of all forms of Latin verse[1], and, to make the significance of this law perfectly plain, I venture to restate it in the following terms:— The Latin metrical cadences or verse-forms were originally constituted entirely without reference to accent, and solely in accordance with metrical laws; no sooner, however, had they assumed a definitive form in this way than they began to respond to the influence of the accent in accordance with a simple psychological law. In view of the uniformity of the Latin accentual system, the result of observing the metrical rules was to produce at certain points of almost every cadence, (1) agreement of accent and ictus in the great majority of cases, (2) disagreement of accent and ictus in the great majority of cases. Wherever this result is brought about, the Roman ear is quick to note the relation which usually exists and to require in the end, i. e. in the course of the historical development, that it shall *always* exist, that is, to require that the agreement or disagreement shall be made invariable; in other words, the Roman ear *remembers* the hexameter, Sapphic or trimeter cadences (τόνοι 'tunes', 'musical modes') at certain points by the relation which

consciously sought to place a tonic syllable in the 3rd arsis and for this reason rejected the 28 examples of Fŏrtun[a] which the verse-structure would naturally produce. We find also no cases of elision like *ĕxĭtĭ [um]*, but 2 cases like *cŭbĭcŭl [um]* (3, 10, 21; 4, 7, 13). [*Observe that fourth paeon words like cŭbĭcŭlum were wholly withdrawn from the 3rd arsis after* 150 A. D., *when the accent had fully changed to cŭbĭcŭlum*, cf. A. J. P. XXV 152, n. 1.] I may add that, in order to give the words in question their proper accent in the 3rd arsis, Phaedrus employs the rare latent caesura in proláps[am] 3, 15, 6; secrét[um] ib. 10, 11; lānĭfic[am] 4, 5, 5. A long monosyll., however, is freely treated by Phaedrus as independently accented in the 3rd arsis, as 3, 14, 4 quám derídendús, where composition would give quam-dérídéndus; so 4, 11, 14, et al.; cf. also 4, 12, 3 própter vírtut[em].

[1] An altogether similar view of the influence of the accent has been put forward by the well-known English scholar, H. A. J. Munro, in an extremely able article in the Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, Vol. X (1864), pp. 374-402. Cf. especially p. 377: "I wish . . . to show that before the third century Latin verses of every kind, popular as well as learned, were written by quantity alone; that on the different kinds of metre accent had no direct influence at all; that however sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, certain poets sought sometimes a coincidence, sometimes on the other hand a contradiction between the *ictus metricus* of the verse and the

they bear to the accentual cadence or melody, which is its simplest standard of measurement, its most familiar register. In those more numerous parts of the verse, however, where no usual relation was established, but the effect of observing the metrical rules was to produce sometimes agreement and sometimes disagreement, the metrical cadence remained wholly unchanged, wholly unaffected by the accent, so long as the Roman quantitative system endured.

I trust that I have now made sufficiently clear the real character of Prof. Humphreys' theory, which my own studies have led me to adopt with confidence, and, I may add, with a genuine sense of relief. For this theory appears to afford a genuine *via media*, and to neglect neither the historical development, as does the theory of Ritschl and Langen, nor the historical facts, as does the theory of Corssen and Meyer. It assigns some value and some potential influence to the Latin accent without, at the same time, destroying the genuine character of Roman poetry; it moves also among the legitimate ideas of ancient classical metric[1], instead of transporting us somewhat violently into the domain of modern German and English accentual verse. Above all, it does not involve us in the difficult and obscure psychology of '*harmonische Disharmonie*', that is, it does not compel us to believe with

accent". Cf. also p. 393: "Rhythm we have now seen was in Latin as in Greek quite independent of accent which had no direct influence on it whatsoever. But as quantity on which it rested was divided into various portions by caesura, pause and due arrangement of words, it well might be that in consequence of the limited range of the Latin accent it might gradually obtain a certain indirect influence over some parts of the hexameter, as of the iambic or trochaic: habit being all-powerful in this as in more important matters." It seems a curious accident in this branch of philological study that, while the scattered notes of Bentley upon Latin accent and quantity are widely known and often quoted, this study of Munro's, which is no less deserving of notice, should be generally neglected and apparently be unknown to the present generation of English scholars! I may add that the articles of Humphreys and Munro, which are wholly independent of each other and yet reach identical conclusions, serve admirably to supplement each other and consequently seem almost to exhaust all the important phases of the subject, leaving only minor questions of detail for future investigators. Humphreys offers a much more rigorous and strictly scientific proof, while Munro contributes to the question the wide range of exact knowledge and the great critical acumen which one naturally associates with the English editor of Lucretius.

[1] For examples of the 'conventions' of Sanskrit metric, cf. Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 38 f.



Ritschl (Opusc. II, Leipzig, 1868, p. XII) that the Romans sought agreement in one part of the verse for the pleasure which it gave them, while in another part of the verse, and for the sake of an abstract balance or contrast, they sought with pleasure (*'suchten mit Wohlgefallen'*)—disagreement. In view of these merits, it seems not improbable that the theory of Humphreys and Munro needs only to be better known to meet with wide acceptance among metrical scholars; it is even probable that precisely this theory is already held by many Latin scholars in a somewhat indefinite form. In any case we may note the probable consequences that would be involved in its acceptance. We should be compelled to modify a part, at least, of those views upon Plautine verse, which have tended to prevail during the last twenty-five years, and we should not only have a solution of the accentual problem of classical verse, but should be measurably advanced towards a final solution of the closely allied problems, which relate to the real character of the earliest Latin verse and to the origin of the later rhythmical poetry.[1]

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[1] See already the careful dissertation of Dr. J. J. Schlicher, Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin, Chicago, 1900, which, if it does not give a final solution of this problem, at least goes very far towards making such a solution possible.

IV.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE INFINITIVE UPON VERBS SUBORDINATED TO IT.

The standard Latin grammars usually recognize the fact that an infinitive may have the power of shifting the mood of a verb that depends upon it. Now, the lists of examples given to illustrate the usage, as one finds them in Holtze,[1] Kühner,[2] Roby, etc., contain many citations that are not to the point, as, for instance, examples of indirect discourse, attraction by the subjunctive, descriptive relative clauses, and other irrelevant matter. The habits and limitations of the construction have not been clearly understood, or, to say the least, have not been explained. The reasons that have been offered as explanation of the possession of this somewhat arbitrary power on the part of the infinitive are hardly adequate. Evidently a more careful study of the question is called for. I propose in this paper, in fulfilment of a promise made when discussing[3] the construction of attraction by the subjunctive, to explain the connection between this and the allied constructions of indirect discourse and of attraction proper, both in origin and in usage, and to define the scope of its influence. For this purpose I have listed all the verbs, whether indicative or subjunctive, that depend upon infinitives in early Latin to the time of Lucretius, not inclusive, and also in representative portions of classical and later Latin.

Let us first see what verbs exert this influence upon a dependent verb. The *historical* or *descriptive infinitive* seems to lack

[1] Syntaxis, II, p. 191 ff. His list, which, by the way, does not distinguish this construction from that of indirect discourse and of attraction proper, includes, for example, instances of the second person singular indefinite subjunctive: Cist. I, 1, 25; Merc. III, 2, 7 (552), and of the anticipatory subjunctive: Aul. 12; Epid. II, 2, 94 (277). The list is wholly untrustworthy.

[2] Grammatik, II, p. 789. His rule, which may be taken as a representative one, reads: Daher steht der Konjunktiv in allen Nebensätzen, welche in einem genauen und inneren Zusammenhange mit einem durch den Konjunktiv oder durch den *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* oder durch den *blossen Infinitiv* ausgedrückten Gedanken stehen. Roby's lists consist mainly of examples of oratio obliqua (1772–6).

[3] Attraction of Mood in Early Latin, Chicago, 1904.



the power. We shall discuss the reason later. Early Latin[1] furnishes but few instances of verbs in dependence upon infinitives of this kind. The examples are in Eun. 432, Andr. 63, Andr. 96, Lucilius Inc. 22 (M), all of which are in the indicative. Cicero[2] gives six instances, Caesar[3] two, Sallust[4] forty-three, Vergil[5] four. These are likewise in the indicative, as are those of Livy,[6] Curtius,[7] Tacitus,[8] Justinus,[9] unless inherently subjunctive. There are no verbs in dependence upon the few instances in Horace,[10] Ovid[11] and Nepos.[12] Outside of the authors mentioned, there are not very many occurrences of the historical infinitive in Latin, and, I think, no instances to disprove the conclusions here reached.

The *exclamatory infinitive* occurs some sixty times in early Latin[13] but is not often accompanied by a dependent clause. In the following six examples where it does, the indicative is found: Asin. 226, Cas. 89, Andr. 245, Phorm. 340, Adel. 630, Naevius 71 (R). In Cicero the exclamatory infinitive is frequently found, but its dependent verbs are in the indicative except where they are in the subjunctive mood for inherent reasons. I find no

[1] The references to the occurrences of the historical infinitive in early Latin poets may be found in Golenski, De Infin. apud Poetas Lat. Usu (1863), p. 52.

[2] I have used the references of Mohr, De Infin. Hist. (1878), p. 29, and Müller, Lehre vom Infin. (1878), p. 15.

[3] Mohr (ad loc. cit.). Indirect discourse is implied in B. G. 1, 16, 1; though Heynacker, Sprachgebrauch Caesars, p. 114, believes the subjunctive due to the presence of the historical infinitive. The relative clause of B. G. 5, 33, 1 is causal.

[4] Cf. Huebenthal, Quaestiones de usu. inf. hist. apud Sall. et Tac. (1881). Indirect discourse is implied in Jug. 70, 5.

[5] Krause, De Verg. usu. Infin. (1878), p. 88.

[6] Kühnast, Liv. Syntax, p. 245.

[7] Eger, De Infin. Curtiano, 1885.

[8] Huebenthal, ad loc. cit.

[9] Wentzel, De Infin. apud Iustinum usu (1893), p. 68.

[10] Cf. Indebetou, De usu infin. Horatiano, Upsaliae, p. 37, for the references.

[11] Trillhaas, Der Inf. bei Ovid, p. 22.

[12] Eidenschink, Der Inf. bei Nepos, p. 29.

[13] Reinkens, Ueber den acc. cum inf. bei Plautus und Ter. (1887), though untrustworthy, will give most of the examples. See also Lübker, De usu Inf. Plaut., p. 28; and Kraz, Stuttgarter Progr. (1862), p. 35. In Phorm. 502, Atque Antipho alia quom *occupatus esset* sollicitudine tum hoc esse mi obiectum malum, the dependent verb may be an early instance of a subjunctive with *quom*, or it may have so much of the feeling of remonstrance which appears in the infinitive as to call for the subjunctive of exclamation.

dependent clauses attached to this infinitive in Livy,[1] Caesar, Sallust, Tacitus, Nepos, Vergil, Horace and Ovid. Outside of the above-mentioned authors this infinitive is practically a negligible quantity. It seems then that the grammars should omit the exclamatory infinitive also from the aforementioned rule.

Of course, the *verba sentiendi et declarandi* do not come under consideration in this treatment. There are, however, several verbs not strictly belonging to that list which are very prone to cast an implication of oratio obliqua over the clauses depending upon their infinitives. These are verbs like *iubeo, decerno, constituo, postulo, veto,* after which a command or prohibition is practically quoted, and verbs and phrases of feeling, like *miror laetor, gaudeo, moleste fero,* etc. There would be little point in saying that the mood of *possit* in M. G. 182, *iube transire huc quantum possit,* is due to the presence of the infinitive. The dependent clause is obviously a part of the quoted command and is in the subjunctive of indirect discourse. It is sometimes said that attraction and oratio obliqua are both at work in such examples. The statement may be true for early Latin, but there seems good evidence for the belief that Cicero is consistent in using the subjunctive only when the feeling of oratio obliqua is definitely present; that when this force is absent he is careful to indicate the fact by using the indicative; and that the presence of the infinitive *per se* makes no difference. There would be every reason to expect such a distinction. Since verbs like *iubeo,* etc., so frequently associate with the subjunctive of oratio obliqua, misunderstanding would at once be caused if the subjunctives were employed for purely formal reasons. But there is even more definite evidence for believing that such a distinction was felt. With the use of Merguet's lexicon I have found thirty-three instances of the subjunctive[2] and fourteen of the indicative[3] in clauses closely attached to infinitives with *iubeo* in the speeches and philosophical works of Cicero. So far as I can determine

[1] This negative statement is based upon the collection of examples of the infinitive given in the special treatises mentioned above.

[2] Rab. 20; Rab. Post. 8; Phil. I, 23; Caecin. 54, 60, 102; Verr. II, 138; V, 103; Tull. 47; Clu. 148; leg. agr. I, 6 bis; I, 10; I, 12; I, 13; II, 16; II, 20; II, 26; II, 38; II, 50: II, 63; II, 73; Mur. 51; Sen. 27; har. resp. 11; Fin. II, 1; Tusc. I, 7; IV, 51; Nat. II, 7; Leg. II, 39; II, 60; Off. III, 66.

[3] Quinct. 25; Verr. II, 42; II, 63; V, 85; Clu. 14; Cat. III, 10; III, 12; Arch. 25; dom. 54; Phil. V. 22; Fin. II, 69; II, 97; Div. I, 54.



from these instances, the subjunctive is never used merely because of the presence of the infinitive; and whenever, as often happens, the necessity of indicating oratio obliqua by the mood is obviated by the use of an explicit word like *dicere* and *cognoscere*, the verb is invariably in the indicative. Cf. Cat. III, 10, tabellas proferri iussimus quae a quoque *dicebantur* datae (=quae a quoque datae essent); also Cat. III, 12; Phil. V, 22; Plaut. Trin. 955; Caes. B. G. 4, 22, 6. If the bare presence of the infinitive were enough to call for a subjunctive, it would sometimes be found in such sentences where implied indirect discourse is out of the question.[1] For this reason I should treat the subjunctive after infinitives that depend upon verbs of command or prohibition as examples of implied indirect discourse and not as due to the influence of the infinitive.

It is worthy of note that in Cicero the proportion of subjunctives to indicatives in the cases just treated was 33: 14, a proportion almost as high as that which holds in oratio obliqua in Cicero, and far too high for attraction by the infinitive, as will appear later. The following lists will give the examples with *iubeo* in Plautus and Terence:

iubeo + *infinitive* + *subjunctive.*

M. G. 182; 981; Pseud. 1150; Andr. 464.

iubeo + *infinitive* + *indicative.*

Curc. 425, Men. 869, M. G. 315; 974; 981; 1314; Rud. 332; 856; Trin. 955; Eun. 470; 836; Adel. 908. Inc. Fab. Rib. I, 51.

Further illustrations from Classical Latin of the preceding statement will be found in the following lists: *Decerno* is followed by an infinitive and subjunctive of *oratio obliqua* in Cic. sen. 27; har. resp. 15; Milo, 14: Phil. V, 53; Fin. IV, 59; *veto* is followed by the same construction in Tusc. III, 11; Rep. I, 27; Leg. II, 67. So also *constituo* in B. G. I, 16, 1; Cic. Fin. III, 39; Off. II, 9; Fin. III, 50. The indicative is very rare after these verbs. It may be worth noting that after such verbs, the dependent clause is at times the integral part of a quoted statement of fact, at times the part of a quoted command or resolve.

As stated in the preceding, *verbs of feeling* also usually involve a subjunctive of oratio obliqua. Cf. Cluent. 141, *moleste* fortasse

[1] Such examples could reasonably be expected, for in ordinary instances of implied indirect discourse, the subjunctive occurs freely with *dicere* and the like. Cf. Phil. II, 7, litteras, quas me sibi misisse *diceret*, recitauit. Cf. Verr. V, 17. They also occur frequently in quod causal clauses: Kühner, p. 790.

tulerat se in eis orationibus *reprehensum* quas de re publica *habuisset.* Flacc. 19, *mirandum* uero *est* homines eos . . . libenter *arripere* facultatem laedendi quaecumque *detur.* Planc. 46, noli *mirari* te id quod tua dignitas *postularit* . . non *esse adsecutum.* These must obviously be classed as illustrating indirect discourse, not the influence of the infinitive.

We now come to the mass of commonly occurring infinitives. In the following treatment I shall classify them merely with reference to their connection with the construction under discussion. I shall *first* treat of those that can, roughly speaking, be displaced by subjunctives, likewise those that may, like infinitives in indirect discourse, have an accusative subject, and *secondly* of the complementary infinitives that do not come under the first class. Under the *first* group fall most of the infinitives after verbs of *will* (*volo, nolo, malo, studeo,* etc.), *wish* (*cupio, opto, desidero,* etc.), *permission* (*sino, permitto, patior, licet, libet,* etc.), *obligation and propriety* (*oportet, aequom est, decet, dedecet, necesse est,* etc.) and other verbs and phrases similar to these. In the *second* group belong many verbs of attitude that are followed by a complementary infinitive. These verbs are *debeo, possum, queo, coepi, incipio, propero, cesso, audeo* and the like.

Obviously attraction will occur far more frequently in connection with verbs of the first group than with those of the second. In the first place, the infinitive is here practically equivalent to a subjunctive, which would be prone to attract its subordinate clause into the subjunctive. Sentences like Phorm. 449, *quae* in rem tuam *sint* uelim *facias,* would of course suggest such as Capt. 363, *uolt* te nouos erus operam dare tuo ueteri domino *quod* is *uelit.* In the second place, such sentences often have the subject of the infinitive in the accusative, which gives them a formal resemblance to the construction of oratio obliqua. This resemblance would naturally lead to a similarity of construction. If then an infinitive of this kind with an accusative subject acquires the power of attracting its dependent verb, it might be expected to continue exerting that power even when it stood as a mere complementary infinitive without subject accusative[1], as in Aul. 751, *facere quod lubeat licet.*

[1] It must also be borne in mind that the subjunctive of oratio obliqua is not confined to verbs that depend upon infinitives with accusative subjects. There are not a few instances like the following in which, after a personal passive verb, the subject of the infinitive is in the nominative: Res Pub. II, 4, is igitur, *ut natus sit, dicitur* ab Amulio . . exponi *iussus esse.*



By analogy, the verbs and phrases of similar meaning, though they never or seldom govern subjunctives, acquire for their infinitives the same power of "attraction" as the above-mentioned. Thus *decet*, which seldom governs a subjunctive, is treated like *oportet*, which often does. Cf. Pseud. 460, decet innocentem qui *sit* . . . seruum superbum esse. Expressions like *honestum est*, *par est*, *utile est*, *iniurium est*, are not unlike *aequomst*, whose infinitive often "attracts". They too acquire the habit. Cf. Hec. 73, iniuriumst qua uia te *captent* eadem ipsos capi.

Even in this group one must guard against accepting examples of oratio obliqua. Thus Cicero is particularly fond of using *velle* in the sense of *he will have it that*, in which case the subordinate verb falls into the category of indirect discourse. Cf. Tusc. I, 79, uolt *quicquid natum sit* interire.

The clauses occurring in early Latin that are closely attached to infinitives of the first group are found in the following list. When the infinitive itself depends upon a subjunctive, I have not listed the dependent verb here, since in such cases, attraction by the subjunctive is involved. The indicatives and the subjunctives are placed in parallel columns for the sake of comparison. Space does not permit anything but a mere enumeration of the indicative examples.

	INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE.
uolo:	Amph. 7, 980; Asin. 232, Cist. 718, Merc. 273, 490, 1010; M. G. 183; 1245; Most. 758; Pers. 511, 578, 592, 681, 826; Poen. 491, 727; Pseud. 605, 751; Rud. 464, 1074; Trin. 488, Andr. 195, Heaut. 107, Phorm. 657, Hec. 725, Adel. 186, Inc. Fab.[3] R. I., 161.	Bacch.[1] 58, apud me te esse . . . miles quom *ueniat* uolo.
		Bacch.[1] 76, miles quom huc *adueniat* te uolo me amplexari.
		Stich.[1] 686, quisquis[2] *praetereat* comissatum uolo uocari.
		Capt.[1] 363, uolt te nouos erus operam dare quod is *uelit*.

[1] The dependent clause refers to the future. Perhaps the proper interpretation would consider these as instances of the anticipatory subjunctive. Cf. Hale, The Anticipatory Subjunctive, p. 65. Lange, De Sententiarum Temporalium usu, p. 40, has given a list of examples like these, and attributes their mood to the fact that they point to the future. He is partly right, but he overworks his theory in explaining doubtful cases. So, for instance, when, on p. 46, he places in the same category examples like Capt. 146, alienus quom eius incommodum tam aegre *ferus*, quid me par facerest, where there is no hint of futurity, he has carried his theory too far.

[2] Ritschl amended to *qui*. For the use of the indefinite pronoun see Prehn, Quaestiones Plautinae de pron. indef. (Strassburg, 1887), who, however, does not notice the presence of the infinitive in this case, p. 5.

[3] Scaenicae Rom. Poesis Frag., Ribbeck, vol. I–II.

INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE.
nolo: Poen. 458, Stich. 142.	
malo: Hec. 111, Men. 721.	
studeo: Asin. 381.	
cupio: Epid. 270, Trin. 54, Heaut. 497.	
expeto: Enn. (R. I) 779.	
sino: Most. 12, Eun. 124, Pacuuius (R. I) 325.	
patior: Bacch. 464, Most. 175, Stich. 125.	
licet: Amph. 452, Cas. 794, Merc. 152, M. G. 1329, Heaut. 666, Hec. 12, Adel. 179, Afranius (R. II) 119.	Aul. 751, facere *quod lubeat*[1] licet. Cas. 873, audacius licet *quae uelis*[1] libere proloqui.
lubet: Bacch. 932, Men. 397.	
oportet: Asin. 382, Bacch. 602, Capt. 955, Epid. 262, Men. 971, Most. 220, 801; Pers. 7, Poen. 627, 1074; Rud. 1385, Stich. 106, 726; Truc. 76, Cato R. R. 2, 3, 17, 20, 35, 38, 54, 64, 133, 134, 151, 155; Enn. (R. I) 320; Titinius (R. II) 98.	Cas. 570, qui aduocatos *aduocet* rogitare oportet. Pers. 273, emere oportet quem tibi oboedire *uelis*. Pseud. 439, probum patrem esse oportet qui . . . *postulet*. Stich. 69,[2] pati nos oportet quod ille *faciat*. Truc. 225, oportet[1] . . . ut quisque *ueniat* blande . . . adloqui.
aequomst: Bacch. 525, Cas. 265, Poen. 1081, Phorm. 451.	Aul. 130, ita aequomst quod in rem esse . . . *arbitremur* . . . monere. Rud. 321, cum istius modi uirtutibus . . . natus qui *sit* eumquidem ad carnificemst aequius . . . commeare. Trin. 176, utrum indicare . . . aequom fuit aduorsum quam *obsecrauisset*.

[1] Conditional relative clauses, especially with *uelle*, *nolle*, and the like, are prone to take on a feeling of "softened statement" or "less vivid futurity," even in dependence upon indicatives. Cf. Pers. 489, nunquam posthac tibi *quod nolis* uolam; Stich. 362, res omnes relictas habeo prae quod *tu uelis*. Such sentences are rare, but there are enough to call for a warning against attributing any subjunctive in a generalizing clause with complete confidence to the influence of the infinitive. These remarks apply to several of the examples which follow.

[2] Rodenbusch, De Temporum usu Plautino, p. 64, and Blase, Hist. Gram. p. 124, find the subjunctive of futurity in this example. The next one (Truc. 225) is probably of the same nature: cf. Lange, loc. cit., p. 40.



INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE.
	Phorm. 202, istaec quom ita *sint* tanto magis te aduigilare aequomst.[1]
	Phorm. 929, non est aequom me propter uos decipi quom ego uostri honoris causa repudium alterae *remiserim*.[1]
	Hec. 840,[2] ex quo *fuerint* commoda, eius incommoda aequomst ferre.
decet: Amph. 522, Pers. 113, Rud. 920, Turpilius (R. II) 127; Titinius (R. II) 158.	Men. 204, hoc animo decet animatos esse amatores probos qui quidem ad mendacitatem *properent*.
	Rud. 113, peculiosum esse addecet seruom quem ero praesente *praeterrat* oratio aut qui inclementer *dicat* homini libero.
	Pseud. 460, decet innocentem qui *sit* . . . seruom superbum esse.
opus est: Stich. 232.	
necesse est: Asin. 218, Cist. 46, Stich. 219, Hec. 305.	
Miscellaneous:	*par est*, Capt. 146,[3] alienus quom eius
conducibilest, Cist. 79;	incommodum tam aegre *ferus*
rectiust, Pers. 345;	. . . quid me par facere est?
satiust, Adel. 30;	*honestumst*, Hec. 148,[4] quam *decreuim*
difficilest, Trin. 620;	 eam ludibrio haberi
stultitiast, Cas. 282; Pers. 799;	neque honestum est.
expedit, Cato R. R. 9;	

[1] I include these as possible instances, though I feel that a causal or adversative clause can rarely be conceived of as an integral part of the main sentence. Some other explanation for the mood should if possible be found. These examples may be early instances of the subjunctive with *quom*, or unconscious uses of the subjunctive by a scribe who is following the usage of his day. The second one shows a strong tone of remonstrance. Cf. pp. 7–9 of my paper on Attraction of Mood in Early Latin. I fail to see in either of them any such reference to future time as Lange, loc. cit., p. 46, finds.

[2] *Attigerit* of Truc. 226 is classed here by Holtze, Syntax, p. 193. It is probably not in the subjunctive but in the future perfect indicative.

[3] See note on Phorm. 202 above.

[4] The mood may be due to the causal force.

INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE.
Miscellaneous:	
officiumst, Truc. 436;	*utilest*, Adel. 341, quom *amet* alium non est utile hanc illi dari.
facinus est, Aul. 587;	
virtus est, Pers. 268;	
pudicitiast, Stich. 100;	
facilest, Turpilius (R. II) 9.	
	stultitiast, Cas. 565, stultitia magnast . . . amatorem ad forum procedere in eum diem quo quod *amet* in mundo siet.
As subject or predicate of est, Adel. 132, Poen. 572, Lucilius 119 (B. VI).	
	flagitiumst, Poen. 966, flagitiumst tuas tu popularis pati seruire ante oculos domi quae *fuerint*[1] liberae.
pudet, Afranius (R. II) 272.	
	iniuriumst, Hec. 73, iniuriumst qua via te *captent* eadem ipsos capi.
	inscitiast,[2] Accius (R. I) 215, id quod multi *inuideant* multique *expetant* inscitiast postulare.

The following examples taken from among representative verbs in Cicero will show the relative prevalence of the construction in his writings, for, though I have not covered the whole ground, my lists of the indicative are as complete as those of the subjunctive, and comparisons are safe. The infinitive after *uolo* takes the subjunctive in Phil. VIII, 26, caueri etiam uolt iis qui secum *sint;* Piso, 99, circumspectantem omnia, quicquid *increpuisset* . . . omnis uidere te uolui; Verr.[3] III, 164, nihil cuiquam probari uolo me dicente quod non ante mihimet ipsi *probatum sit;* Fin.[4] V, 52, cum uolumus nomina eorum qui id *gesserint* nota nobis esse. Of indicatives after this infinitive there are thirty-four instances in the philosophical works and orations of

[1] The mood may be due to causal force.

[2] This example I offer with much diffidence. It is not unlikely that the descriptive subjunctive had developed far enough to enter clauses of this kind by the time of Accius.

[3] Though the mood of the generalizing clause even after a negative is regularly the indicative, yet there are often instances of the subjunctive after negatives. This fact prevents us from offering the above quoted example with complete confidence as due to the presence of the infinitive, cf. Hale, Cum-Constructions, p. 133.

[4] Classifying clauses like this one occasionally, though relatively rarely, take the subjunctive, for reasons explained in Hale, Cum-Constructions, p. 120. The following, in which *uelle=censere*, should be taken as illustrating oratio obliqua: Fin. I, 79; V, 41; III, 50; Nat. II, 64; Div. II, 93; Tim. 37. Even with this meaning the indicative occurs: cf. Fin. IV, 39; Nat. III, 54.



Cicero (of which the following are typical: Acad. II, 19; Tusc. IV, 61; Sulla 31, leg. agr. II, 20; Sest. 110).

With *oportet* the influence of the infinitive is illustrated by Fin. I, 47, stare oportet in eo quod *sit iudicatum*; Nat. II, 41[1], solem animantem esse oportet et quidem reliqua astra quae *oriantur* in ardore; Nat. III[2], 21, oportet . . . non te ipsum quod *uelis* sumere; Caec. Div.[3] 58, de iniuria quae tibi *facta sit*, indicem esse oportet quam te ipsum. There are twelve instances of the indicative in the same amount of Cicero.

With *necesse est*, the following from the philosophical works and orations show the influence of the infinitive: Tusc. III, 15, necesse est qui *fortis sit* eundem esse magni animi; Tusc. III, 18, qui *sit frugi* . . . eum necesse est esse constantem (cf. III, 14, qui *fortis est*, idem est fidens); also Nat. II, 29; Div. II, 71; Off. I, 153; Off. III, 35; Fin.[4] I, 40; Tusc.[4] III, 11; Verr. II, 31; Caecin. 49; Planc. 56. Opposed to these eleven instances of the subjunctive there are twenty-eight indicatives, like Tim. III, 13; Tusc. V, 52; ibid. 67. In some of the above-cited examples, *necesse* denotes logical necessity, not the necessity of volition. In such cases, its infinitive is very nearly one of oratio obliqua.

Subjunctives with the infinitive after *licet* are found in Fin. IV, 32; Tusc. V, 85; after *nolo*, Verr. V, 173; De Orat. III, 164; Tull. 42; after *cupio*, Arch. 23; Tusc. III, 19; after *patior*, leg. agr. I, 22; after *aequom est*, Verr. III, 27; leg. agr. II, 37; after *facile est*, Caecin. 55; after *difficile est*, Font. 3; Nat. III, 1; De Orat. II, 221; after *est hominis*, De Orat. II, 87; Brut. 292; after *salsum est*, De Orat. II, 287.

In Caesar[5] I find no verb whose mood is shifted by the mere presence of the infinitive, though there are nearly a score of verbs attracted by subjunctives.

[1] This is not the *oportet* of propriety, but of logical necessity (= it must be true that). Perhaps the infinitive is best taken as one of oratio obliqua.

[2] We have called attention to the fact that *uelis* is suspicious.

[3] This is also an *oportet* of logical necessity, as that of Nat. II, 41. There is also a noticeable causal force in the relative clause. Div. II 27 may be added to this list as a possible example, but I prefer to classify it with the descriptive clauses.

[4] The subordinate relative clauses of some of these may be descriptive. See the preceding footnotes.

[5] The subjunctive of B. G. 1, 3, 1, *constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent comparare* should be treated with that of 3, 11, 5, cum primum *posset* proficisci iubet, as a verb in oratio obliqua. Cf. 3, 9, 3, *ea quae ad usum nauium pertinent prouidere instituunt.*

The *second* group consists of *complementary infinitives* after *coepi*, *possum*, etc. These are not equivalent to subjunctives and there is little reason why they should exert any influence over their dependent verbs, except by analogy of the verbs of the preceding group. That a real habit was ever established in connection with verbs of this group, I doubt. The examples that seem to belong here may, I think, be explained in other ways, or as individual instances arising separately. They do not necessitate the assumption of a fixed habit.

The possible instances from early Latin are: Amph. 39, *debetis* uelle quae *uelimus;* Trin. 357, non pernegare *possum* quicquam quod *uelis;* Phorm. 78, *coepi* . . . obsequi quae *uellent.* It is rather significant that the verb in question is in every case some form of *uelle.* We have noted how prone that verb is to the softened form of statement ("subjunctive of modesty").

To offset these three doubtful cases with the subjunctive there are over thirty occurrences of the indicative, as follows: *possum:* Men. 139, Merc. 778, M. G. 312, Most. 574, Pers. 41, 66, Pseud. 670, Stich. 124, Eun. 58, Enn. (R.I) 324, Inc. Fab. (R.II) 79. *queo:* Cist. 129, Curc. 487, Merc. 338, M. G. 265, Pers. 287. *coepi:* Cas. 652. *propero:* Bacch. 1049, Curc. 536. *cesso:* Aul. 343, Men. 879, 921, Pers. 197. *occupo:* Rud. 248. *occeptast:* Eun. 22. *audeo:* Amph. 567, M. G. 232, Poen. 1311. *dubito:* Poen. 790. *neglego:* Amph. 586. *oblitus sum:* Amph. 723. *soleo* Caecilius (R.II) 196.

In Cicero I have not found a single subjunctive whose mood I can confidently attribute to the presence of an infinitive of this kind. With *debeo* the following may perhaps be cited as an example: Sulla, 36, qui barbaros homines ad bellum impelleret, non debebat . . . purgare eos de quibus illi aliquid suspicari *uiderentur.* It would not be surprising if *debeo* should make use of the same habits as are found with *oportet*, for instance. I believe, however, that de quibus . . . *uiderentur* should be interpreted as a causal clause[1] just as we must interpret *impelleret* of the first clause, which obviously does not depend upon the infinitive. I find the same force in Div. 2, 132. To balance these two possible cases there are forty-one instances with the indicative in the part of Cicero that is covered by Merquet's lexicon. After *coepi* + infinitive I have one example of the subjunc-

[1] Cf. Phil. 5, 44, *eam* complexus est causam *quae esset* senatui . . . gratissima; and Hale, Cum-Constructions, p. 176 (German translation, Leipzig, p. 212) for a long list of examples of the same nature.



tive (Verr. 4, 100, which, however, has a strong adversative bearing), matched against eight examples of the indicative. After *possum* + infinitive there is no subjunctive that is not more naturally interpreted otherwise, but over fifty instances of the indicative. *Solet* + infinitive yields one example that seems to be to the point, namely: Tusc. I, 96, Graeci in conuiuiis solent nominare cui poculum *traditurí sint.* Since *mos est* + infinitive possesses the power of attraction (cf. Or. 151), *soleo* may assume the power at times. Perhaps there is here an implication of indirect discourse. At any rate, this one instance, if instance it is, is offset by twenty examples of the indicative. The relative clause of Leg. 1, 33, recte Socrates exsecrari eum solebat qui primus utilitatem a iure *seiunxisset* is in indirect discourse. *Queo, nequeo, incipio, propero,*[1] *cesso, dubito*[2] (=hesitate), *audeo* + infinitive yield no undoubted cases of attraction in the philosophical works and speeches of Cicero.

From the preceding it appears that many infinitives, namely the historical, the exclamatory, and a large proportion of the complementary infinitives never exerted any influence upon the mood of verbs subordinated to them, that the rest did so at times, but comparatively not very often. One naturally asks why the infinitive should ever exert this influence. The infinitive *per se* can hardly be said to be more closely related to the subjunctive than to the indicative. It may obviously give expression to any of a great number of ideas which are ordinarily expressed by the indicative, as well as to ideas expressed by the subjunctive. Why then did the infinitive at times seem to claim companionship with the subjunctive? Where did it acquire the habit, in so far as it was a habit, of shifting a verb from its natural mood into another. The construction in question is not found in other languages. It is evidently a bit of mechanism which had its origin in Latin. What was the origin of the construction? In the preceding pages we have seen that the construction is

[1] Sall. Cat. 7 furnishes a subjunctive with the infinitive after *propero*, but the construction is unusual in that *propero* here takes an infinitive with accusative subject. Cf. Kritzius ad loc. cit. The sentence reads: *Se* quisque hostem *ferire*, murum *ascendere*, *conspici dum* tale facinus *faceret* properabat.

[2] Roby cites Fin. I, 62, non *dubitat*, *si* ita melius *sit*, migrare de uita. *Sit* is clearly a conditional subjunctive of the "less vivid future" type. There are on the contrary at least a dozen examples of the indicative after the infinitive with *dubito* in Cicero. When *dubito* is equivalent to a negative *credo*, it is, of course, followed by oratio obliqua.

found in connection with (1) *infinitives with accusative subjects* and with (2) *infinitives that can practically be displaced by subjunctives.* These facts would naturally suggest [1] that it had its beginnings with the constructions of *oratio obliqua* and of *attraction* proper, for in these two constructions the subordinate verb is frequently made subjunctive. Let us see by what process it arose from these.

a) It must be remembered that the use of the subjunctive in oratio obliqua was itself due to formal causes. The Romans could hardly have associated its use with logical considerations or with a recognition of a special ψυχική διάθεσις. Statements of fact as well as expressions of will, wish, etc., were involved. From this circumstance alone the presence of the one fixed element, the infinitive, would assume significance. The subjunctive mood, therefore, became in a formal way associated with the infinitive, and even beyond the confines of the construction of oratio obliqua, in which the first associations were formed, the subjunctive continued its relationships with the infinitive whenever the latter appeared in a garb similar to that of oratio obliqua, that is, whenever it appeared with an accusative subject. At times the relationship was carried even farther than that, as we have seen. But this is not all. There are some infinitives after verbs of command, prohibition, resolve, and feeling which, though not belonging to oratio obliqua in that they are not used for the statement of facts, nevertheless often attach to themselves dependent clauses which are virtually felt to be quotations. These furnish a direct bridge for the subjunctive from oratio obliqua to verbs that depend upon infinitives of will, wish, and the like. In oratio obliqua one will find sentences like:

QUICQUID SIT *extra Italiam id xuiros* DICIT *uendere*, "he says that the decemvirs are selling the land that lies outside of Italy".

A command after *iubet* appears thus:

QUICQUID SIT *extra Italiam id xuiros* IUBET *uendere*, Cic., Leg. Agr. II, 38 (He orders the decemvirs to sell the land that lies outside of Italy). The order was: "Sell the land that lies outside of Italy." The mood of *sit* is due to oratio obliqua. The step is not a long one to sentences like the following:

[1] This connection has been noticed before; I find that the grouping of examples in the Hale-Buck Grammar (p. 290) clearly implies it.



QUICQUID SIT *extra Italiam id xuiros* OPORTET *uendere*, (cf. Cas. 570, qui aduocatos *aduocet* rogitare oportet). Here QUICQUID SIT is not a part of a quotation, such as one finds in implied indirect discourse, but it is very near being so. It is an integral part of a conception at one time existing in the mind of some one person. It is not surprising that such sentences should come to be treated like those in oratio obliqua.

This recognition of the fact that the habit of using the subjunctive after the infinitive was partly due to the construction of oratio obliqua, will of course in no way conflict with the statement made above that, after verbs of command and prohibition, Cicero seems to draw a clear line of demarcation between the two constructions. That distinction became necessary if clearness was to be preserved. One can readily see how the one construction developed by the help of the other from a formal resemblance, and how later, when it became necessary, a careful writer would make distinctions for considerations of style.

There is nothing startling, of course, in the statement that this construction has such intimate associations with that of oratio obliqua. A connection has probably always been recognized. Perhaps the main source of danger in the usual definitions of it lay in the fact that the customary treatment has connected it *too closely* with that of oratio obliqua, which after all was not its sole sponsor.

b) In a previous study[1] I have called attention to the fact that verbs which depend upon subjunctives are also at times in the same mood, not because of mechanical attraction, but because they inherently contain the same modal force as that of the governing verb. Thus I explained the mood of the dependent clause in Aul. 491, *quo lubeant* nubant (They may choose their own place and marry there). *Quo lubeant* has in itself just as much as *nubant*, the *permissive* force which makes it subjunctive. If it depended upon an infinitive of permission and still expressed the same modal force, why should it not still be called a subjunctive of permission instead of being explained as influenced by the infinitive? Let the sentence be written *licet quo lubeant nubere* (cf. Cas. 873, licet quae *uelis* proloqui): it still means what it did above; *lubeant* is still a subjunctive of permission. The

[1] Attraction of Mood in Early Latin, p. 4. As stated there, my point of view was given by a paragraph in Hale, Sequence of Tenses, A. J. P. VIII, p. 54.

presence of the infinitive does not necessarily explain the mood It is nearer the truth to say that the occurrences of original volitive, optative, permissive, etc., subjunctives after infinitives connected with verbs of the same general meaning, like *uolo*, *cupio*, *licet*, etc., went far towards bringing such infinitives into the habit of associating with the subjunctive. So much for the subjunctives that have their own modal force.

It obviously cannot be said that all the subjunctives which depend upon other subjunctives are of this kind. Many are mechanically attracted to that mood. My next point is that this habit of *mechanical attraction* by the subjunctive likewise exerted a marked influence upon the construction now under discussion. This was accomplished mainly by means of verbs that took now the subjunctive, now the infinitive. When they took the subjunctive, that subjunctive would often be followed by another subjunctive for purely mechanical reasons. When they took the infinitive, that infinitive adopted the same custom of governing a subjunctive. Sentences like:

Cic. Par. 20, QUAE EX EO PECCATA NASCANTUR *aequalia sint* oportet, would have a tendency to create sentences like:

Cic. Fin. I, 47, *stare* oportet in eo QUOD SIT IUDICATUM.

In the preceding we have enumerated the most important verbs that take either the infinitive or subjunctive and thus affect the problem at hand.

c) These were no doubt the predominant influences in the creation of the construction. But they were not the only ones. The anticipatory subjunctive must also be reckoned with. At this late day one need hardly attempt a defence for the recognition of that category. In another place[1] where I have given the literature relating to it, I have discussed its role in creating the habit of assimilation. It seems to serve practically the same purpose in this construction. In sentences like Bacch. 58, *apud me te esse miles quom ueniat uolo*, it has been customary to attribute the mood of the dependent clause to the presence of the infinitive. *Veniat*, however, refers to the future and its mood should perhaps be attributed directly to that fact,[2] since verbs of will and wish usually refer to the future, their infinitives frequently govern clauses that refer to the future.

[1] Op. cit., p. 11.

[2] Thus Lange, loc. cit., p. 40.



The frequent occurrence of the anticipatory subjunctive after infinitives governed by these verbs would naturally add strength to the forces that were creating the construction here discussed. Perhaps the converse process was also operating. I mean that the incipient construction of "attraction by the infinitive" may have become a conserving force in retaining the use of the anticipatory subjunctive in relative clauses after the infinitive, when the future indicative was driving it out of ordinary use. It is at least true that the relationship between the anticipatory subjunctive and the subjunctive after infinitives is particularly intimate. The following sentences from Plautus are of the same nature as the one cited above:

Bacch. 76, miles *quom* huc *aduenial*, te uolo me amplexari.

Stich. 69, pati nos oportet *quod* ille *faciat*.

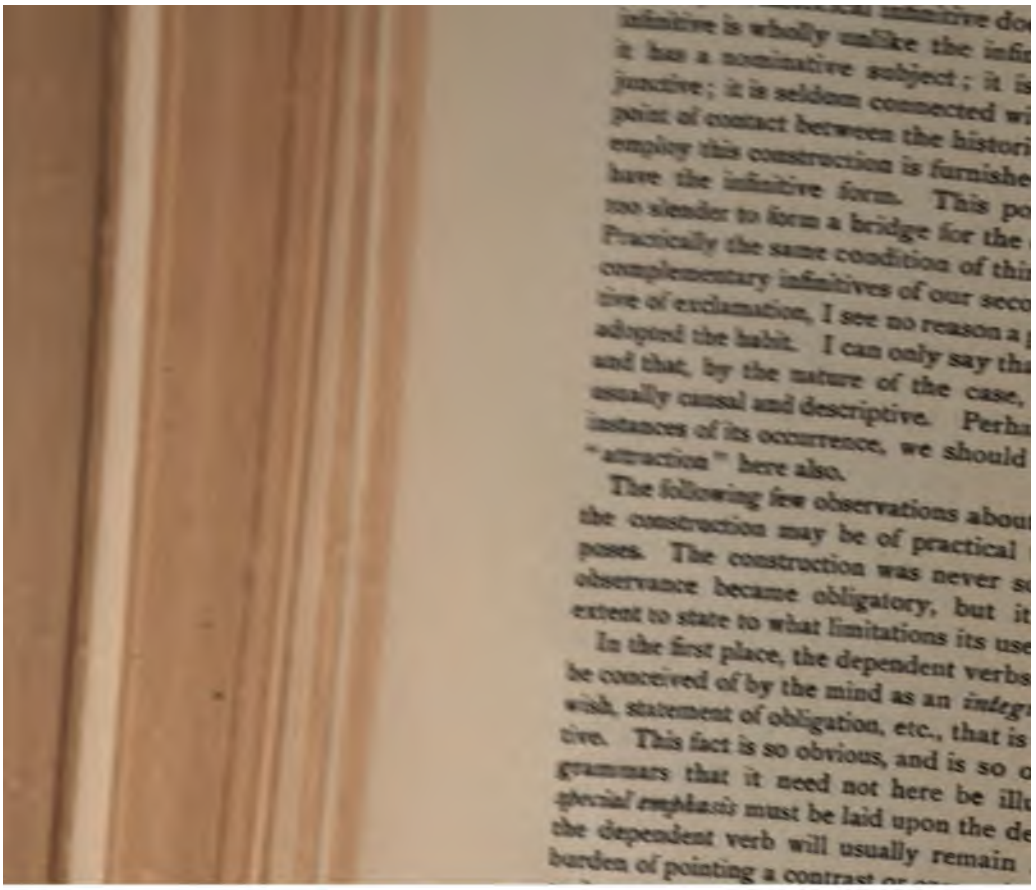
Stich. 686, *quisquis praetereat* comissatum uolo uocari.

Truc. 225, oportet . . . *quisquis ueniat* blande adloqui.

Not only must we reckon with subjunctives that express simple futurity, but also with those that serve to express futurity to the past.[1] By the very nature of the case, the ideas that usually associate with the infinitives of will and wish very frequently call into service the future tenses. When expressions of this kind are made dependent upon verbs in a past tense, there is at once a demand for tenses that can express futurity to the past. These tenses are found in the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive. Thus the original command represented in Andr. 464, *quod peperisset iussit tolli* was probably *quod pepererit tolle!* When that future-perfect-indicative verb is thrown into dependence upon a verb in the past, there is no other tense to express just the idea desired. The mood of *peperisset* is therefore not due to its dependence upon the infinitive *tolli*. As a past-future, or, more precisely, a past-future-perfect, it is necessarily subjunctive. In this fact there probably lies another bond of association between the infinitive and the subjunctive.

The above mentioned considerations will directly account for many of the subjunctives that depend upon infinitives, for so

[1] Cf. Hale-Buck Grammar, 508: "In general *all* past-future ideas must, if expressed by a finite verb, be in the anticipatory subjunctive; for *no other means* of expression exists." The exception implied by the words "in general" are clauses in the periphrastic future in which futurity is expressed not by the finite verb but by the participle. See also Walker, The Sequence of Tenses in Latin, p. 26.





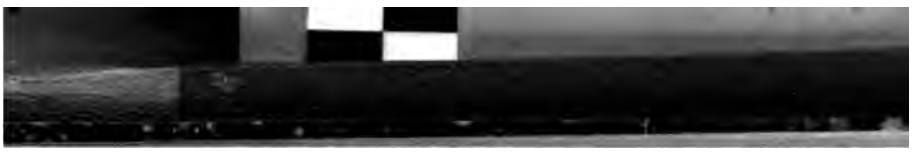
For example, if the relative clause of a sentence like *uolo eum mittere eos qui parati sint* is generalizing, the desire necessarily includes it. The desire is: *mittat eos qui parati sint.* If, however, the relative clause is determinative, the wish-concept as it assumes definite shape in thought or spoken phrase, may often not include it. The definite concept may simply be *mittat eos* accompanied with a less definitely conceived idea which expresses itself, let us say, by a gesture, towards certain persons who *are ready* (parati sint). The *position of the verb* with reference to the infinitive is also of importance, as well as the *point of attachment* to the infinitive. For instance, a majority of the attracted verbs belong to relative clauses attached to the *object* of the infinitive. Comparatively few are attached to the subject. A few are adverbial and depend upon the infinitive itself. Herein this construction differs from that of attraction proper, in the examples of which the adverbial clause takes a very prominent place. The reason for the difference lies in the fact that adverbial clauses are seldom attached in sense to the infinitive alone, but usually depend upon the verbal idea made by the combination of the governing verb and the infinitive.

Further, several conjunctions that play an important part in attraction proper, are never or rarely found in the construction with the infinitive. In fact, only the relative and temporal conjunctions that imply the closest possible union of the two elements may be expected to appear. For instance, one must note differences of this nature: while *ubi* or *cum* often introduce a dependent verb whose time is synchronous with that of the infinitive, *postquam* always implies priority of time on the part of the verb it introduces, and attraction should not be expected under such circumstances. *Quamquam* points a contrast, *ut* and *quam* introduce comparisons, and consequently involve greater precision in the expression of tense and of mood in the dependent verbs. Neither are the causal clauses with *quod*, *quia*, *quando* and *quoniam* so intimately bound up with the main verbs as to be felt as integral parts. Whenever the subjunctive is found after these, the mood is due to implied indirect discourse.

With the exceptions herein made, it may be said that in general the limitations of this construction are of the same nature as those of attraction proper, which I have presented in the paper on that subject, already referred to. This construction with the

here the author has had the advantage of the guidance of Susemihl's classic work, but at the same time his treatment shows independent investigation. He has noted the contributions made to Homeric studies by *papyrus* fragments (pp. 133–4), but he does not seem to be acquainted with Blass's important discussion of the value to Platonic textual criticism of papyrus readings (Ber. der sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. Phil. Hist. Klasse L., pp. 197 ff.). In speaking of Philetas of Cos (p. 119), it should have been noted that Plutarch (Pericles, c. 2) selects him, Anacreon, and Archilochus as the representatives, respectively, of iambic, melic and elegiac poetry.

In leaving the chronological order, by dividing the study of the Roman period into the third book, on "Latin Scholarship in the Roman Age", and the fourth book, on "Greek Scholarship in the Roman Age", Dr. Sandys has acted wisely, even if he does not mention the chief reason for such a division. Between the Greek and Latin literatures of the Empire there was a cleavage which was not merely one of language. In Occidental Europe the majority of the patristic writers were apostles of obscurantism, that militant tendency of bigotry and ignorance against the study of the classics. Dr. Sandys, who does not seem to be acquainted with the term, although he notes the existence of such a tendency (pp. 214, 220, 222, 233–4, 594 ff.) does not recognize what an important factor it was in the decline of learning in the West, and there are only bare suggestions of the adoption of classic literary models for the furtherance of Christian doctrine, as in the sacred heroic epic (pp. 216, 234). But the bloom of a flower comes before its decay, and the first chapter of Book IV (pp. 263–272) on the "Roman Study of Greek between 164 B. C. and 14 A. D." should form a part of the treatment of Greek influences on Latin literature, in the preceding book. Dr. Sandys does not lay due emphasis upon the importance, as a movement, of the Pagan Renaissance of the fourth century, in which Ausonius and Symmachus were the principal figures (cf. pp. 206, 209, 214). Again, though the schools of learning, established at the old centres of Greek culture in southern Gaul, never had any but a local influence, which was soon lost under Christian control, they deserve more than the mere mention they receive (p. 233). But altogether too much space is given to Cassiodorus (pp. 244–256, cf. 597), whose works, however valuable they may be to the student of monasticism, and of the political history of the time, offer very little of interest to the historian of classical scholarship. In the East on the other hand, this period deserves an attentive study. It was the age of the rhetoricians, who for centuries kept up a lively interest in the Greek classics, which was not confined to academic circles. This subject has been fully treated in Rohde's great work on the Greek novel (Der griechische Roman, 2d ed., pp. 310 ff.), a book with which one is surprised to find the author unacquainted (cf. p. 354, n. 2). Amid this general culture



the Christian writers, far from being obscurantists, furnished a fair proportion of celebrities to the literary and learned world. Dr. Sandys has failed to note a matter of great interest in this period, the study of Latin among the Greeks, which was the subject of a study of Egger (Mémoires de l'histoire ancienne et de la philologie, pp. 259 ff.), that may be further supplemented by the use of recent material. The best text of the remains of the "chrestomathy" of Proclus (p. 372) is to be found in Kinkel's Fragmenta Epicorum Graecorum, 1877, Vol. I.

In the fifth book, which is devoted to the Byzantine period, Dr. Sandys has had the invaluable aid of Krumbacher's epoch-making work, but here again he has added details drawn from his own readings. He has not laid due emphasis on the part played by the Nestorians in translating Greek works into the Oriental tongues (p. 386), and it is hard to see what connection the authorship of the originals of some of the hymns in the English Hymnal has to do with the history of classical philology (cf. pp. 384, 362, 500). Rabe's paper upon the studies in Lucian of Arethas (p. 295) was probably of too recent publication to be accessible (Gött. Nachrichten, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1903, pp. 643 ff.). A first-hand acquaintance with the poem of Michael Acominatus upon the downfall of Athens (p. 412) is worth while, and his description (Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, ed. S. Lampros, 1883, II, p. 44) should be paralleled with similar statements made by visitors to Athens in the same period, collected by Hopf in his Geschichte Griechenlands von Beginn des Mittelsalters, etc. (VI, pp. 431 ff.), a work of much more account than the book of Gregorovius.

The date of John of Basingstoke's visit to Athens (p. 413) is generally accepted as 1240 (e. g. Cantor, Gesch. d. Math., 2d ed. II, p. 100). Leo Archpresbyter, who lived not in the first, but in the second half of the tenth century (p. 415), was by no means the first to make the Western world acquainted with the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes upon Alexander. Julius Valerius had already performed that service before the middle of the fourth century, and the Epitome of his work, a composition of the time of Charlemagne, was common in Mediaeval libraries. Fulvio Orsino as the editor, and Peiresc as the owner of manuscripts of the encyclopaedic work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, should not masquerade in an English book under the Latin forms of their names (p. 397), even if one hesitates to distinguish the editor Valesius from others of the same Latin name, by referring to him as Henri de Valois.

But it is to the last book in this volume that one looks forward with the most interest. For the greater part of this period, covering eight centuries, there is no standard history of literature to be followed as a guide. Therefore an adequate treatment can only be written from a first-hand acquaintance with the works involved, and after collecting and sifting the results of widely

scattered studies on various phases of the subject. That Dr. Sandys does not meet the first of these requisites, is constantly apparent; and his bibliography suffers from faults of both commission and omission. Such an uncritical hodge-podge of facts as Morley's English Writers, and such a worthless compilation as Putnam's Books in the Middle Ages, are cited as serious authorities, and rubbish from Warton's History of English Poetry is quoted in good faith. Such collections as Pertz's Archiv, the Serapeum, the Archivio storico italiano, Hauréau's Notices et Extraits are not referred to once; Paris's Littérature française au moyen âge, and Steinschneider's Hebräische Übersetzungen are cited only two or three times; with the careful use of merely these two books one can correct a hundred misstatements in the text and bibliography. In this section of the volume before us the author has more often fallen into the fault, apparent elsewhere, of confusing a history of classical scholarship with literary history, and bare lists of names, such as that of the English historians who wrote in Latin (pp. 523–4), have a dubious value at all times. With such a wide field to survey, it is only possible to lay emphasis on certain features of Dr. Sandys's treatment.

The knowledge of Greek in the Occident in the Middle Ages was the subject of Renan's doctorate dissertation, which has not, unfortunately, been published, even in part, but to Gidel's study on the same subject in his Nouvelles études, Dr. Sandys's indebtedness is very apparent, but he does not show an acquaintance with a mass of other evidence on the matter. Aegidius, who died at the end of the seventh century, and not in 725 (p. 446), was not a native of Athens (G. Paris & A. Bos, Vie de St. Gilles, pp. liv ff.); although there is evidence that Greek was a living tongue in Gaul at a much later date (e. g. Gross, Monatsschrift, f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judenthums, XXVI, p. 68), and upon similar linguistic conditions in southern Italy, there is a mass of material, not utilised by Dr. Sandys (pp. 448, 500, 535, 572 n. 3). He should be acquainted with Gautbert's account of the succession of Greek scholars, beginning with Theodore of Tarsus (p. 449), of which Delisle is the most recent editor (Not. et Extr. XXXIII, 1, pp. 311–312). If the Bodleian bi-lingual manuscript of the Acts (Laud F. 82) is the one from which Bede cites in his Liber Retractionum (p. 452), his knowledge of Greek must be somewhat discounted (Berger, Not. et Extr. XXXIII, 1, pp. 175–176).

In the discussion of the influence of Irish learning on the continent (pp. 441 ff.), Dr. Sandys has not made use of Traube's study of the spread of the Irish script (Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Ak. Phil. Hist. Cl. 1900, pp. 469 ff.), nor recognized the value to the subject, of the various researches upon the wide use of the Canones Hibernienses. On Virgil of Salzburg (p. 448) reference should be made to White's Warfare of Science with Theology (II, pp. 105 ff.), and the best account of Dicuil (p. 449) is to be found in Beazley's Dawn of Modern Geography (pp. 317 ff.) As an



authority upon the schools of Charlemagne (pp. 456 ff.) Hauréau's work on the subject should be cited. Salomo's encyclopaedia (p. 479 n. 7) had its source in an abbreviation of the Liber Glossarum (Goetz, Abhd. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. XIII, pp. 226, 244 ff.). To the latter work Dr. Sandys assigns the generous date of "cent. VIII–IX" (p. 639 n. 3), though it has been definitely attributed to the early part of the eighth century by Goetz (l. c. p. 287). Other misstatements and omissions in the treatment of Mediaeval glossaries and encyclopaedias (pp. 480, 500, 535, 584, 639), may be corrected with the aid of the contributions of Loewe, Usener, Goetz and others. Gerbert was a pupil, not of Odo of Cluni (p. 489), but of the latter's pupil, Scholasticus Raimund. Of Gerbert's works the edition of Olleris should have been cited; and of the Historia of his friend Richer, the edition in the Monumenta. In the bibliography on the tradition of the millenary year (p. 494 n. 2), there is no reference to the best treatment by Pfister (Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux, p. 322).

The statement that Adelard of Bath "was the first to translate Euclid from Arabic into Latin" (p. 512) needs to be qualified in view of the contributions of Heiberg, Curtze, and others (cf. e. g. Bursians Jahresber. XII, 3, pp. 19 ff.; Zeit. f. Math. u. Phys. XXXV, Lit. Abt., pp. 48 ff., 81 ff., Bibl. Math. 1896, I). The date of the earliest manuscript of the Gesta Romanorum is 1342, and not 1326 (p. 524). The list of works attributed to Walter Map (p. 525) needs to be excised. The original Latin versions of the Arthurian romances did not, in all probability, exist outside of the mind of the author of the French versions; and his authorship of the Apocalypse and Confession of Golias is more than dubious. If the Goliardic poetry deserves mention, it should be noted that the "Familia Goliae" dates back to at least 923 (L. Gautier, Épopées françaises, II, p. 43), and reference should be made to the contributions of Delisle, Novati, W. and R. M. Meyer, and others. Joseph of Exeter was the fellow-townsman and close friend of Thomas Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and not the brother of Theobald, who had filled the same office thirty years earlier; and the De Bello Trojano shows no evidence of an imitation of Claudian (p. 526). The poem on the Fall of Troy, conjecturally attributed by Leyser to Hildebert, was not written by him (Dunger, Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege, p. 22 n.). One speaks, not of Peter of Riga, but of Peter Riga, who was a Frenchman and not a Swede; and one writes Gautier and Alain "de Lille" and not "de L'Isle" (p. 530). It would have been well to be as sceptical as Muratori and more recent scholars of Godfrey of Viterbo's knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and "Chaldee" (p. 535).

In his account of Latin translations from the Arabic (pp. 539 ff.), Dr. Sandys unfortunately uses as one of his prime authorities the work of Wüstenfeld on the subject, an unsafe guide which

must be controlled and corrected with the aid of Steinschneider's many contributions, to only one of which Dr. Sandys refers, and then incompletely. Further, there is not a single reference to Hauréau's important corrections to Jourdain's Recherches. To the list of William of Moerbeke's translations from the Greek (p. 563), should be added those of the mathematical writers, and the fact noted that he found a number of his Greek originals in the Papal library (Bursians Jahresber. XXX, 1, pp. 73, 127). No mention is made of the translation of Aristotle's Economica made in 1295 by Durand d'Auvergne and two Greek bishops (Hist. litt. XIX, 58; Not. et Extr. XXXIII, 1, 230) Thomas de Cantimpré should not be mentioned as a translator of Aristotle on the unsupported authority of Trethemius (Hist. litt. XIX, 84), and of his De Naturis Rerum—in nineteen books instead of twenty—there is such a full account in a recent volume of the Histoire littéraire (XXX, 365), that it is not necessary to refer to a bibliographical work, published in 1745. Siger de Brabant most certainly did not write a commentary on the Prior Analytics, and there is no evidence that he "expounded the Politics in a revolutionary spirit" (p. 565). Gilles de Paris not only "is the same as Egidio da Roma"; the translation of this Italian name, Gilles de Rome, was the usual name by which he was known in France. And the translation of his work by Hoccleve—better than Occleve—is correctly entitled the Regiment of Princes, and not the Governail of Princes. Geoffrey of Waterford translated into French, not the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise De Regimine Principum, but another forgery, the Secretum Secretorum, into which the Physiognomica was incorporated (p. 565).

In the last chapter on the "The Survival of the Latin Classics", one misses references to such works as Kirchhoff's contributions on the Mediaeval book-trade, and Lasch's work on the imitation of classic historians by Mediaeval writers. Levasseur's remarks (Hist. des classes ouvrières en France, p. 136 ff.), upon the economic results in Benedictine monasteries of the custom of copying manuscripts, are worth noting. Here and there in the volume there are incidental references to the allegorical interpretation of certain authors; but there is not the definite treatment that the subject deserves. In the earlier books Dr. Sandys has not spoken of its beginnings in pre-Socratic philosophy, its development among the Stoics, its introduction by Philo into the study of the Bible. And in the section under discussion he has failed, on the one hand, to note the important part it played in the change of sentiment towards the classics, which led to that curious fusion of classical mythology and philosophy with Christian theology and ideals, of which Dante is the supreme illustration; and on the other hand, he has not traced its development into that elaborate fourfold interpretation of literature, from the shackles of which, the modern world has to thank the great leaders in the Renaissance for its deliverance. Of the many omis-



sions in the account of the continuance of the classical tradition, only a few can be noted. Boccaccio was acquainted with Lucretius (p. 610); Legouais was not the author of the Ovide moralizé (p. 616 n. 4): Statius was not known to Konrad von Würzburg (p. 618),—the Roman de Thèbes, by the way, is worth mentioning at this point—the epigrams of Godfrey of Winchester were commonly quoted under the name of Martial (p. 619). The "Imago Mundi of Omons" should be excised from the list of encyclopaedic compilations; Omons was merely the scribe of one of the manuscripts of Gautier de Metz's Image du Monde, which is not included in the list (Hist. litt. XXIII, 221). In the treatment of formularies of letter-writing reference should be made to Langlois's important contributions, and to Haskins's bibliographical note (Am. Hist. Rev. VI, 204). Finally it should be noted that Henri d'Andeli, the author of the Bataille des Sept Arts, lived in the early, and not in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and was not a canon of Rouen (p. 649); and his work should be cited in the latest edition of Héron.

For the many errors of detail in his treatment of the Mediaeval period, Dr. Sandys has the excuse that he was working in an unfamiliar field, but he has not even used the guides that were available. For instance, he has not made use of Gröber's sketch of Mediaeval Latin literature, which he mentions in the Preface. In writing the second volume of this work it is to be hoped that the author's dependence on certain monographs on particular phases of the subject, will not keep him from searching for other material, for which he will have to go even further afield than in writing the section on the Mediaeval period.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden. Grundzüge einer oratorischen Rhythmik. Von TH. ZIELINSKI, Professor an der Universität St. Petersburg. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, Theodor Weicher, 1904, 253 pp. M. 8.40. [Separat-Abdruck aus Philologus Supplementband IX, Viertes Heft.]

The artistic employment of rhythm in the composition of prose, more especially, of course, at the end of the period, was an aspect of antique literary art the importance of which it would be difficult to overestimate. The earliest rhetoricians of Greece enforced it by precept and illustrated it in practice, the latest grammarians and critics of the Roman Empire were still busily engaged in the discussion of it, the great prose writers of both Greece and Rome for, at least, a thousand years are examples of its practical application. The so-called cursus of the Middle Ages, which emerged after the quantitative system of pronunciation had given way to

accent, was, in reality, nothing more than an adaptation of the old theory to the new conditions. Meanwhile, this important side of Cicero's literary art had long since been forgotten. Finally, however, it was rediscovered by the Humanists who applied the results to their own Latinity. But the very existence of such a thing as rhythmical prose, much more, the laws or the artistic importance of it, soon fell below the horizon-line of the rapidly decreasing stature of later scholarship, nor was it encouraged to emerge again as long as, in practice at least, the ears of even the best scholars were dinned with the defective pronunciation which has prevailed since the time of Erasmus. At all events, the existence of rhythmical prose, rediscovered by the Humanists and, afterwards, practically forgotten, is, really, a second rediscovery of the present generation, and investigation of the laws by which it was regulated is still in the infantile stage.[1] Examination of the Mediaeval cursus, for which we are chiefly indebted to the French, began early in the 18th century but there have been no definite results until within the last few years. The study of Cicero's usage began scarcely more than twenty years ago. Though previously urged by Volkmann and Fritzsche, the first serious attempt to examine this subject was made by G. Wuest (Strassburg, 1881). He was succeeded, five years later, by E. Müller, who followed a different method and arrived at a different result. Bornecque's study of Cicero's correspondence appeared in 1898, J. Wolff's dissertation, De Clausulis Ciceronianis, in 1901. Meanwhile, and up to the present time (1904), various other Latin authors have been subjected to the same test, more especially since the appearance of Norden's Antike Kunstprosa in 1898 which presented the whole subject in a fashion so attractive and inspiring that a lasting and fruitful interest in it has been aroused. Otherwise, Norden's most important service in this domain was his establishment of the historical connection, on the one hand, between Greek and Republican Latin and, on the other, between Imperial Latin and the accentual cursus of the Middle Ages.

In dealing with the first twenty odd years of work in this field one is glad to acknowledge that even the detached facts brought to light are, in themselves, an ample reward. So far, however, as the great general laws of rhythmical prose are concerned, as well as the practical meaning and application of them, the average ob-

[1] For the history and the bibliography of this investigation, a critical examination of the various theories advanced, etc., etc., see, especially, E. Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa, Leipzig, 1898, p. 909, f., E. De Jonge, Les Theories Recentes sur la Prose Métrique en Latin, Le Musée Belge, 1902, pp. 262–279, Les Clausules de Saint Cyprien, id. ibid., pp. 344–363, H. Bornecque, Wie soll man die metrischen Klauseln studiren? Rhein. Mus., 58 (1903), pp. 371–381. Finally, Zielinski, in his own monograph, gives an excellent resumé and a complete discussion of all literature of the subject so far as it is concerned with Cicero himself. This includes a collection and discussion of all antique references to the observance of metrical laws in the prose of Cicero.



server feels that the investigation has not been equally successful. He is tempted to describe no small portion of it as so much groping about through a labyrinth of statistics behind some uncertain candle of theory. However that may be, it is certainly characteristic of this investigation that it has evolved no rules capable of working both ways, no conclusions which are at once clear-cut and generally acceptable to the world at large. The situation, however, was even better than we had a right to expect at this early stage. There is no reason for discouragement, much less, for unkind criticism. Apparently, Cicero himself was never quite clear with regard to his own theory.

In most cases, the portion of text examined by our modern investigators was manifestly an insufficient foundation for the superstructure demanded, in all cases, we had a right to suspect that the theory adopted was more or less partial and inadequate. Two radically different methods, each prompted by its own theory of development, have been followed. The first method—which is represented by Wuest, Havet, Watson, Macé, Candel,[1] and especially, Bornecque, and may be called the French school—proceeds on the general principle that the metrical form of the last word determined the metrical form of the word which immediately preceded it. It counts feet by words. It is the school of the caesura, using that word, as Zielinski employs it, in the sense of word-end. All statistics have been gathered and all conclusions drawn from this point of view. The second method—which is represented by E. Müller, Norden, Wolff, Gatscha and Freund, and has been termed the German school—considers nothing but the combinations of long and short syllables. It marks off the feet and pays no attention whatever to the words.

'The French school', says De Jonge, 'generalizes too little, it frequently has nothing to offer but statistics. The German school, on the other hand, generalizes too much, it frequently assembles under one rubric facts altogether incompatible with each other'. This excellent criticism of De Jonge might be supplemented by the observation that if the rhythmical clausula of prose is to be examined as every other metrical combination is to be examined, then both theories are manifestly inadequate. Certainly neither one of them, single-handed, could have forced the hexameter to tell the secrets of its history which have been revealed to us in the last thirty years.

At the end, therefore, of twenty years it seems evident that the burning question in the study of rhythmical prose is, even more than ever, the question of method. How are we to proceed and what shall we consider in order to solve the problem? From this point of view as well as for many other reasons, the book of Professor Zielinski is a contribution to the subject so thorough

[1] J. Candel, De clausulis a Sedulio in eis libris qui inscribuntur Paschale Opus adhibitis, Tolosae, ex typis Societatis Sancti Cypriani, 1904, 170 pp.

and exhaustive and, at the same time, so illuminating and convincing that, without pausing to write the detailed review which it really deserves, I shall simply endeavor to report some of the main points and conclusions of his investigation to the readers of the Journal.

Zielinski's study, which is a model of thoroughly systematized inductive reasoning reduced to the lowest terms of algebraic clearness and brevity, is based upon a complete statistic of the clausula of the period (17902 exx.) for the entire corpus of Cicero's orations. It is the first time that all of Cicero's orations—for many reasons, the most important document in the case now surviving—have been utilized for this purpose. It is well understood that initial rhythm, the cadence of the clause, etc. deserve and will repay examination. It is proper, however, that the beginning should be made rather with the close of the period, because it is here that rhythm is strictly observed and is most prominent. Moreover the development of it here is unimpeded by any influence from the following sentence.

The principles by which the material has been arranged and the conclusions have been drawn are, in part, as follows:

The 'Grundformen', primitive forms, of the clausula, to illustrate by concrete examples, are:

1. collocaretur, — ∪ — ⁝ — ⏑
2. cessit audaciae, — ∪ — ⁝ — ∪ ⏓
3. audeat iudicare, — ∪ — ⁝ — ∪ — ⏑
4. - is et auctoritatibus, — ∪ — ⁝ — ∪ — ∪ ⏓
5. (prae)posteram gratulationem. — ∪ — ⁝ — ∪ — ∪ — ⏑
6. (vi)dere quid quaeque causa postulet, — ∪ — ⁝ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ⏓ etc.

It will be seen at a glance that all of these 'Grundformen' begin with a cretic (— ∪ —) and that in every case this cretic is followed by a trochaic group, beginning with two syllables in 1, adding another syllable in 2, another in 3, and so on. To borrow the language of calculus, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., are the integers of a form which may be represented thus,

Basis Cadence

— ∪ — : — ∪ | — | ∪ | — | ∪ | — |
1 2 3 4 5 6

This 'Integrating Clausula', as Z. aptly terms it, consists, therefore, of a cretic basis followed by a trochaic cadence having two or more syllables. This is the clausula of Cicero. The law of its observance is the law of the clausula in Cicero.

The minimum cadence is one trochee. Hence such a clausula is always marked "1". The addition of another syllable makes clausula "2", and so on.

Now a trochee and a half (— ∪ —) = one cretic. Hence from 2 onwards, the cretic of the basis is followed by a second cretic in the cadence. Agreeably, therefore, to the well-known rule of



ancient metric that only the last foot must be kept pure, the cretic of the basis from 2 onwards may be replaced by a molossus (— — —). The lighter forms 2, 3, 4, etc. are, therefore, accompanied by parallel heavy forms which are graphically represented by 2, 3, 4, etc., i. e., beside 2, cessit audaciae, — ∪ — : — ∪ ⏑, we have 2, credatis postulo, — — — : — ∪ ⏑, beside 3, audeat iudicare, — ∪ — : — ∪ — ⏑, 3, his non intelligetur, — — — : — ∪ — ⏑, and so on.

The 'Grundformen', therefore, of Cicero's clausulae are 1 : 2, 2 : 3' 3 : 4, 4 : etc. As compared with all derivative variants they are decidedly in the majority.

Derivative variants—'pathology' of the clausula, using that word in its original sense—are governed, for the most part by two recognized laws of metrical composition. These are resolution and anaclasis.

Anaclasis—by which a cretic may become a choriambus (— ∪∪ —) or a molossus an epitrite (— ∪ — —)—ought to be confined to the basis, and the same is true of the molossus mentioned above. If either one of these phenomena occurs in the cadence it has a direct influence on the standing of the clausula.

From the point of view of their value, clausulae are classed as V (verae), L (licitae), M (malae), P (pessimae), S (selectae).

V includes the first three Grundformen, i. e., 1 : 2, 2 : 3, 3 (10845 exx. out of the total 17902, 60.3 per cent).

L includes 4 and 4, also the simpler variants, by resolution or anaclasis, of V, e. g. 1^{r}, 2^{l}, 3^{tr}, etc. (tr=anaclasis, the exponents mean the long syllable resolved, counting, in each case, from the left). L is represented by 4776 exx. 26.5 per cent.

M includes 5, 5 onwards, with all their derivative variants all derivative variants of 4 and 4, finally, double and triple derivative variants of V, 1103 exx., 6.1 per cent.

P includes all V which have allowed anaclasis in the second cretic, 248 exx., 1.4 per cent.

S, which, as the name indicates, are not bad but are used for certain special effects, include all V which have allowed cholosis in the second cretic (— — — for — ∪ —), 930 exx., 5.2 per cent.

The reader will be able to draw his own conclusions, both for the art of Cicero and for the value of Zielinski's system of investigation, from the comparative frequency of these categories, V + L + S = 16551 out of 17902, 92 per cent. In other words Cicero's clausula transgresses his (more or less) conscious standard of what is faultless (V, 60.3 per cent), allowable (L, 26.5 per cent), or deliberately chosen (S, 5.2 per cent), in only 8 per cent (M, 6.1 per cent + P, 1.4 per cent) of the total usage.

The term 'Hauptform' is employed to designate the corresponding Grundform together with all its derivative variants. For this purpose, the Roman numerals are also made to serve an important end. Thus Hauptform I = Grundform 1 together with all derivative variants, Hauptform II = Grundform 2, 2 together with all derivative variants, and so on.

Finally, caesura, which is recorded in every example, is inc cated by the Greek letters, α, β, γ, etc., according to the syllab after which, counting from left to right, caesura occurs.

By the use of these and other carefully chosen terms ar symbols which are always clear and have the immense advanta of never meaning but one thing, the author is not only as exa as an algebraic formula but also saves unnumbered pages of b wildering repetition.

In chapter second (pp. 27–218) of his work, Zielinski gives detailed examination and discussion of the Hauptformen. would be out of the question here to trace the steps of the pr cess by which he groups, analyzes and accounts for every on of the 17902 clausulae collected. I can only call attention to som of the laws and observations developed from his investigation.

Of great importance in the matter of caesura (word-end) is

E.[1] The Law of Agreement: Clausular ictus and grammati cal word-accent (primary or secondary) agree.

This observation goes far to prove, if proof is still needed that the same phenomenon in the cadence of the hexameter i neither accidental nor inevitable but due to a conscious applica tion of the same law. The extension of the law of agreemen to secondary word-accent is due to Zielinski and is of grea importance.

This is one important reason why in the basis of Hauptforme I and II there is so decided a preference for caesura after th trochee or spondee (i. e. γ, monte vicerunt). Next is β (no oportere). That the preference for γ found in the Grundforme of I and II should also extend to the derivative variants is due t

F. The Law of Pathologic Correspondence: Generally speak ing, derivative variants show a strong tendency to follow thei respective Grundformen.

Indeed, as compared with 1γ, the fondness for $1^1\gamma$ and $1^2\gamma$ in creases. This is due to

G. The Law of Pathologic Contrast: As pathologic strict ness decreases (i. e., as variation from the given Grundform i less controlled) strictness in the laws of caesura increases.

But even when caesura γ or β does not occur the desirability of agreement may be seen from

N. The Law of Shift: When the basis consists of a single molossian word the principal ictus shifts to the middle syllable. In that case, the first, and, possibly, the third syllable have a secondary ictus. But if the third long syllable is resolved, the principal ictus of the middle syllable becomes so strong that the first syllable loses its secondary ictus and is also reduced half.

The position of caesura in the cadence is, of course, (Law A) directly influenced by the relative frequency of the words neces- sarily producing that caesura. But monosyllables closing the

[1] For the sake of clearness, I have kept the letters by which Zielinski himself designates his laws.



cadence are rare (only 1 per cent in 1). Hence Law A must be reinforced by

B. Law of the Monosyllable: Monosyllables at the close of the cadence are largely confined to enclitic forms of esse. If, however (p. 68–9), the cadence is catalectic (as in 2, 4, 6, etc.), accented monosyllables may occur, but they are not very frequent.

The Law of Agreement is responsible for what Zielinski terms

Q. The Law of two Shorts: Whenever a long syllable is resolved the result must be preceded either by a long syllable in the same word or by a caesura.

A special application of this law to caesura is seen in

P. The Law of ζ: In Hauptform III, and onwards, if the second trochee of the cadence is resolved a caesura before it (ζ) is obligatory.

Another important application of Q is seen in examining the relationship between the clausura and the syllables immediately preceding it—'Anlauf', as Z. terms it. This application of Q is seen in

I. The Law of Anlauf: In a clausula having its first long syllable resolved, if a word ends inside the basis but, at the same time, begins before the first syllable of that resolution, then the syllable immediately preceding the said resolution is generally long. The deeper the basis is penetrated by this word the more strict is the observance of this law. [In other words, the rule of the preceding long, set forth in Q, applies not only to the entire clausula but, as a rule, to the last syllable of the 'Anlauf'.]

The relation of Anlauf and clausula is further governed by two laws:

C. The Law of Balance: Weighting or lightening the clausula is accompanied by an effort to restore balance by a contrast in the Anlauf, [i. e., if the one is light the other is, by preference, heavy, and vice-versa].

D. The Law of Distance: Strictness in observing the laws of the clausula decreases as the distance from the close of it increases.

Further all derivative variants are affected by

H. The Law of Resolution: When a syllable is resolved the result should not be divided between words of two or more syllables.

In Hauptformen I and II (in which caesura γ is preferred) diaeresis between basis and cadence is strenuously avoided, but

O. Law of Diaeresis: In Hauptform III, and onwards, diaeresis is preferred. In the light forms this law is strictly observed. Indeed, hiatus and syllaba anceps are allowed before the diaeresis. In the heavy forms, on the contrary, the observance of diaeresis is much more lax. This law of diaeresis (O) is obligatory for S clausulae.

Heavy forms prevail in IV and III. But in III and, above all, in II there was a rapidly growing preference for the light forms

during the last ten years of Cicero's life. This preference may be discerned in all the speeches of that period. It is a matter, therefore, of chronology, not of εἶδος. Hence we are justified in formulating

K. The Law of Development: In the clausula of Cicero, development of technique was towards lightening the basis.

Finally, of derivative variants in general, it may be observed that, omitting Hauptform I, which has only one Grundform (i. e. 1), the percentage of variation steadily increases up to Hauptform V.

The comparative importance of the first four Hauptformen is indicated by the statistics of their occurrence (5308+4369+5383 +650 = 16210, out of a total of 17902).

I and II lay especial emphasis on a caesura after the first trochee (or spondee) of the basis (γ). Diaeresis between basis and cadence is avoided. In other words the clausula is concentrated, basis and cadence are bound together as closely as possible. The more or less regular trochaic cadence is not allowed, so to speak, to escape from the basis. I and II (10177 exx.) belong to the Attic group.

III and IV (and onwards), on the contrary, are especially marked by the use of δ, i. e., diaeresis between basis and cadence. This allows the clausula to fall apart into basis and cadence. III and IV belong to the Asian group. Statistics of usage (6038 exx.) as compared with the Attic group (10177 exx.) are, in themselves, an excellent illustration of Cicero's attitude towards these two great schools of Roman oratory.

When, as in III and onwards, basis and cadence are divorced, the cadence draws nearer the effect of regular verse. The effect is increased as the cadence grows in length. In this respect, the danger point is reached in IV. Indeed, with Hauptform V we actually enter the domain of regular clausulae found in poetry of the higher spheres. The clausula of V frequently serves as the clausula of strophes in the chorus of tragedy or of comic parody. Hence the clausulae of Hauptform V are M. (malae).

These are some of the most important results of Zielinski's investigation. It will be seen, even from this imperfect report of it, that in a certain way his system is a combination of the methods of both the French and the German schools. Caesura is investigated, so are long and short syllables as such, but neither one at the expense of the other, much less, to the exclusion of it. Zielinski's system, however, is something better than a combination. Other features of great importance have been added. The fundamental idea of his system, I take it, is the axiom—at least, it should be an axiom—that in so far as conscious rhythm exists in prose the general laws by which it is governed are those which apply to poetry. Certainly, his investigation has gone far to prove that this is the case. Among many important contributions to the subject both in matter and in method, the most important,



perhaps, is his discovery of the "Integrating Clausula". As soon as this great principle was established all the phenomena were at once capable of logical arrangement and explanation. Best of all, he has given us rules that really will work both ways, he has derived conclusions which ought, at least, to be satisfactory to the world at large. The day of a constructive theory of the subject would appear to be at hand. If so, the application of it to the great writers of Greece and Rome bids fair to inaugurate an era of revelation as regards our knowledge of antique literary art.

But, as might be expected, the illumination produced by Zielinski's investigation extends beyond the clausula of the Ciceronian period. Its usefulness, if properly applied, as a criterion of text is illustrated by several pages of examples. Moreover, something is already contributed to the settlement of uncertain quantities, to the rules of prosody, to orthography, etc. But by far the most interesting question here is the meaning of Zielinski's investigation for the matter of Latin accent, and, especially, for the matter of secondary accent which, though manifestly of vast importance, is really taken up in this book for the first time. The author's views, which are set forth in his concluding chapter, will, doubtless, be much discussed and, as he himself says, a long series of investigations must be completed before we can hope to reach a complete and clear view of all the matters involved. The most important general results, however, are, it seems to me, likely to remain, substantially, as he has stated them.

To report the main conclusions in brief, this investigation shows beyond any reasonable doubt that the accent of Cicero's oratorical prose was the accent of poetry. In other words the phenomenon conveniently known as 'conflict' was not confined to poetry and the extension of it into another field gives new interest to the old question, What is conflict and how shall we explain it? For those, of course, who believe, with Corssen, that Latin accent was, like Greek accent, purely musical, the answer is at once easy and final. Conflict, even if we care to use the word at all, is a matter of no concern. Pitch-accent has nothing to do with metre. By far less comfortable, however, has been the situation of the many among us who are convinced by the trend of modern investigation that, although it contained a musical element, the accent of Latin was undoubtedly expiratory. We were justified in viewing with suspicion any theory of metrical composition involving a system of stresses at variance with the laws of national accent. How, then, is conflict to be explained? Zielinski's reply is simple and to the point. There was no conflict. The accent of poetry and, as we have now discovered, the accent of oratorical prose, was the accent of ordinary speech. But Orator, 58, is direct testimony to the fact that the ordinary accent of Cicero's time was not the accent of his oratorical prose but the accent with which the grammarians have made us familiar. Furthermore, the technique of the clausula





our poetry but also in the conservative tradition of reading the service of the Church.

At all events, forént represents the required accentuation of iambic words at the close of a Ciceronian clausula, and why should this illustration of the force of secondary accent be an exception to the law of historical survival which seems to hold good for the other phenomena examined? I may add that Zielinski's contention seems to derive support, so far as it goes, from the fact that a historical survival of the accentuation represented by forént in oratory and poetry is the best explanation, indeed, it is the only satisfactory explanation yet offered, of the preference for iambic words at the close of the pentameter which is expressed in Ovid's famous law of the dissyllable.

Be that as it may, it is no slight recommendation of Zielinski's study that, aside from the solid contribution it has made to the subject concerned, it is suggestive of possibilities long buried in the language and literary art of antiquity which bid fair to rival the interest of those which have so long lain perdu in the sands of Egypt.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by J. A. H. MURRAY, HENRY BRADLEY and W. A. CRAIGIE. Vol. VI, Lock–Lyyn and M–Mandragon; Vol. VII, Onomastical–Outing, Outjet–Ozyat and P–Pargeted; Vol. VIII, R–Reactive and Reactively–Ree. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1903–1904.

In the last notice of the Oxford English Dictionary (A. J. P., XXIV 85–89), the work was brought down to January, 1903, inclusive. Since that date the quarterly parts have been issued regularly as above. The letters to M have been completed, and the letters O and Q, while M, P and R are under way. Dr. Bradley has still to complete M and N for Vol. VI; Dr. Murray, P for Vol. VII; and Mr. Craigie, R and S for Vol. VIII. This rate of progress is much greater than a few years ago, and as it is proposed to finish the work in ten volumes, we may, perhaps, be spared, after watching its progress for twenty years, to witness its completion and to congratulate its editors. The same high standard of excellence and thoroughness has been maintained, and it needs but the examination of any single part to appreciate the care and labor bestowed upon it. But the language itself moves with seven-league boots. We have only to open the last part that has come to hand, M–Mandragon, (October 1, 1904) to find the latest neologism,—for which our British cousins are solely responsible,—duly labelled and incorporated, namely, *Maffick*, verb,—with its derivatives, *Mafficking*, *Mafficker*, and *Maffick*, substantive,—explained as a "back-formation from *mafficking*, (i. e., the proper

name *Mafeking*, treated jocularly as a gerund or pres. pple.)," and defined, "Originally used to designate the behaviour of the crowds (in London and other towns) that celebrated with uproarious rejoicings the relief of the British garrison besieged in Mafeking (17 May, 1900). Hence generally, to indulge in extravagant demonstrations of exultation on occasions of national rejoicing."

As an illustration of fullness we find in this part that the verb *make* fills no less than thirty-five columns, nearly twelve pages, treated under ninety-six headings from A. D. 1000 on, but examples are not frequent in the Old English (Anglo-Saxon) period. Dr. Bradley says of this verb: "Many senses which later English shares with continental Teutonic are not recorded in Old English, or not until the end of the period; possibly the verb originally had some of these meanings, but was displaced in the literary dialect by synonyms. . . . The word is not very frequent in Old English; the most prominent uses are in causative and factitive applications, and in the phrase *hit macian*, 'to make it,'=to act, behave," under which meaning is given the oldest example, from King Alfred's Boethius, A. D. 888, the only one cited from King Alfred, although we find several from Aelfric, A. D. 1000.

It is interesting to note the remarks sometimes made by Dr. Bradley, which serve to illustrate the differences between British and American usage. Under *Ma*, for instance, we have the definition: "A childish and colloquial shortening of *Mamma*. Now often ridiculed as *vulgar*." Again, while *Ma'am* is "a colloquial shortening of *Madam*," we are told that "the present tendency is to confine it to the speech of servants or other persons of markedly inferior position." Neither of these remarks would apply to the United States, certainly not to the Southern States, where seventeenth century words and pronunciation are still in vogue and where the older use of *Ma'am*, the court use "in addressing the Queen or a royal princess," is still maintained to a large extent in the best society. Under *Madam* we also find: "In oral use the title now rarely occurs; from the 18th century it has been, except in very formal use, largely superseded by the contracted form *Ma'am*, which has itself in recent years been greatly restricted in currency."

Under *Mad* it seems to be finally settled that it is an "aphetic representation of O. E. *gemaéd(e)d* (see *Amad*) pa. pple. of **gemaédan*, to render insane, from *gemâd*, insane ('*vecors*, gemaad,' Corpus Glossary)." While the sense "beside oneself with anger; moved to uncontrollable rage; furious," is recognized and illustrated, it is pronounced "now only *colloquial*. In many dialects in Great Britain and the U. S. the ordinary word for 'angry'". In this sense it is "good English" in the United States.

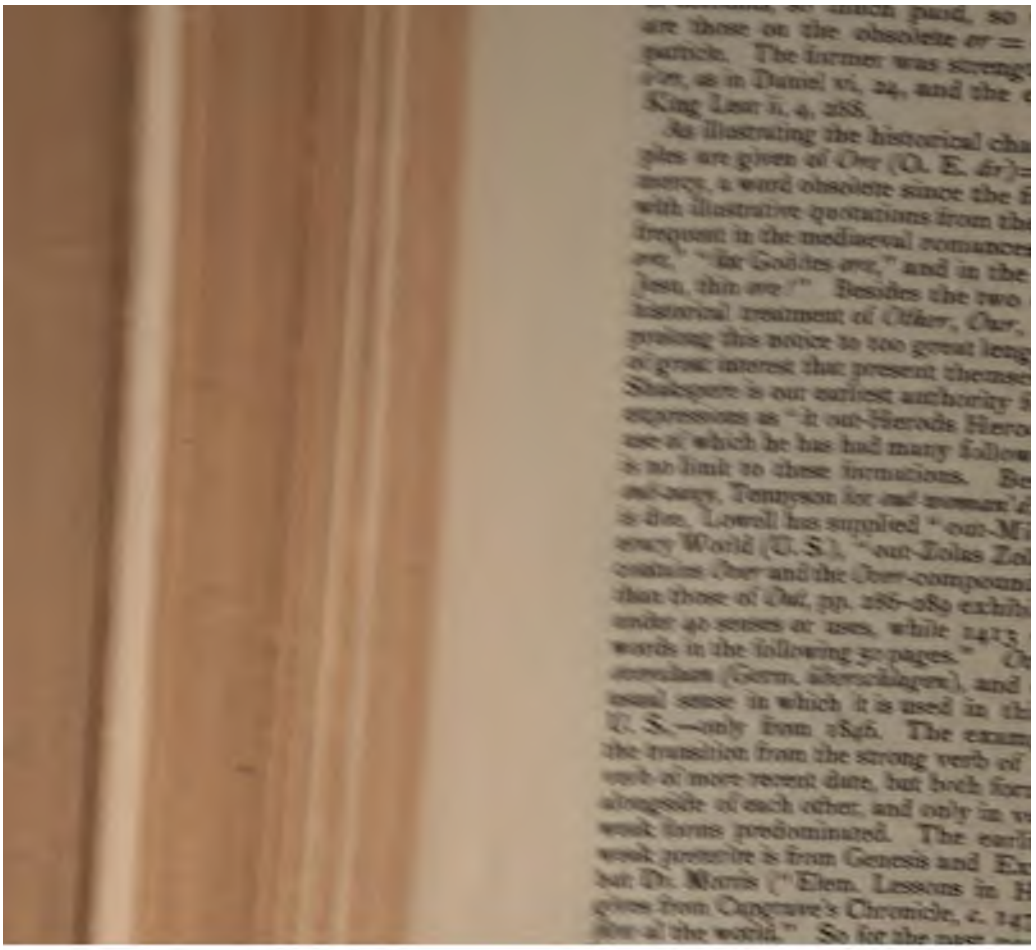
Again, under *Mamma* we find the remarks: "In educated use, so far as is known, the stress has in England always been on the last syllable; in the United States, however, the stress *mâm-*



ma is the more usual [?]; a prevailing U. S. pronunciation is represented by the spelling *momma* [!], occasionally used in novels." Also, and finally: "In the 18th century, although *mámma* as used by young children was probably common, *mammá* seems to have been confined to the higher classes, and among them to have been freely used not only by children but by adults of both sexes. In the 19th century its use was much extended, and among the lower middle class was a mark of 'gentility.' Latterly it has in England become unfashionable, even as used by children." Such a broad statement would be erroneous for the United States.

Passing back to the letter L we find the verb *Look* occupying the first place in extent of meanings, and filling sixteen columns, with appended adverbs and prepositions, arranged under forty-seven headings. Like *Make* it is an Old English weak verb that takes us back to King Alfred and Aelfric for the earliest examples of its use, with developed significations in modern times, as in *look sharp*, the earliest example of which collocation is from the Spectator, not yet two hundred years ago. *Loco-foco* is dubbed "U. S.," and called "an invented word; it is not known what suggested the formation," but as originally applicable to "a self-igniting cigar or match" (Bartlett), the suggestion in Webster's International Dictionary that it was from *loco foci* is a very reasonable one. Its application in 1834 to a section of the Democratic party in New York, and later to the party itself, is of course from the use of *loco-foco* matches to re-light Tammany Hall, as detailed both here and in Webster. Many of us can still remember when all Democrats were called Locofocos, but I doubt whether the younger generation has ever heard the term used. Considering the length of time that the word *Logistics* has been in use,—certainly anterior to 1861,—it is strange that the earliest quotation is from Gen. Richard Taylor's "Destruction and Reconstruction" (1879), a sentence in which he calls Gen. Joseph E. Johnston "a master of logistics," but the word came into English from the French long before that date. A recent example is the following from Rhodes's History of the United States, Vol. V, p. 226 (1904): "It [i. e., transportation of troops and supplies] developed through our mechanical ingenuity into an indispensable branch of logistics." However, we can supply a brand-new quotation for the use of the adverb "logistically," from Mrs. Longstreet's recent book, "Lee and Longstreet at High Tide" (1904), page 47, line 10, anent the much-disputed question as to the intended time of Gen. Longstreet's attack at Gettysburg on the second day, July 2d, 1863: "it was logistically and morally impossible to make an attack at daylight."

This small portion of M contains 3175 main words and combinations, as against 1817 in the Century Dictionary, its closest rival, 2459 are illustrated by quotations to 496 in the Century, and the quotations number 12,855 compared to 1088 in the Century.





sense of 'possess' was becoming obsolescent." The sense 'confess' is not older than 1650, and the earliest example given of 'own up' is from Trollope, 1880.

The first Section of P is remarkable for containing few native words. Out of the 2454 main words treated "only ONE," says Dr. Murray, "can claim to be a native Old English word, viz., *pan*, the culinary vessel." The introductory article explains how this letter "has grown to be one of the three gigantic letters of the modern English Dictionary," S and C being the other two, and the three including nearly a third of all the words. This is due chiefly to the enormous influx of words from Latin through French, and some directly, and from Greek, for here we have the *pan-* and *para-*, *peri-* and *pro-* compounds. Many other tongues have also contributed their quota, the modern European from Danish to Italian and from Portuguese to Croatian and Turkish; also Persian, Hindustani, Tamil, Burmese, Chinese, Malay, Maori, Peruvian, Tupi, Carib, Algonkin, Seelmana,—in fact, English seems to have plundered the linguistic world. The reason why there are so few native words beginning with P is that they were *not there* in Old English, as every linguistic student knows. "Original P in Germanic or Teutonic represents an Indo-European B. But, *initially*, B was of rare occurrence in Indo-European, and it is not certain that any of the words in which it so occurred were retained in Teutonic, where initial P was consequently very rare."

Illustrations of words in R must be very briefly noted. In view, however, of the varying pronunciation of this letter in different parts of the United States, the remarks of Mr. Craigie on "modern standard English" will be of especial interest to the many amateur critics of Southern speech. He says: "This trill is almost or altogether absent in the *r* of modern standard English, which moreover retains its consonantal value only when it precedes a vowel; in other positions it has been vocalized to an ə-sound, . . and even this is entirely lost after certain vowels." This puts the Oxford Dictionary on the side of the ordinary Southern pronunciation of *r* final as "standard English." The adage connecting oysters with the *r*-months dates back to 1599 (H. Buttes, Dyets drie Dinner); "the three R's" is not found earlier than 1828, and is said to have originated as a toast with Sir W. Curtis (1752–1829); and "R. S. V. P." was in use in 1845. The Athenaeum of Apr. 5, 1879, speaks of "Romanism, Ritualism, and Rationalism" as "the three r's of theological controversy," but Americans will miss the three r's of political controversy used by the Rev. Dr. Burchard, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion,"—which is said to have defeated Blaine for the Presidency only five years later.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

REPORTS.

HERMES, XXXVIII.

Fascicle 3.

Paralipomena zu Euklid (J. L. Heiberg). (See Herm XXXVIII, p. 46 ff. and p. 161 ff.). Since publishing Vol. (Lipsiae, 1888) of the critical edition of Euclid (Heiberg an Menge, Teubn. 1883–96, 7 vol.) Heiberg has found valuable ne material in papyri, in an Arabic commentary and in MSS whic he had only partially examined or not at all. His results how ever throw light mainly on the history of the text, the constitu tion of which could be materially altered only by the discover of a second MS containing a pre-Theonic recension, which i now represented by Vatic. gr. 190 (P) alone. All the rest repre sent the text revised by Theon in the IV century A. D. The constant use of the Elements in teaching produced in MSS repeated interpolations, abbreviations and changes of order from Hero of Alexandria down to Byzantine times. Changes and additions made by Theon can be partially determined by com paring P with independent Theon MSS. However the papyru fragments show that Theon was conservative and that P must b used with caution. The post-Theonic changes can easily b determined by reference to the older Theon MSS. Heiberg discusses in detail the contamination and classification of th MSS, the scholia and the Arabic commentary. Arabic numer als, it appears, were known to Byzantine scholars as early as th X century. The greater part of the citations from Euclid are du to the commentators on Aristotle. One of the curiosities of thi Euclidean literature is the work of an Italian of the X century who with 'small Latin and less Greek' translated the Element of which he knew nothing.

Die Überlieferung des Index Academicorum (W. Crönert). This long and somewhat rambling study presents interesting and valuable information to the student of the Herculanean rolls o papyri and particularly to the future editor of Pap. 1021, which contains an historic outline of Plato and his successors (a survey of which is presented) and is a companion piece to the Index Stoicorum (Pap. 1018); both probably the work of the Epicurean Philodemus to whom more than three-fifths of the Herculanean rolls may be assigned. The counter drawing of the Oxford copy of Pap. 1021, made by J. J. Cohen for Gomperz, is severely handled by Crönert. Unfortunately Mekler has taken this as the basis of a recent (1902) edition, which, while valuable, can only serve



as an aid to a future definitive edition. For this there is still need of a careful study of the alphabet, and of a pains-taking collation; as well as of a study of the marginal notes and cross-references. Besides it is necessary to be familiar with some fifty different handwritings distinguishable on the various rolls, and to examine the edges pasted in ancient times and the edges that were cut in modern times. Mekler eliminates the question of hiatus; but it is clearly avoided in Pap. 1021 and 1018, a further proof of Philodemus' authorship. Pap. 164, which is a duplicate of 1021, may some day, when fully opened, yield important results. Pap. 1021 is so full of carelessnesses and hastinesses that one can almost see the book in the making and it therefore deserves an exhaustive study at the hands of those who are interested in bookmaking, whereas scholars have depended on the Oxford and Naples copies, and even Birt's work does not rest on a personal examination of the originals. Particularly to be noted is the disarrangement of the columns, singly and in blocks of four and five, showing clearly that the *glutinator* pasted the sheets together after they were written upon. The Ulpian passage (Dig. XXXII 52, 5): 'libri perscripti nondum conglutinati vel emendati' is not an exception (Birt, p. 242), but the rule.

ΑΝΕΠΙΒΑΣΙΑ (A. Nikitsky). Commentators of the Troezenian inscription edited by Fränkel (CIG Pel. I 752) and Legrand (Bull. de corr. hell. XXIV p. 179 ff.) have taken *ἀνεπιβασία* for a new word meaning 'incursion, invasion,' or more technically 'reprisal'; but *ἀν-* is the usual negative prefix as in *ἀνεπίβατος*. The Thesaurus has the word, which occurs in a pseudo-Heraclitean letter (Didot Epist. Gr., p. 288), where it means 'interruption of intercourse'. After showing that the Epidaurian inscription CIG Pel. 941 A and B is a copy of the same text, Nikitsky proceeds to combine it with the Troezenian inscription to make out the general sense.

Das Kyplopengedicht der Odyssee (D. Muelder). Though incongruities in certain passages of the Cyclops adventure have engaged the acumen of critics, the story is generally regarded as one of the finest and oldest parts of the whole Odyssey. Muelder is the first to subject it to a searching criticism, which leads him to resolve it into an original, more natural, Cyclops story, 140 vv. long, the *οὖτις* motive, taken from a poem of different character, and the description of the goat island. These parts were woven together and expanded by the final redactor of the Odyssey. The *οὖτις* motive is the main factor in the expanded story, introducing with its Polyphemus and his fellows comic elements and refinements, which form a striking contrast with the original solitary Cyclops monster. The work of the redactor appears at many points, to whom is also due the so-called Teiresias poem (λ25–224); hence we are not to believe, with Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz, in a special connection between the latter and the Cyclops adventure at an early period.

Zu Isaios (Th. Thalheim). A number of emendations.

Die Überlieferung der Silvae des Statius (A. Klotz). Klotz the editor of the Silvae, gives his reasons for reasserting in oppo sition to Engelmann (see A. J. P. XXV 223) that the Matritensi (M) is our only source of the Silvae; moreover that the nota Politianae, in the liber Corsinianus, do not amount to a collation what there is depends on M. Poliziano erred in believing tha he had found the famous Poggio MS.

Berichtigung (O. Schroeder). (See Hermes XXXVIII p 202 ff.).

Berichtigung (Die Redaktion). (See Hermes XXXVIII p 249 ff.).

Fascicle 4.

Beobachtungen zur Technik des Antiphon (A. Reuter). Ed Schwartz errs in his endeavor (De Thrasymacho Chalcedonio Ind. schol. Rostoch. 1892) to find the scheme of the Gorgianic Palamedes in Antiphon, who himself indicates in Or. VI 30 f., though in briefer form, the *παράγγελμα* mentioned by Plato (Phaedrus 266 D ff.): 1. *προοίμιον*, 2. *διήγησις μαρτυρίαι τ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ*, 3. *τεκμήρια*, 4. *εἰκότα*—some special terms follow, 5. *τέλος*. This *παράγγελμα* seems to have been followed by Antiphon in I, V and VI, with the addition of: *σύγκρισις τῶν μαρτυριῶν, δικαιολογία, πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους* and *ἀντικατηγορία, γνώμη* and *κοινοὶ τόποι*. Difficult to classify are I 28–30 and V 57–59, 64–73, though falling under the head of *εἰκός*. This enlarged *παράγγελμα* has in general a regular order, though parts are omitted here and there; but most remarkable are the repetitions of essential parts of this scheme in V and VI, which may therefore be regarded as bundles of short speeches on common themes. This *ἄρρυθμος εὐρυθμία* was probably more effective than many a symmetrical oration of later times. The character of Antiphon's arguments shows that Plato (Phaedr. 267 A) would have classified him with those *οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν τὰ εἰκότα εἶδον ὡς τιμητέα μᾶλλον κ. τ. λ.*

Beiträge zur Textgeschichte und Kritik der Philonischen Schriften (L. Cohn). The first half of the admirable edition of Philo Judaeus by Cohn-Wendland was completed with the appearance of Vol. IV in 1902 (Berlin, Reimer), containing de Abrahamo, de Josepho, de vita Mosis and de Decalogo. As a supplement to the account already given of MSS and previous editions, in Vol. IV, Cohn presents interesting details. The classification of the MSS for this volume was complicated by the need of a special grouping for each book, and yet the difficulty of editing was simplified by the fact that a considerable part of the variants was due to itacism and to copying from the continua scriptura of uncials into minuscules, of which some striking illustrations are given. Cohn also gives interesting details showing with how little critical ability Turnebus (ed. princ. Par. 1552) handled his



three Paris MSS, and how some of his mistaken conjectures and even misprints passed into all succeeding editions; thus in de vita Mosis § 283 *θειοφορεῖται* (*θεοφορεῖται* all MSS) occasioned an unnecessary note in Passow's lexicon s. v. Mangey (London, 1742) based his edition on a much larger number of MSS and being thoroughly familiar with Philo's style and vocabulary made a number of excellent emendations, which MSS, discovered later, have corroborated; but he too was uncritical, valuing all MSS nearly alike and making references to them that are vague and unreliable. Mangey's successors: Pfeiffer, Richter and the Tauchnitz edition have done but little to improve the text and unfortunately have omitted his notes.

Demosthenes *περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν* (M. Wellmann). J. Hirschberg in his history of Ophthalmology recognizes correctly that all accounts of the eye, from Oribasius in the IV century A. D. down, depend on a common source; but referred this source to the beginning of the III century A. D. Wellmann by comparing Pseudo-Galenus (XIV 767 ff.) with the respective passages in Oribasius, Aetius of Amida and others, identifies this source with Demosthenes Philalethes of the Herophilean school (I century A. D.). This comprehensive work of Demosthenes on the eye became the standard. The originality of later medical compilers is not to be rated too high. Productive scholarship ceased with the beginning of the Christian era.

Βοῦς Ἑβδομος (P. Stengel). There were six customary sacrificial animals: *πρόβατον*, *ὗς*, *αἶξ*, *βοῦς*, *ὄρνις* and *χήν*; as a seventh alternative poor people could offer a cake *βοῒ παραπλήσιον* (Hesych. s. v. *βοῦς*). This symbolical sacrifice of an *ἄψυχον* suggested stupidity, hence the proverbial *βοῦς ἕβδομος* (Suid. s. v.). Suidas gives also the more usual derivation of the term from a sacrifice of seven cakes to the moon, which has misled Roscher (Arch. f. Religionsgesch. VI 1903 p. 64 ff.) to accept the mistaken tradition of a sacrifice of seven animals and of a special connection with the moon.

Apollon (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff). The attempts to explain the name *Ἀπόλλων* and such epithets as *φοῖβος*, *σμινθεύς*, *χρυσάωρ*, *ἀφήτωρ* are futile. Leaving aside later tradition, it is significant that the whole Asiatic coast was filled with pre-Hellenic sanctuaries of Apollo, mostly oracles, many of which were not occupied by the Greeks before the time of Alexander. We must conclude that either this pre-Hellenic god was identified with a Greek Apollo or was simply adopted. The evidence in Homer favors the latter view. Here he appears as a mighty and terrible god, who sent pestilence and death with his bow, so that the Greeks were constrained to appease his wrath. Impressed by his oracles they adopted him and gave him the lyre in addition to his bow, because the *θεία μανία* inspires the *μοῦσα* as well as the

μάντις. Thus equipped the god spread his worship to the west Originally a migrating god and naturally given to colonizing, h had come to the pre-Hellenic Dalos, to which he continued t make yearly pilgrimages, spending part of the year with th Hyperboreans and having a winter resort in Lycia. Often h supplanted older divinities, such as Hyacinthus at Amyclae an the Dorian Carneius, but most notably the chthonic divinit Pytho. Here his priests began to preach of purification an atonement, which new doctrine won many adherents and is th characteristic element in the history of Greek religion fro Hesiod to Pindar. This it was that appealed to Pythagoras an Plato. Closely associated with Apollo were Leto and Artemis The former was probably a Lycian, while the Greek name of th latter covers the union of a Greek with a foreign goddess.

Über die Quellen der Plutarchischen Schrift περὶ ἀοργησίας (A. Schlemm). S. following a suggestion of Wilamowitz (Hermes XXIX p. 152-3) shows the agreement of the above work with Stoic doctrines, especially as exhibited in Seneca's de ira and in Philodemus' περὶ ὀργῆς. The major portion was evidently derived from a Stoic source, Plutarch also contributed his share. Pohlenz erred (Hermes XXXI, 321 ff.) in trying to prove a Peripatetic source.

Die Quellenangaben zu Parthenios und Antoninos Liberalis (E. Bethe). The marginal notes in the Heidelberg MS 398 (IX or X century) giving the sources of these epitomes of love stories are not due to a scholiast of the III century, which is Hercher's, generally accepted, view (Hermes XII 306 ff.), but were added by Parthenius and Antoninus themselves. Such ὑπομνήματα for Alexandrinizing poets would have been incomplete without an indication of the sources.

Zur Entstehung des Monumentum Ancyranum (U. Wilcken). The closing sentence: [cum scri]psi haec, annum agebam septuagensu[mum sextum] has been generally regarded as proving the date of the composition of this 'queen of inscriptions' to be 14 A. D. Mommsen however gave reasons for believing that an earlier date had been altered by a later hand, following whom Kornemann (Beiträge z. Alt. Gesch. II p. 141 ff.; III p. 74 ff.) tried to show a gradual growth assigning: I chapters 1–13, 34 to 12 B. C., II chapters 14–24 to 4 B. C. and III chapters 25–33, 35 to about 1 B. C. Revisions and additions gave the final form. Wilcken now points to interpolations that prove that parts II and III antedated 5 B. C. and expresses his belief in the original unity of the document; but agrees with Kornemann's view that Augustus continued to make additions up to 6 A. D.

Zu Aischylos Orestie (C. Robert). I. Omitting διαί Choeph. v. 639 ff. R. proposes . . . ξίφος . . . Δίκας· τὸ μὴ θέμις <γ' ὁρᾷ> . . . παρεκβάντας. The thought (vv. 639–646) is: "The sword of Dike is sure, wrong lies in the dust, the stock of Dike stands



firm". The sword of Justice is familiar in Greek art and Aeschylus himself says v. 647: προχαλκεύει δ' Αἶσα φασγανουργός (cf. Agam. 1535–6). II. Choeph. v. 1014 referring to the blood-stained garment, should read νῦν αὖ τόδ' αἰνῶ, νῦν παροιμώζω παρόν and should rather follow vv. 997–1004. Wilamowitz rightly omits v. 1000. III. In the last scene of the Eumenides (v. 1022 ff.) the goddesses change the terrible Gorgon-like costume, Aeschylus' invention, for masks and garments representing the familiar, more kindly Eumenides. The generally admitted lacuna should be understood after v. 1031 to gain time for the change.

De Prytanum Rhodiorum numero (M. Holleaux). While admitting that Hiller v. Gaertringen has proved the existence of only five Rhodian πρυτάνεις (cf. Hermes XXXVIII p. 137 ff. and p. 320) H. shows that the five ὅρκωται (Collitz-Bechtel, GDI 3749 v. 101–103) were not identical with the πρυτάνεις as Selivanov thinks (Hermes XXXVIII p. 146–7); but with the specially elected officers mentioned in vv. 86–91.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, Vol. LIX (1904).

Pp. 1–33. Der Einfluss des Ω auf die Composition der Odyssee. Groeger. A study in detail of the influence of the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad upon the *inventio* and *dispositio* of the Odyssey. This is manifest in long stretches of the Telemachy, and may be traced even in the episodes which deal with the Phaeacians and with the swineherd Eumaeus. The extent and manner of the use of a single model suggest that a large portion of the Odyssey is the work of a single poet.

Pp. 34–41. De idiotismis quibusdam latinis. F. Buecheler. I. In a Roman inscription, *Spechas* for *Psecas*. II. In a Syrian inscription, *edidit* = ἐδήδοκεν. III. In Pelagonius, *absurgiantur* for *axungiantur*. IV. In Fulgentius, *hismintium* for *Sminthium*; *tietis* for *Zethis*; *deuerbas* for *debueras*. V. In the Schol. Verg. Bern., *exierent* for *exigerent*. VI. In Fulgentius *alterutrum* is used as an adverb; in C. I. L. VI 9663, *sine alteritrum animi lesionem*, it stands for *alterutrius*, or rather for *mutua* (ἀλλήλων). VII. In C. I. L. XV 1094, *Aringnotus* for *Arignotus*. VIII. *Tiburna* for *tribunal*.

Pp. 42–54. Zu Dorotheos von Sidon. A. Ludwich.

Pp. 55–62. Carnuntiner Inschriften aus der Zeit Neros. E. Ritterling. An argument, based upon a bit of 'Spanish' Latinity (*aera* = *stipendia*), that the 'legio X gemina' was stationed at Carnuntum, A. D. 63–68.

Pp. 63–107. Ueber das Marmor Parium. F. Jacoby. Notes on the text of the Parian Marble, followed by conjectures as to its





Pp. 294–301. Zur Zusammensetzung der Phylen Antigonis und Demetrias. J. E. Kirchner.

Pp. 302–10. Der Festgesang des Horaz auf die Begründung des Principatus. A. v. Domaszewski. The virtues praised by Horace in Odes, III 1–6, are precisely the virtues claimed for Augustus in the Monumentum Ancyranum.

Miscellen.—Pp. 311–13. L. Radermacher. BAYBΩ. *Baubo* is the 'Wauwau' of the German nursery: 'Sei artig, sonst beisst dich der Wauwau'. The relation of this name to the βαυβών of Herondas, VI 19, may be explained by the use of κύων = τὸ αἰδοῖον. —Pp. 313–16. G. Knaack. Zum Margites. Literary history of the typical fool of classical antiquity.—Pp. 346–7. V. Szelinski. Zu den Sprichwörtern der Römer.—Pp. 317–20. A. Brinkmann. Zu Galens Streitschrift gegen die Empiriker.—P. 320. W. Schmid. Das Scholium Pindar. Olymp. IX 74ᵇ.—F. B. Addenda (to pp. 35, 39).

Pp. 321–28. Neptunia prata. F. Bücheler. Study of an African mosaic which shows the various forms of Roman ships. It seems to belong to the period of Hadrian, and may have been intended to illustrate a passage in the Prata of Suetonius.

Pp. 329–45. Adnotationes ad Libanii Orationum editionem Foersterianam. H. van Herwerden.

Pp. 346–72. Stipulari. S. Schlossmann. *Stipulari* is evidently formed from *stipula*, the diminutive of *stips*. The metaphor involved may have been that the small contributions (*stipes*) which various people "chipped in" to make up a general fund were like the single straws (*stipulae*) which went to make up the gleaner's pile. Compare Ovid's phrase, Am. I 8, 88, 'de *stipula* grandis acervus erit'. An appendix is devoted to the Umbrian *stiplo*.

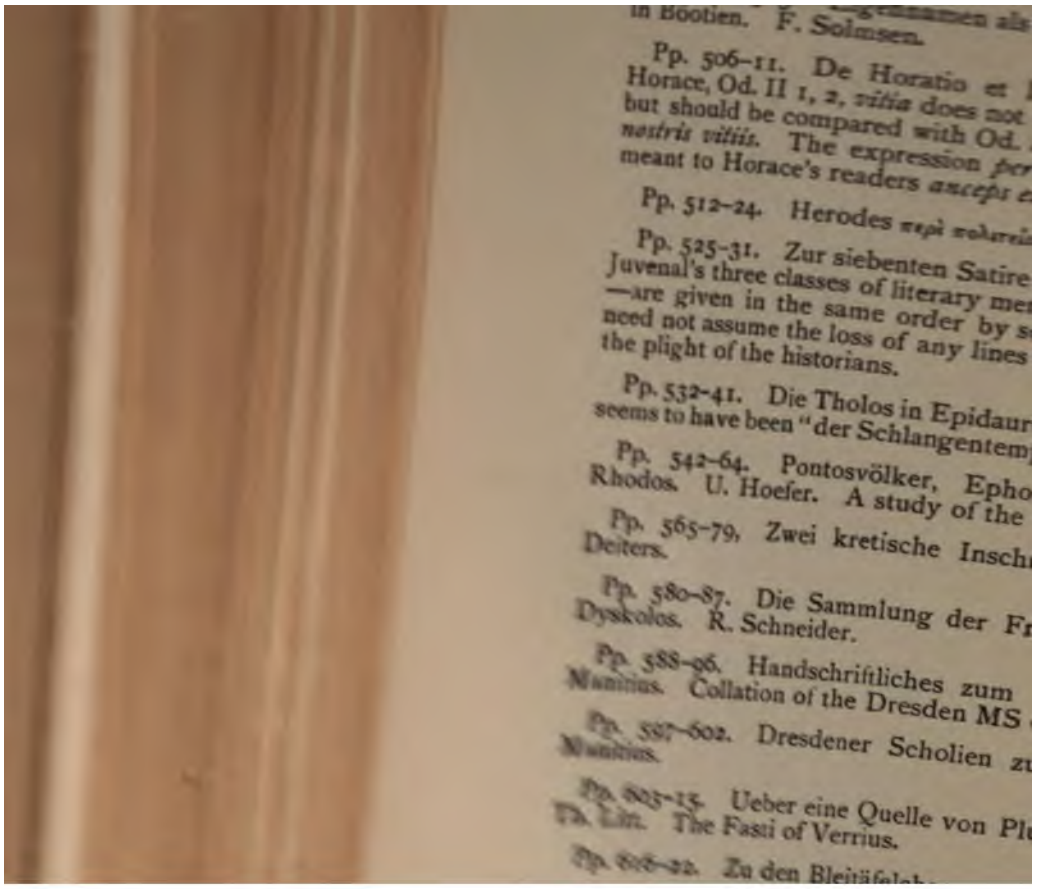
Pp. 373–90. Die Barthschen Statiushandschriften. A. Klotz. The writer believes in the existence of Barth's "membranae optimae", but thinks they were of little value for the textual study of Statius.

Pp. 391–406. Die Bedeutung von προθύειν. L. Ziehen. The regular meaning is "to sacrifice before"; the only passage where the word certainly means "to sacrifice for" belongs to the fourth century A. D.

Pp. 407–50. Zu Catulls Carmina maiora. Th. Birt. A subjective "interpretation" of Carm. 62, followed by notes, mainly textual, on Carm. 63–68. 68ᵃ has nothing to do with 68ᵇ.

Pp. 451–70. Das Synodikon des Athanasius. G. Loeschke.

Miscellen.—Pp. 471–3. C. Wachsmuth. Das Hafenwerk des Rhodiers Timosthenes.—Pp. 473–6. L. Deubner. Zu den Funden vom Kotilon.—Pp. 477–8. V. Szelinski. Zu den Sprichwörtern



in Boötien. F. Solmsen.

Pp. 506–11. De Horatio et
Horace, Od. II 1, 2, *vitia* does not
but should be compared with Od.
nostris vitiis. The expression *per*
meant to Horace's readers *anceps e*

Pp. 512–24. Herodes περὶ πολιτεί

Pp. 525–31. Zur siebenten Satire
Juvenal's three classes of literary me
—are given in the same order by s
need not assume the loss of any lines
the plight of the historians.

Pp. 532–41. Die Tholos in Epidaur
seems to have been "der Schlangentem

Pp. 542–64. Pontosvölker, Epho
Rhodos. U. Hoefer. A study of the

Pp. 565–79. Zwei kretische Insch
Deiters.

Pp. 580–87. Die Sammlung der Fr
Dyskolos. R. Schneider.

Pp. 588–96. Handschriftliches zum
Manilius. Collation of the Dresden MS

Pp. 597–602. Dresdener Scholien z
Manilius.

Pp. 603–15. Ueber eine Quelle von Pl
Fa. Lib. The Fasti of Verrius.

Pp. 616–22. Zu den Bleitäfelch



trees; the fawn is a yearling. In II 15, 17, *fortuitum caespitem* means the natural turf, in contrast with the *privata porticus*.— Pp. 630–4. S. Schlossmann. Zu Horaz Serm. II 1, 79 sq. *Solventur tabulae* means that the defendant will be discharged, and the 'vorläufig mit Beschlag belegten Schriften' released.— Pp. 635–8. V. Szelinski. Zu den Sprichwörtern der Römer.— Pp. 638–40. F. Buecheler. Lepcis. This seems to have been the older Punic or Libyan form of the name. It seems to be required in Cic. Verr. V 155; Plin. N. H. V 31; Plin. Ep. II 11, 23; Tac. Hist. IV 50, Ann. III 74; etc.

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BRIEF MENTION.

In the slow revolution of a quarterly publication like the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, it is impossible to take prompt notice of the discoveries that flash upon the orbit of classical studies. The eager scholars of the other side are ready with their emendations and their editions before the tardy observer of this side can get his binocular adjusted. Didymos *περὶ Δημοσθένους* has not fared otherwise than Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, which I did not see until it had reached its second edition (A. J. P. XII 97); and at the time of this writing, the literature on Didymos has become so considerable that the barest summary of it would transcend the bounds of *Brief Mention*. And yet a grammarian can hardly allow the remains of Didymos to be borne by without a respectful salute; for Didymos has always been considered the type of our tribe, Didymos *ὁ βιβλιολάθας*, Didymos Chalkenteros, whose surname has been irreverently translated 'Copperguts', not by a coarse American but by a refined English scholar. To the outside world the ecstasy in philological circles over the discovery will seem little short of furibund and although one expects enthusiasm of editors, still I can imagine that the average Philistine would be amused at the closing words of the preface of DIELS and SCHUBART'S text in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. 'Ianua patet: intrate' sounds like an echo of 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates'. Still the value of these thirty odd pages of loosely printed text is indisputable and the Index Nominum alone would suffice to show the richness of the find. But to the moralist the best thing is the surprise of those who used to set Didymos down as a mere verbalist, as a commentator that dealt chiefly with the letter of his original. The Didymos that we have before us now deals mainly with the historical and literary side of his text; and WENDLAND has already written for the *Hermes* XXXIX (1904), 419 a new chapter on Anaximenes of Lampsakos, prompted by the passage in which Didymos ascribes the authorship of the *πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου* (Dem. XI) to that versatile stylist. Versatile he may have been, but the merciless grammarian pins him down by his un-Demosthenean vocabulary.

There has been no unseemly haste about the publication of these scholia. Bought toward the close of 1901, brought to Berlin in the beginning of 1902, the MS was transcribed and rescribed in the spring of the latter year, the 'Abschrift' chiefly



by SCHUBART, the 'Umschrift' chiefly by DIELS; and yet the preparation of the MS for the press was not finished until the spring of 1903. Further delay was caused by the manufacture of a special fount of type, which should give the scholar an approximate idea of the characters employed in the original, so that the Preface was not signed until January 1904. This great edition, which is the first of a series of *Berliner Classikertexte, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung der Kgl. Museen zu Berlin* (Weidmann), reached the JOURNAL during the absence of the editor or it might possibly have been noticed earlier. It was followed in a few months by the small Teubner edition with noteworthy corrections and a summary of the introduction to the larger work. It is safe to say that few publications of the same compass have stirred so many questions, and it would be futile at this late day to repeat the compliments that have been paid to what FRIEDRICH LEO has called 'Eine wahrhaft mustergiltige Bearbeitung.' I will only notice in passing one chapter in the rich Introduction, that has a special interest for me, the short chapter on the style of Didymos. The Alexandrian grammarians cared as little about style as do modern grammarians. It was not until rhetoric under Roman influence became omnipotent that even the student became ashamed of his slovenly Greek and essayed to be elegant. The leader herein was the Stoic Poseidonios, the friend of Cicero. The Epicurean Philodemos, it is true, as was the manner of his porcine tribe (A. J. P. IX 230) stuck to the old manner but even he rubbed off a few bristles. In Didymos we have a compromise. He dresses himself up a little. He Atticizes to the extent of using ττ instead of σσ but he makes slips. He writes for instance τέτευχεν, a mortal sin against Atticism, as we learn from Phrynichos, and it is rather odd to find a man who noses out the non-Demosthenic ὀρρωδεῖν indulging in flagrant Ionisms. Among the vulgarisms of Didymos here noted is the use of the future after ἄξιον and ἔδει, ἄξιον διαπορήσειν, ἔδει αὐτὸν τερατεύσεσθαι, on which we have an interesting note (p. XXX). That ἐρεῖν cited by W. Schmid, Attic. I 96 (cf. II 51) was not felt by the Hellenist as a future was pointed out at the time in A. J. P. IX (1888) 100. These slips of Didymos remind one of the slip of Phrynichos, so very careful of vocabulary and yet so careless of syntax as to write φαμὲν ὅτι, (CCLVI), an earmark of an un-Attic style (A. J. P. XVI 395). But this stylistic slovenliness of grammarians, who ought of all men to be the most exact in the use of language is an interesting chapter in the universal history of culture which it would be invidious to discuss here. Cf. A. J. P. XXIII 454.

LEO's favorable judgment of DIELS and SCHUBART's work is to be found in a paper on *Didymos* περὶ Δημοσθένους, which well deserves notice, but the motto of *Brief Mention* must be ἐπ' ἄλλοτ'

ἄλλον ὅτε μάλιστα θύνει λόγον, and I am more attracted by the *Festrede* of the same author, delivered in June of the current year. The subject is *The Originality of Roman Literature*; the contention is that 'Roman literature, as soon as it came into its own, was not the imitation but the continuation of Greek literature, with the same claims on the world of those times and the world of aftertimes that those Greeks set up, who followed the great founders of the different departments of literature. In more than one of those departments the Romans have thrown their Greek predecessors into the shade. The Dantes and Tassos, the Miltons and Popes, the Corneilles and Molières and Holbergs drank out of the living waters of antiquity and not out of aqueducts'. This spirited vindication of the rights of Roman literature is not only timely as a consolation to those who watch the recession of the study of Greek and fix their eyes on Latin as the last hope of the continuity of culture, but it is a lesson to be taken to heart by Hellenists, who are prone to narrow their sphere as their domain becomes more specialized. If we of the Greek fold are to become Grecians as Sanskrit scholars become Sanskritists, we shall lose our hold on the world. The Sanskritist without comparative grammar is a lonely creature, and the Hellenist who is not in touch with Roman literature misses much of the joy of his own special work. The study that could inspire the creations of Roman poetry is still vital, and an appreciation of that vital force is of incalculable value for the joy of living. 'In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength'. It is not necessary that the Greek scholar should be forever declaiming about the Hellenism of the Hellenes, but the confidence is necessary, and the confidence is made more resolute by the contemplation of what Greek has wrought mediately as well as immediately. All this is self-evident. Every Greek scholar is supposed to be more or less of a Latin scholar, although, with the present expansion of Latin studies, the converse proposition will not hold. Of course, theoretically, the true Latin scholar must simply add his Latin to all the Greek of the Grecian. He must be as good a Grecian as the best and on that foundation must build his Latin superstructure. But facts do not correspond; and there are, at least in this country, those who slight, if not ignore, Greek in preparing themselves for professorships of Latin. content if they are able to make out the Greek that they need at a given point. Of course, the Hellenist cannot assume that attitude towards Latin, not even the Hellenist of the Greece of to-day; and it is an instructive fact that the figment of *-rum esse* = imperf. subj. was first exploded by a Modern Greek student of Latin (A. J. P. XXV 60). And yet the state of things in America is not encouraging. There are very few chairs of classical philology in our universities, and in the professorships of American universities and colleges the monogamous arrangement prevails.



Indeed, things have come to such a pass that if a professor of Greek discourses on Latin or if a professor of Latin discourses on Greek, it is perilously like flirting with a colleague's wife, but as Daudet has laid it down as a law of style that the adjective ought to be the mistress and not the lawful wife of the substantive, so the situation here would be less monotonous if the conjugal fidelity were less absolute; and without making an invidious distinction among the many excellent editions of Horace published in America, I venture to say that the most interesting of all is the Horace of a professor of Greek. But Professor SHOREY is an exceptional man, and my judgment is open to suspicion because I am a Hellenist.

And it is because I am a Hellenist and my judgment is open to suspicion that I have withdrawn from the debatable ground of Latin syntax and freely publish studies with which I have not much personal sympathy. A monogamous Grecian is apt to give his theories of Latin a Greek twist; and the parallels your Latinist finds between the two languages are to the Hellenist not found but forced. To the monogamous Hellenist the Latin subjunctive and the Greek subjunctive have often little more than the name in common; and it would never occur to him to parallel the construction of *tamquam* with the subjunctive and the Homeric ὡς ὅτε with the subjunctive. The moods are the same in name only; the conception is entirely different. In this class of sentences the Latin subjunctive corresponds to the Greek optative, whereas the Greek subjunctive must be translated into Latin by the indicative. Here the Latin subjunctive deals with the pure ideal, the Greek subjunctive with recurrent phenomena conjured up by will (A. J. P. XIII 65). With this conception of the Greek subjunctive no one need be surprised at my remonstrance against the use of 'anticipatory' for the Latin subjunctive, after the word had been applied for many years to the phenomena of the Greek subjunctive alone (A. J. P XV 339, 523). Latin has no construction corresponding to εἰ (ἐάν) with the subjunctive (A. J. P. XVI 124), and the large use of 'anticipatory' in recent Latin grammars for 'prospective', which 'anticipatory' does not mean, tends to efface, if it has not already effaced, a vital distinction, which I had found practically useful for many years before I published my article on εἰ with the future indicative and ἐάν with the subjunctive (Transactions of American Phil. Asso., 1876), in which I set forth my theory and nomenclature of the conditional sentence. The identification of the two subjunctives has done no end of harm, and your determined Hellenist is sorely tempted to see in the composite photograph of the Latin subjunctive the dominant features of the Greek optative. Even the familiar parallel of the two subjunctives in

the imperative or, if you choose, volitive sense, does not daunt him; for the Greek optative is often scandalously near the imperative, and when in later Greek the optative becomes a bookish mood, and the Greek sequence of moods is violated, so that the optative is made to follow the principal tenses (A. J. P. XXIII 131), your Hellenist is tempted to suspect Latinism where others have seen liveliness (A. J. P. IV 428). How easily a Hellenist may trip up amid the meshes of Latin syntax of the modern pattern I myself have shewn in a passing comment (A. J. P. XXI 109), where I say: 'How the imperfect subjunctive can be said to have its own meaning when it is used with an aoristic force or with the force of an aoristic pluperfect, I fail to see'. Of course, if I had read carefully and prayerfully, as I ought to have done, Professor A. L. WHEELER'S article on the imperfect aorist or aoristic imperfect (Trans. A. P. Ass., 1899), I might have been enlightened, but the enlightenment came from my own Journal when I published the same scholar's article, the *Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin* (A. J. P. XXIV), where we have (p. 180) a chapter on *The Aoristic Imperfect*. 'The verbs', he says, 'to which this use of the imperfect is restricted are in early Latin, two verbs of saying, *aio* and *dico*, and the verb *sum* and its compounds'. Now the first thing that strikes your monogamous Hellenist is that these are the very verbs in which the so-called Greek imperfect is employed as a preterite (A. J. P. IV [1883] 161). But my article was written before Professor WHEELER began to speculate on these subjects, and the syntax of to-day seldom goes back beyond yesterday. That verbs of saying have a tendency to the imperfect, the true imperfect, as we see in the case of ἔλεγε, is no secret to the Hellenist. See A. J. P. V 262 and C. W. E. Miller, A. J. P. XVI 162, an observation, which seems to have escaped Professor Wheeler, when he wrote A. J. P. XXIV 188. In fact the peculiar ethical susceptibility of verbs of saying ought not to be a secret to any student of syntax, and the use of the imperfect tense is not the only sign of it though a conspicuous one. But for all that and all that the Journal has been open and will be open to all the new developments. An editor must not be an obstructive.

In Professor BUTCHER'S *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects* (Macmillan), the translator of Homer, the student of Aristotle, who has traversed in his brilliant career the whole range of Hellenic life and literature shews the same ease and grace, the same sureness of touch and the same felicity of expression that have characterized his other works (A. J. P. I 466; XII 521). Each specialist in his turn will find something to quicken his thought, something that will appeal to his own weakness. No Pindarist, for instance, that I can remember, has ever made so much use,



such effective use of Pindar in lectures on Greek subjects. Only I am surprised that in the chapter on Kairos (p. 117) Professor BUTCHER who quotes Pindar for Χρόνος did not invoke the great encomiast of Opportunity, whose ninth Pythian has been called 'das Hohelied vom Kairos'.[1]

In his initial lecture, *Greece and Israel*, Professor BUTCHER, who is quite alive to the charm of the Authorized Version, has recourse more than once to the Revised Version. Now men of my time and training are so steeped in the Authorized Version that it colors not only their style but their thought. They cannot get rid of it; few of them would get rid of it if they could. For them, as for Matthew Arnold, the superinduced poetry is a satisfying portion, and some go so far as to sympathize with the old lady who went into ecstasies over the beautiful expression 'shadowing shroud' although she had not the slightest notion what 'shadowing shroud' meant. But when the time comes to forsake the Authorized Version,—and the time does come to the scholar—I, for one, do not stop at the margin or at the Revised Version, but make for the pot of gold at the foot of the Rainbow Bible, a designation that has been sanctioned by Professor HAUPT himself in his deeply interesting German translation of *Koheleth, oder Weltschmerz in der Bibel* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs). Now on p. 41 of the *Harvard Lectures*, Professor BUTCHER quotes the marginal rendering of Ecclesiastes 3, 11 'He hath set Eternity in their heart' and adds: 'so might we sum up the spirit of Israel'. I turn to Professor HAUPT'S translation and find the verse rendered (p. 17): 'Doch hat er verschleiert ihr geistiges Auge'; and I must confess that the new version fits the context better. I turn to the preface and find that Ecclesiastes is a reflex of Epicurus; and I am reminded of the disillusionment produced by Professor Sophus Bugge, who undertook to prove that the figures of the Edda were the shadows of Greek mythology; I am reminded that years ago a German scholar cited me as a specimen of a 'practical American' at the very time when I was supposed by my own countrymen to be imbued with the spirit of German idealism (Essays and Studies, p. 56). An Epicurean Jew is hardly the best representative of the spirit of Israel. But I read still further and learn that the verse in question belongs to the additaments made in the interest of orthodoxy so that it might fairly be quoted as a summary of the spirit of Israel, if it were not for Professor HAUPT'S rendering. In the circumstances I may well say: 'Mein geistiges Auge ist verschleiert'—and leave this confession as a warning to those who grope their way on unfamiliar ground.

[1] By the way, the types have made Professor BUTCHER cite O. viii for τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύφλωνται φραδαί instead of O. xii. The wretched Roman system is a source of numberless woes to the printer and proofreader. Cf. A. J. P. XXIV 404.

In the list of authorities cited by Professor WILLIAM A. MERRILL in his *Latin Hymns* (Benj. H. Sanborn & Co.) no mention is made of Professor MARCH's *Latin Hymns*, the initial volume of the *Douglass Series of Christian Greek and Latin Writers* (Harper & Brothers, 1874). This Douglass Series came to an untimely end in a few years. It was not so much my Justin Martyr that gave it the finishing stroke as the failure of the New York man of business who had promised financial support to an enterprise which was doomed to failure from the first. With the large views of the editor of the series I had a certain sympathy. An acquaintance with this range of literature, as Professor MERRILL says in the *Latin Hymns*, 'is desirable for broad literary culture', nay, for the understanding of the older world itself; and I am far from regretting the couple of years I spent in the region of Christian apologetics and in the study of Patristic Greek. But a deliberate attempt to substitute the Fathers for the classics seemed to me an historical, or shall I say? cultural, absurdity. Traces of this obscurantism may be found in some of the older French grammars of the Greek language; but what rights has the heavy perfume of Cappadocia and Constantinople against the subtle scent of violet-wreathed Athens? At all events the Douglass Series has fallen into neglect, and I may apostrophize it in the language of Bernard of Clairvaux (March, p. 19):

> Per aetatum incrementa,
> Immo magis detrimenta
> Ad non-esse traheris.

It may well be, then, that Professor MERRILL did not know of the existence of March's Latin Hymns any more than the editor of the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia knew of the existence of my Justin Martyr. See the said work, s. v. March's collection has some 150 hymns, MERRILL'S a little more than a hundred, and naturally most of them are found in March. Of course Professor MERRILL has profited by the literature that has appeared since March's book and he has given us a compact manual, which discards 'close philological treatment', so that the distinguished Latin specialist did not succumb to the temptation to which I yielded in my Justin Martyr, my first Greek book, which I used unblushingly as a repository for my syntactical formulae. At the foot of each hymn, however, Professor MERRILL gives a list of references for the benefit of the student, among which I sadly miss, under 'Christe qui lux es et dies' (p. 11), the mention of Miss Lyon's elaborate articles in this Journal, XIX 70–85; 154–192. I hope that the Journal is not already going the way of the Douglass Series.



H. L. W.: The most serious handicap to the American student of Classical Antiquities is the lack of original materials in this country. It is true that the archaeologist, thanks to liberal gifts from a few sources and to a watchful, progressive spirit in the management of some institutions, now has opportunities and privileges which, though not comparable with those enjoyed by his European colleague, are already considerable and are increasing every year. But the pressure of this lack of original materials is felt most sorely by the student of the literary treasures of Greece and Rome, almost entirely cut off, as he is, from the manuscripts, with which every scholar across the Atlantic may become familiar. To some extent this need has been met by such publications as those of the English Palaeographical Societies, of Chatelain, of Zangemeister and Wattenbach, and of Chroust, as well as by the few complete facsimiles issued by Sijthoff at Leyden, by the Vatican authorities and others. It would be easy to multiply examples of students forced to complete in Oxford, Paris, or Rome researches begun in American universities, or obliged to entrust to the hands of others the work of examination and collation, or compelled to lay aside most interesting studies on account of the insuperable obstacles of distance, time, and expense.

To men wellnigh discouraged by conditions like these, the plan of Professor CHARLES MILLS GAYLEY, of the University of California, for the establishment of an American Bureau for the publication of facsimiles of manuscripts, first editions, and such other documents as are most needed, comes like a ray of hope. Writing to the New York Evening Post of November 19, 1904, Professor Gayley emphasizes the importance of undertaking this work in America and makes suggestions with regard to method and cost which everyone should read. His aim is to meet the need not of the classical philologian alone, but of all American scholars who require original records of whatever sort. He has already secured favorable expressions from leading libraries of the country and, we feel sure, may safely count on the hearty sympathy and cordial cooperation of the readers of this Journal.

A. P. vs. A. J. P.: The editor of this Journal has fallen into the reminiscential habit of referring to the back numbers of the Journal, and A. J. P. has become so common an abbreviation that the proofreader who had charge of No. 98 could not believe his eyes when he read in his copy A. P. and supplied what he supposed to be the missing letter on p. 231, l. 6, where for A. J. P. read A. P. (Anthologia Palatina). True, A(canthologia) P(arrhesiastica) might answer for *Brief Mention*, but, strange to say, there was no reference to *Brief Mention*.

RETROSPECT.

One of the stanch adherents of the Journal admonished me a few weeks ago that the friends of this periodical expected the Editor to take some special notice of the century number. Twenty-five years is youth for a crow, but a good old age for a horse and the congeners of the same, a respectable age for a quarterly. But in the last few years I have become hardened to the celebration of jubilees,—the regular Biblical jubilees of fifty years and not the cut-rate jubilees of twenty-five,—and so I propose to put off the celebration until 1929. At the same time, it would be churlish not to embrace the opportunity afforded by the round number to return thanks to those who have stood by the Journal for so many years, or, to be frankly personal, as is my wont, to those who have stood by me for a quarter of a century. Of course, there could have been no Journal without contributors, and I am far from assuming the attitude of the editor of a certain quarterly, quarterly and editor both long since dead, who fancied that every alien article he admitted to his pages was a serious drawback to an organ which he could have filled handsomely out of his own Aeolian resources. On the contrary, much of what I have written for the Journal has been written to supply the demand for 'copy' which had been promised by others, and hence, my performances bear in too many instances the marks of hasty composition; and if my articles, my reviews, my summaries have not reached the high standard that I set up, I am not wholly to blame. Be that as it may, every number of the long array is a record of my own work and a retrospect of the life of the Journal involves my own history. Jean Paul remarks somewhere that the longest lesson in the epistles is the one in which St. Paul records his own sufferings and his own services, and so bestows on himself 'the needful praise'. The brethren were doubtless offended at the egotism of the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Second Corinthians, and I recognize the danger. Nor am I going to set up a Monumentum Ancyranum of my own. But surely, I may be allowed to echo the words of friend Eumaios and say at the end of twenty-five toilsome years of letter-writing and book-keeping and proof-reading and index-making, *μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνήρ.*

The first number of the Journal tells the story of the inception of the enterprise. The project was in the air and, if I had not undertaken the work, others would have taken it in hand, and there

would have been an American Journal of Philology without me. But the wheels of syndicates move slowly, and while others were planning and conferring, journal after journal was set on foot by the Johns Hopkins University, then in the flush of its young life; and President GILMAN gave me to understand that it was my manifest duty to follow the lead of the American Journal of Mathematics and the American Journal of Chemistry. The University did not undertake to guarantee the expenses of the enterprise but it became a large subscriber and without that subscription, the Journal would still have a hard, if not a hopeless struggle for existence. And yet it was not to be a Johns Hopkins organ; it was not to be a collection of Johns Hopkins Studies in Classical or other Philology; it was to be a national magazine—and as befits the liberal character of American institutions, it was to be, if possible, an international magazine. Through the twenty years of my service in the University of Virginia, I had never asked, never consented to share the work of my chair with any assistant. εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω. And so here I took the undivided responsibility. Two qualifications I had—considerable journalistic experience and some other experience gained in even a harder school than that of journalism. They have both stood me in good stead. The responses to the circular of consultation, the responses to the circular seeking subscribers were highly favorable, though the usual disillusionments ensued and I remember one eminent man, who wrote me an enthusiastic note in commendation of the plan, and afterwards returned the first number of the Journal with indignant surprise at having the thing foisted upon him. But I knew full well that the first year was no test. There are those who are caught by every new enterprise; there are advertisers who avail themselves of every new channel of publication. I was not blind to the pecuniary risks of the undertaking and, it may be of interest to those who are meditating a like venture, if I reproduce part of a letter written to the late CHARLTON T. LEWIS, who, being an eminent business man as well as a distinguished scholar, understood the situation and offered substantial help.

March 24, 1880.

'I shall always bear your offer in grateful remembrance. You are the second person and only the second person to whom it has occurred that the editor might be mulcted not only in his time, which has a certain pecuniary value to a quasi-literary man, but also in "*l'argong, gelt, spicunia*", as Yellowplush says. I think I shall pull through this year. The tug will come next; but I am prudent. I shall not spread my sails until I have raised the wind, and I hope it will not be necessary to invoke aid. But in any case I shall not forget your readiness to help the good cause'.

Not to be balked, however, in his generous purpose, Dr. LEWIS sent me afterwards a handsome sum of money for the encouragement of a special research, and when I offered to refund it, bade me keep it for extraordinary emergencies. These emergencies did not fail to arise, and those who are curious in such matters may notice here and there in the early volumes a certain grimness of resolve. In those first years all the business passed through my hands except the mailing of the numbers, and when I tried to lighten the burden, the dishonesty of a trusted servant brought loss and confusion into the affairs of the Journal. From the beginning of the nineteenth volume the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Press, who had shewn himself my friend on many occasions, took charge of the business department of the Journal, and it is to Mr. NICHOLAS MURRAY that I owe much of the peace of these latter years. If this retrospect serves no other end, it serves to bear grateful witness to the wisdom and the kindness of one who has brought sunshine into the afternoon of my editorial life.

The honorarium offered by German philological journals is small, but there is an honorarium, and I had to face the problem of conducting a quarterly magazine with unpaid contributors. But the unpaid editor set an example of devotion, and it seemed as if it were not asking too much of the scholarship of the country to lend a hand, especially when the need for such an organ was almost universally recognized. The promises were liberal enough. But how far and in what proportion the leading universities of the country have been represented in the Journal during these last twenty-five years I will not set forth. The statistical method might be as disagreeable here as it has proved to be in other domains of research and as illuminating. After the tenth year the question of material became less pressing. The Journal had established itself as a channel of communication with scholars oversea and fresh forces sought an outlet. But the founding of a journal, which the timid said, could have no public, could find no contributors, was the signal for kindred enterprises. Scholars who had been more than satisfied with the channels offered by the Transactions of the American Oriental Society and the Transactions of the American Philological Association bestirred themselves, and the wide field at first open to the Journal was dotted over with special organs and able editors. The American Journal of Archaeology followed close on the heels of the American Journal of Philology, and my archaeological contributors found a better channel. Modern Language Notes took off a certain number of contributors, Hebraica another set. An Anglo-American syndicate established the Classical Review. Then came the long line of Studies and Bulletins, stretching now from Massachusetts Bay to the Golden Gate, and the end is not yet. What the Journal might have been, if it had not been for this 'fissiparous multiplication', as I have called it, it is bootless to ask. It is possible that there is danger

of over-stimulation, and I cannot help recalling at times the words of my favorite poet, *ἄνευ δὲ θεοῦ σεσιγαμένον οὐ σκαιότερον χρῆμ' ἕκαστον.* But I hope that the national banner will not be overborne by the multitude of secessionists. Doubtless there is room for all.

But in the section of the Journal set apart for reviews, neither retrospect nor prospect can be said to fill the mind of the editor with peace. Those who are best qualified for the work have better markets than the Journal for their wares, which are far more merchantable than studies in minute matters of philological research; and few have been found to follow the example set of writing two reviews of the same book, one popular, for a weekly like *The Nation*, one technical, for a journal like this. The help solicited has often been refused; and while I have tried to live up to the promise of 'reviews by specialists' the remorseless demands for copy have forced me to put forth in my own person comments and criticisms on works that lie beyond the sphere of those studies about which I have earned a right to an opinion. But there is after all a certain justification for the registry of such impressions as I have given out from time to time under the head of *Brief Mention*. Specialists are so apt to lose all perspective that the frank criticisms of the outsider often prove to be of service. But even if I had all the help desired, the limits of space, as I have often set forth, would prevent me from publishing detailed reviews of all the important works that are sent to the Journal; and the student who wishes to keep in touch with the movement of the philological world, must turn to the monthlies and weeklies that are especially devoted to reviews. It is not only a highly instructive kind of reading, it is sometimes almost dangerously exhilarating, and I have occasionally thought of enlivening the technical dulness of the Journal by my collection of Curiosities of Criticism and Specimens of Translation from English into various European languages.

From the very beginning I attached great importance to the summaries of periodicals, which I called 'Reports' simply for lack of a better English word. I had the German 'Referat' in mind. *Résumé* is French and so is *précis*, and somehow 'summary' did not commend itself. For this part of the work I was fortunate enough to secure able help, and some of the most distinguished names in American philological study are to be found in the list of 'reporters'. Some of them held on for years, some were interrupted by death. The eminent Grecian, Professor HUMPHREYS, of the University of Virginia, the last of the original company, has provided the summary of the *Revue de Philologie*, for all these twenty-five years—a shining example of the perseverance of the Saints. If the maintenance of the Journal is worth while, then the preparation of these summaries is not a thankless task, and it becomes more and more important as the field covered by the Journal becomes more and more restricted by the encroachment of special organs. If the

Journal can continue to offer good 'reports' of work in the chief departments of philological activity, it may still appeal to the wide range of interests which it was originally intended to subserve. No part of the Journal, I understand, is more valued abroad; no part of the Journal demands better judgment, more literary faculty, as I know from my occasional services in that line.

As I look back on these twenty-five years I have no regrets. I should doubtless have had more books to my credit or discredit, as the case may be, and I have had to renounce a number of projects that were near to my heart. But I do not know that I could have employed my time better; and as for my personal contributions to the sum of that which is known and thought, I have had ample opportunity to launch my little offerings on the tide of philological study and to learn the great moral lesson of resignation to the process of 'depersonalization', which must be the fate of us all at last. An article in a journal soon becomes common property but the longer one lives, the more one reads, the less the concern about 'recognition' and 'credit'. And by way of consolation for many minor miseries, I have been able to ply my old trade without any regard to the larger public. In the present state of American literature, for that matter of English literature, in which an allusion to any kind of classics is tabooed, I count myself fortunate in having made for myself a little nook, in which I could write as I saw fit and from which I could wave my hand in recognition to the few survivors of the old school.

One thing is evident. I close the twenty-fifth volume in cheerier mood than I opened the first. There is a certain gravity about the tone of my salutatory which I wound up by saying: 'To be found not wholly unworthy of this trust is henceforth one of the highest aims of my professional life'. How far I have been true to the responsibility I assumed in 1880 others must judge. But in the light of a long career, illumined by the burning of things that were once adored, I am philosophical about that also.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.



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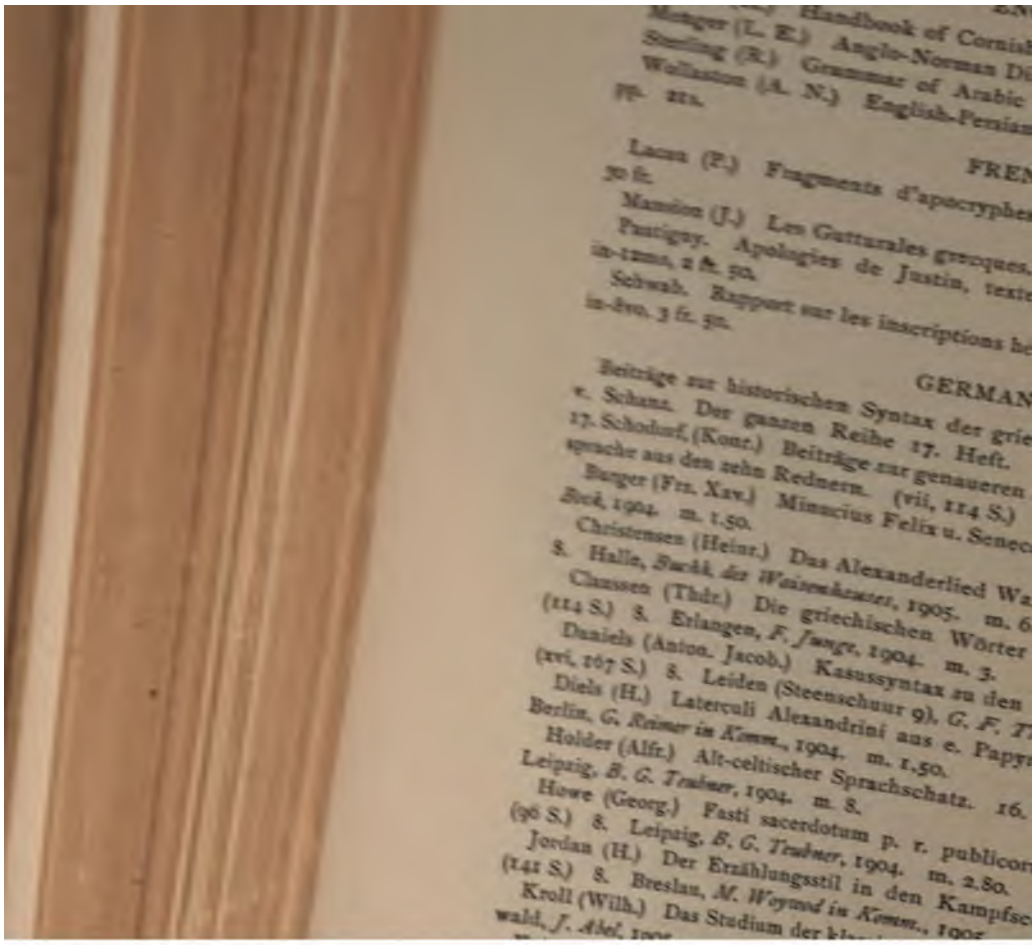
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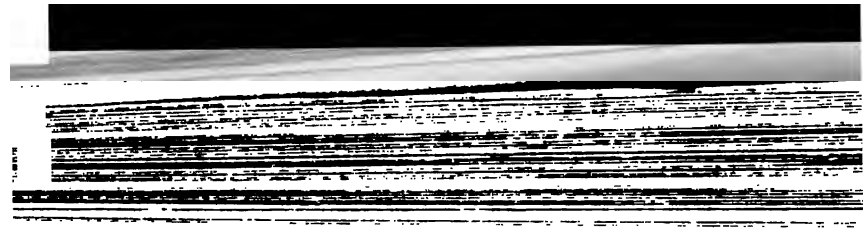
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